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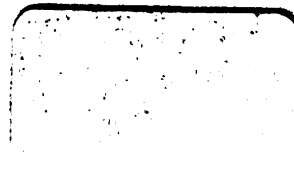

THE

ANNUAL

NECROLOGY,

FOR

1797-8;

INCLUDING, ALSO,

VARIOUS ARTICLES

OF

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VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

HISTORY has been conſidered as "Philoſophy teaching by example;" and Biography, although it affects leſs dignity, and aſpires to leſs diſtinction, may fairly lay claim to a ſimilar definition. While the former indulges in ſublime ſpeculations intimately connected with the happineſs and the miſery, the proſperity and the misfortunes of a large portion of the human race, it is the humbler, yet no leſs uſeful province of the latter to unveil the motives and the actions, the adventures and the purſuits, the merits and the ſingularities, the virtues and the vices of a few individuals. The one, therefore, being occupied with the deſtiny of nations, exhibits leſſons for ſtateſmen; but it is the peculiar advantage of the other, that it is adapted to perſons of all deſcriptions.

It would be equally vain and ſuperfluous to enumerate the benefits reſulting from a faithful and impartial record of the lives of remarkable men. It is evident, however, that ſomething is ſtill to be wiſhed for in reſpect to General Biography, and it would not be difficult to mention the names of ſeveral eminent perſons, even of our own country, of whoſe career ſcarcely a trace is to be found; while, of many others, curioſity is forced to be ſatisfied with what can be gleaned from very ſcanty materials.

In fine, a proper vehicle has hitherto been wanting: for the moſt obvious and important occurrences, if not communicated while yet recent, ſoon become either obliterated by time, or obſcured by tradition, and leave only a few mutilated facts, or unconnected fragments, for the information of the future narrator, and the regret of poſterity.

The French and Germans, fully aware of this, and at the ſame time conſcious of the many advantages reſulting from *Contemporary Biography*, or memoirs written while intelligence may be eaſily collected, evidence examined, and papers obtained, have of late publiſhed *Annual Obituaries*, containing all the particulars that can be procured relative to ſuch remarkable characters as may have died within the preceding year. It would be ungenerous to omit, that it is upon this ſcheme the preſent volume is prepared for the preſs; but it may be here neceſſary, on the other hand, to remark, that the plan has been extended, ſo as to include *Neglected Biography*, under the general name of NECROLOGY, a Greek compound, which has been already adopted into more than one language on the continent, and it is hoped will not be conſidered as improperly engrafted on our own.

It is infinitely more eaſy to deſcribe the importance of, than to diſplay the talents neceſſary for, an undertaking, calculated, like the preſent, to give a fuller ſcope to the range of curioſity and inſtruction. Of all the various requiſites demanded for conducting ſuch a work, the Editor can boaſt only of induſtry and good fortune. The firſt has enabled him to collect many curious particulars which might have otherwiſe remained for ever in oblivion; and in conſequence of the ſecond, he has had an opportunity, partly from his own knowledge of individuals, and partly in conſequence of the liberal aſſiſtance of others*, to detail a variety of intereſting facts; nor has recourſe to books

* The following articles have been contributed by various correſpondents, viz.

Mr. Bakewell,	M. Benda.
... Bruce,	The Count de Hertzberg,
... Dupuy,	Mr. Venn.
... Mellmann,	Dr. Farmer,
Dr. Kippis,	Mr. Maſon, and
M. Neubauer,	Mrs. Woolſtonecraft.

Some important communications have been deferred until another opportunity, and among theſe, it would be uncandid not to particulariſe a variety of intereſting papers by a nobleman (the earl of Buchan), who has on many occaſions evinced his attachment to the cauſe of literature.

been

been wanting, when they could afford information, or ſupply deficiencies of any kind.

Many important papers, never before ſubmitted to public inſpection, are interſperſed with the memoirs; and it may not be improper to remark, that either in the text, or at the bottom of the page, of ſeveral of the foreign articles, will be found the terms of art, and ſcientific expreſſions, exactly tranſcribed from the language in which they were firſt written. The advantages reſulting from this mode are manifeſt, as it renders a reference to the original unneceſſary, and enables the ſkilful reader to detect any error that may have occurred in the tranſlation.

A copious Index will be found at the end, and a Chronological and Alphabetical Table at the beginning of the Volume. The firſt and laſt are calculated to afford facility of reference, and the ſecond is intended to ſupply ſome neceſſary dates which were not at firſt aſcertained with ſufficient exactneſs.

As this Work is intended to be continued annually, the Editor earneſtly ſolicits the aſſiſtance of all ſuch as may be deſirous to co-operate in ſo uſeful and important an undertaking.

London, Nov. 1799.

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NECROLOGY.

THEODORE-STEPHEN,

KING OF CORSICA; BARON OF NEWHOFF AND STEIN; GRANDEE OF SPAIN; PEER OF FRANCE; BARON OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, &c. &c. &c.

THE misfortunes of men, either exalted by birth, or eminent on account of ſtation, have always excited a generous compaſſion; and if the fall from a throne be eſtimated by the laws which regulate *deſcending bodies*, the percuſſion muſt be truly dreadful. The fate of Dionyſius II. baniſhed from his native country, and reduced to the humble ſituation of a ſchoolmaſter at Corinth, is familiar to every claſſical mind, in conſequence of its being one of the moſt ſingular incidents in ancient hiſtory; but his perſonal liberty was ſtill ſecured "to the tyrant of Syracuſe," and, according to the greateſt of the Roman orators, his favourite propenſity was amply gratified in his new employment, by being ſuffered to exchange the ferula for the ſceptre, and domineer over children, when he could no longer exerciſe his injuſtice towards men.

In our own times, however, a ſtill more diſaſtrous event took place in the perſon of Theodore I.; a legitimate king, whoſe title to a crown was founded on the ſame baſis as that on which the illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick laid claim to the throne of theſe realms. This prince ſpent the latter part of his exiſtence in the deepeſt diſtreſs: he was condemned to live and to die in exile; he was expoſed to wretchedneſs, and even to want; he was confined, for a paltry debt, within one of the jails of the metropolis of a nation famed for its munificence; he expired in a miſerable lodging, and was buried by the compaſſionating hand of charity!

In ſimilar caſes, ſome friendly court, ſome ſovereign in alliance, ſome royal boſom replete with ſympathy, has uſually held out ſuccour and aſſiſtance to unfortunate kings. James II. was indebted to the generoſity of Louis XIV. for a princely retreat on the banks of the Seine. Staniſlaus Leczinſky had a royal palace aſſigned him in the capital of Lorraine. Staniſlaus Auguſtus lately uttered his laſt ſigh amidſt the trophies of barbarian ſplendour, in the capital of Ruſſia. One relative of Louis XVI. at this moment receives ſupport and protection from the emperor Paul; and another enjoys ſecurity at leaſt, in the ancient reſidence of the Scottiſh ſovereigns. But no brother-monarch took pity on the unhappy king of Corſica: his neceſſities were provided for, his eyes were cloſed, and his memory is now attempted to be reſcued from oblivion, by plebeian hands.

Theodore-Stephen, Baron de Newhoff and de Stein, and afterwards King of Corſica, derived his origin from an illuſtrious family in Weſtphalia. His father, Anthony Baron de Newhoff and de Stein, ranked high among the nobility of the county of La Marck *; but he had excited the hatred of his relations by condeſcending to marry the amiable daughter of a rich merchant of Viſieu. This connexion, between rank on one ſide and worth and beauty on the other, alſo drew down upon him the ſcorn and indignation of a haughty nobility, who boaſted of the

* Mémoires pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire de Corſe, p. 89.

purity

purity of their blood, which they never contaminated by plebeian alliances. Deeming it prudent to emigrate, he quitted Germany, and repaired to France, where he had the good fortune to be protected by the ducheſs of Orleans, to whom he happened to be known. In conſequence of ſo powerful a recommendation, he was admitted into the ſervice of the court, and at length obtained a place of ſome conſideration in Lorraine.

While he reſided at Metz his beloved wife produced a boy and a girl: the firſt of theſe, the ſubject of the preſent memoir, called Theodore-Stephen, was born in or about 1696*; the ſecond was called Elizabeth. The baron died at a period when his offspring were too young to regret the loſs of ſo good a father; and of his widow, who probably followed him ſoon after to the grave, we have no further account.

The ducheſs of Orleans compaſſionating the ſituation of theſe orphans, ſent for and brought them up at her court. Young Newhoff was appointed page to the duke-regent; and his ſiſter, who became maid of honour to her highneſs, was afterwards married to the count de Trevoux.

The boy, at an early period of life, manifeſted a paſſionate attachment to military glory. As he grew up he applied himſelf, with great ardour, to the ſtudy of hiſtory; but his favourite author was Plutarch. The lives of the illuſtrious Greeks and Romans afforded him the moſt lively pleaſure, and he read them ſo often that he at laſt got them by heart. The continual peruſal of ſo many brilliant actions made ſuch a deep impreſſion, that he was inſpired with an irreſiſtible deſire to imitate them: in ſhort, they operated like the trophies of Miltiades on the youthful mind of Themiſtocles.

The romantic exploits of Charles XII. of Sweden had filled Europe with the praiſes of that monarch, and became the principal ſubject of converſation during the period to which we now allude. Young Newhoff, burning to participate in the glory of this prince, left France and entered into his ſervice.

* The time of Theodore's birth is not preciſely aſcertained; the above date is given on the authority of the late Lord Orford. See "the works of Horatio Walpole," 4to. 1798, vol. i. p. 156.

Under ſuch a maſter he ſoon attained a conſiderable degree of knowledge in the art of war, and on all occaſions exhibited that indifference for exiſtence which was the characteriſtic of his hero.

He is alſo ſaid to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf early in life by his genius and capacity for public affairs. This, at length, introduced him to the notice of the celebrated baron de Gortz, who directed all the political concerns of the Swediſh cabinet. By that miniſter he was employed in ſeveral difficult negociations, and acquitted himſelf to his entire ſatisfaction. He is reported to have been diſpatched ſecretly into Spain, in order to concert with the miniſters of that country relative to the beſt mode of reſtoring the abdicated branch of the houſe of Stuart to the throne of their anceſtors. Alberoni, perceiving the promiſe of great talents in the young man, conceived an attachment to him *, and preſented him to his Catholic Majeſty, who received him moſt graciouſly; in ſhort, he left Madrid with many marks of favour from the court.

Soon after his return to Sweden, he accompanied the baron de Gortz to the Hague, whither he repaired with a view of being nearer the ſcene of action. During his reſidence there, Newhoff was ſent ſeveral times to England, with diſpatches and private meſſages from Gortz to count Gillenbourg, at that time ambaſſador from the king of Sweden to the court of St. James's. He is even ſaid to have had ſeveral conferences with the leaders of the jacobite party. The plot, as is well known, was at length diſcovered and fruſtrated. The count de Gillenbourg, notwithſtanding his diplomatic character, was arreſted under pretext of his having conſpired againſt the prince to whom he was ſent on miſſion. Newhoff, however, had the good fortune to eſcape to Holland; but even that country afforded no proſpect of ſafety, as the States General, in conſequence of proceedings that have been ſince conſidered as trenching on the *law of nations*, cauſed the baron de Gortz to be ſeized at Deventer.

His confident, who had every reaſon to apprehend a ſimilar lot, in this dilemma took refuge in the *hotel* of the Spaniſh am-

* Memoires pour ſervir, &c. p. 93.

baſſador,

baſſador, who now complained loudly againſt the conduct of the States in reſpect to a miniſter whoſe machinations had not extended to them, and even threatened the Dutch with the vengeance of his court: the czar Peter the Great, however, at length interpoſed his mediation, and the breach was cloſed, but not until the impriſoned miniſter had been ſet at liberty.

The moment the baron de Gortz was releaſed, he returned to Sweden, accompanied by the baron de Newhoff. Charles XII. was ſoon after killed at Frederickſhall; on which his favourite was immediately ſeized, and impeached as the cauſe of all the miſeries of his country. His trial was not long, for both the ſenate and people were incenſed againſt him, and his head, in conformity to the ſentence, was cut off at the foot of the gallows of Stockholm.

Newhoff, who thought his own life in danger, inſtantly fled from Sweden, repaired to Madrid, and obtained the rank of colonel in the Spaniſh ſervice. Soon after this he married an Iriſh lady of rank, who, in conſequence of the misfortunes of her family, had taken refuge in a foreign country. This perſonage was called lady Sarsfield; ſhe was daughter of lord Kilmalock, and lady of honour to the queen.

The Baron conceived great expectations from this alliance, but they were never realized; and we learn that he was, at length, conſtrained by misfortunes to abandon his lady, while pregnant with a ſon, born in 1725, who is ſuppoſed to have been the unfortunate gentleman afterwards known in this country by the name of Colonel Frederick *.

He now repaired to France, and became connected with John Law, the famous Scotch adventurer, with whom he embarked in the memorable Miſſiſſippi ſcheme, which was afterwards productive of ſo much miſery. Thence, on the cataſtrophe that enſued, he ſet out for Florence, got introduced to the Emperor, moſt probably by means of prince Maximilian of Wirtemberg, with whom he had ſerved under Charles XII. and was retained

* An account of colonel Frederick, by one who knew him long and intimately, will be found in another part of this volume.

in his ſervice. It was during this period that his connexion with his future ſubjects commenced.

Corſica, like the neighbouring iſlands, had ſucceſſively ſubmitted to the Carthaginians and Romans. In the ſeventh century it paſſed under the dominion of the Saracens; and Lanza Anciza, of the family of the caliph Valid Almanzor, eſtabliſhed himſelf there with the title of king, a diſtinction borne by five of his ſucceſſors; the laſt of whom, Nugolo, was contemporary with Charlemagne.

Audemar, who then governed Genoa, in the name of the emperor ſeized upon Corſica for himſelf; and the inhabitants, changing their religion with their maſter, ceaſed to be Muſſulmen in order to become Chriſtians.

No ſooner had the Genoeſe thrown off the Imperial yoke, than they attempted to impoſe their own on theſe iſlanders; and, as they were imbued with the ſuperſtition common to new converts, the authority of the Catholic church was called in to rivet their bondage. But the Pope, who affected to conſider this kingdom as a fief appertaining to the church, in virtue of a pretended donation from king Pepin, refuſed his aſſent, and granted the inveſtiture of it to the republic of Piſa, on condition of receiving a nominal acknowledgment of fifty livres a year! This occaſioned a war between the Genoeſe and Piſans, in 1125, which ended in a truce. Hoſtilities, however, recommencing in 1280, and the Piſans having loſt part of their fleet, Corſica was ceded to the victors.

But the dominion of that nation was ever odious to the natives, and they called into their aſſiſtance, by turns, the kings of Naples, of Arragon, and the Pope. Nicolas V. being born in Genoa, at length granted the inveſtiture of Corſica to his countrymen; and they, by way of conſolidating their power, purchaſed the claims of the kings of Naples and of Arragon with a ſum of money. This was borrowed from the bank of St. George, and the iſland was pledged as a ſecurity for repayment: from that period the doge has always been crowned king of Corſica.

The

The Genoeſe, as uſual, abuſed their power, on which a native, of the name of Sampiero, put himſelf at the head of a body of inſurgents, and ſet them for ſome time at defiance; but he was baſely murdered by an aſſaſſin, who being put to death by the people, was honoured as a martyr by the ſenate of Genoa.

In the mean time the oppreſſions they endured exceeded all bounds. They were loaded with impoſts of every kind: they paid a tenth of all their produce to their cruel maſters, beſides a capitation, and a hearth tax. That they might be more dependent on Genoa, they were prohibited from erecting manufactures; and they could ſell their commodities to her merchants alone. In addition to this, her rapacious governors had ſeized on the eſtates of the noble families of Ciaccaldi and Raffelli; while Pinelli, the commiſſary-general, a hungry noble, wiſhing to enrich himſelf ſpeedily, levied exorbitant ſums by means of fiſcal arts and military contributions.

The Corſicans on this once more erected the ſtandard of revolt, and endeavoured to burſt their chains. Animated by their ſufferings and their revenge, they now got the better both of their foreign taſkmaſters, and the domeſtic traitors who eſpouſed their cauſe, and ſeem to have driven them out of the iſland.

The ſenate of Genoa finding itſelf inadequate to quell ſo formidable an inſurrection, invoked the aſſiſtance of the Emperor. On this his Imperial majeſty, in conſequence of a ſubſidy, diſpatched 6000 troops under the direction of baron de Wachtendonck; and ſoon after added 4000 more, commanded by prince Louis de Wirtemberg: but theſe proved unable to extinguiſh the love of liberty. On this an armiſtice enſued, under the mediation of that monarch, and a negociation was ſoon after entered into, in May 1732; Corte being appointed for the meeting of the deputies on both ſides. The Corſican commiſſioners are ſaid to have diſplayed great powers of mind during the conference, and to have defended the cauſe of their country

with a manly boldneſs*. After inſiſting on their right to reſiſt oppreſſion, they at length were prevailed upon to conſent to an

* The arguments made uſe of upon this occaſion, would have done honour to the greateſt writers on the law of nature and nations:

'Le diſcours des Corſes fut auſſi ſimple que l'eſprit qui le dicta. Ils parlérent comme des hommes qui avoient pris leçon de la nature, et non des livres. Sa voix ſacrée leur paroiſſoit préfixable à toute autre. Perſuadés que tout ce qu'elle fait eſt bien fait, et que ce n'eſt qu'en la contrediſant que nous ſommes ouvert la ſource de tant de maux; ils s'efforcérent à en reclamer le droit primitif ſi defiguré par des inſtitutions particuliéres.

'Ils dirent, que la liberté étant und on, que la nature a accordé en partage à tous les hommes, les Corſes, à bon titre ſe regardoient comme un peuple libre et par conſéquent qu'ils ne relevoient de perſonne. Que ce même droit étoit inaliénable, et nullement ſujet à preſcription; qu'ainſi ils ne pouvoient pas l'avoir perdu pour avoir été vendus malgré eux aux Génois, ou pour avoir été tenuis par force dans l'eſclavage depuis quelques ſiécles. Par là ils rejettérent le droit d'achat, que les Génois faiſoient reſulter de leurs tranſactions avec les rois de Naples et d'Arragon, diſant, que l'achat des hommes était repugnant a la loi naturelle, loi immuable et éternelle, qui ne peut être alterée par aucune convention humaine, puiſque Dieu même ne peut changer une loi qu'il a gravée de ſa propre main en caractéres ineffaçables dans le cœur de l'homme.

'Quant au droit que les Génois etabliſſoient ſur le *concordat*, ils dirent, qu'il n'avoit pas été approuvé par le corps de royaume, et que quand même il l'eut été, ce *concordat* n'etant qu'une liaiſon conditionelle et reciproque entre les Génois et les Corſes, il n'etait d'aucune force, par ſon infraction totale de le part des Génois.

'Ils conclarent que la republique de Génes s'etant emparée de la Corſe ſans aucune titre; aïant profané la ſainteté du contrat qui ſeul en quelque façon auroit pû lui donner quelque droit ſur elle, l'aiant gouvernée d'une maniére injuſte, et abuſé de l'autorité, dont tout au plus elle n'etoit que la depoſitaire; la republique avoit perdu toutes ſes prétentions à la ſouveraineté de cette iſle; que par conſéquent les Corſes étoient rentrés dans leur état primitif, et pouvoient ſe gouverner à leur gré.

'Mais nonobſtant tant de raiſons qui ſont pour nous,' continuérent—ils, 'nonobſtant tant de maux que nous avons ſouffert, trop connus pour en faire ici le detail, nous ſommes prêts à devenir les ſujets de la Republique, puiſque les circonſtances l'exigent, et que s. m. Impériale le veut; mais ce ſera à condition qu'elle change de conduite à notre égard, agiſſe en ſouveraine envers nous, et non pas en tiran; qu'elle veüille obſerver les conventions renfermées dans le *concordat*, &c. qu'elle veüille reconnoitre l'erreur et l'atrocité de ces maximes qu'elle a ſi long tems adoptées; ſavoir, que *plus les peuples ſont dans la miſére, plus ils ſont dans la ſoumiſſion; et qu'il faut imprimer de la terreur aux ſujets pour les rendre obeiſans.*

'Qu'elle etabliſſe de bonnes loix, et faſſe enſorti que ces loix ſoient bien executées; qu'elle garde un juſte temperament dans la determination, et dans la meſure des peines, &c. qu'elle éxige les impôts dune maniére convenable, car elle dont on ſe ſert pour les lever,

manque

an amneſty, and even to place themſelves once more under the dominion of Genoa, expreſsly ſtipulating however,

1. That the more odious impoſts ſhould be aboliſhed;

2. That the Corſicans ſhould have a right to fill all dignities and honours, whether eccleſiaſtical or civil, in the ſame manner as the other ſubjects of the republic;

3. That the command of the ports of Baſtia and Ajaccio ſhould be conferred on natives;

4. That the Corſican nobles ſhould be treated at Genoa in the ſame manner as thoſe of the other dominions of the republic, and that there ſhould be a Corſican reſident there, empowered to preſent to the ſenate the complaints and petitions of all thoſe who might ſuffer from oppreſſion.

After the proclamation of theſe preliminaries, to the due obſervance of which both Corſicans and Genoeſe ſwore in the moſt ſolemn manner, the Imperial troops evacuated the iſland. But the government of Genoa did not long obſerve the agreement into which it had entered, for it now began, as heretofore, to diſplay all the rigour of its dominion; while the iſlanders, its ſubjects, obeyed, as of old, with a moſt unconquerable reluctance. In ſhort, the former treated the Corſicans like a conquered people, and even arreſted the very deputies with whom they had ſo lately entered into a negociation. Three of theſe were put to death; the reſt were ſent firſt to Baſtia, afterwards to Genoa, and laſtly to the fortreſs of Savona.

This infamous proceeding, in direct violation of every idea of public juſtice, occaſioned conſiderable noiſe, and the natives were irritated to ſuch a degree, that they betook themſelves once more to arms, in order to avenge ſuch an atrocious injury. His Imperial majeſty alſo, under whoſe expreſs mediation the late pacification had been concluded, deemed his honour hurt

manque bien ſouvent eſt plus odieuſe et plus a charge, que les impôts memes; qu'elle apprenne, que la crainte eſt un mauvais garant, qu'on haït tous ceux que l'on craint, et qu'on ſouhaite de voir périr tous ceux que l'on haït: mais que l'humanité, la droiture la bonne foi, et un vigilance attentive au bonheur des peuples, ſont la ſureté, et le plus ferme appui de l'autorité du ſouverain; car lors qu'on fait violence à la raiſon, le courage ne manque jamais de bras pour ſa propre défence.'

upon this occaſion, and determined to interfere in their behalf. It was in conſequence of the events thus briefly recapitulated, that the hiſtory of Baron de Newhoff becomes connected with that of theſe celebrated iſlanders.

The Baron, better known afterwards under the name of Theodore, was now, as we have already obſerved, in the ſervice of the emperor, and ſeems to have acted in a diplomatic capacity under that monarch. It was in his Imperial majeſty's name that he releaſed ſuch of the deputies as had not yet been murdered from priſon; it was alſo in his name, and under his ſanction, that he reproached the Genoeſe for their rapacity, perfidy, and injuſtice. Such was the zeal and ardour diſplayed by him upon this occaſion, that his merits ſoon became familiar to, and reſpected by, the oppreſſed natives. They were highly gratified at finding a generous defender in the perſon of the Imperial miniſter; and after having profited in the firſt inſtance by his intervention, began to look forward to him as a future deliverer. At length ſome of the principal nobles repaired ſecretly to Florence, in order to teſtify their gratitude, ſound his inclinations, and ſolicit his advice. The deputies ſoon diſcovered, that to an ardent mind, Theodore joined a romantic ſpirit of enterprize, and evinced a genius capable of embracing great objects.

He remarked to them, at the firſt interview, that the late pacification was fallacious on the part of Genoa, and that the latter had injured the Corſicans too much ever to forgive them. He recapitulated the hiſtory of that ſtate, celebrated, as he ſaid, only on account of its crimes; its glory and greatneſs, according to him, had originated, and were ſupported, by robbery, treachery, and aſſaſſination. He concluded by obſerving, that having hitherto become the prey of all the ſurrounding nations, their only reſource was in a total change of condition and ſituation; that they ought therefore to form a plan of government in conformity to their inclinations and intereſts, and either proclaim a republic, or elect a king: this was the ſole reſource he was capable of ſuggeſting, in order to enſure a durable and ſolid tranquillity.

To

To this diſcourſe the deputies replied with many ſighs, that they were but too well acquainted with the juſtice of his excellency's remarks, and that the ſtate of their affairs was truly ſad and deplorable, their lives and fortunes being entirely at the mercy of their tyrants, whoſe yoke was intolerable. They added, that being unable any longer to ſupport ſuch a ſeries of oppreſſions, they had determined to burſt their fetters; but that it was neceſſary they ſhould have at their head a man calculated from his birth to enſure reſpect, and capable to guide their efforts by means of his talents, all their former revolutions having proved abortive in conſequence of this neglect. They then concluded by ſaying, "that they had caſt their eyes towards him, and therefore ſupplicated his excellency to undertake ſo glorious an enterprize, which would excite the applauſe and gratitude, not only of the preſent age, but alſo of poſterity—— "Become then our deliverer! (exclaimed they) and receive a crown by way of recompenſe."

The Baron, who was a man of an ardent temperament, and ſighed after an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, at length beheld the happy period arrive. He, however, at firſt refuſed his aſſent, but was at length prevailed upon to accede to their repeated entreaties, on condition that they ſhould return home, and obtain the conſent of the nation.

In the mean time, the Baron de Newhoff hearing that the number of his partiſans increaſed daily, began to ſound the neighbouring courts, with his uſual adroitneſs, relative to the deplorable ſtate of Corſica. He ſoon diſcovered, that the emperor, France, Spain, and the princes of Italy, were not diſpoſed to countenance any innovations relative to that iſland. He was not, however, diſcouraged by obſtacles which to other men would have appeared inſurmountable; on the contrary, his courage and ambition, inſtead of being repreſſed, ſeemed to receive freſh animation from the difficulties that interpoſed. With him, as with many others, a crown appeared to be the ſummit of human felicity. There was nothing which he was not ready to ſacrifice for it; and of the multitude who have aſpired to the ſupreme command, and been elevated from the ob-

a large ſum of money, and alſo with an order directed to the bey of Tunis, who was to lend further aſſiſtance.

While Newhoff was thus ſecretly preparing for the deliverance of Corſica, and had procured the aſſiſtance of the Mahometans in behalf of a people ſcrupulouſly attached to the dogmas of the church of Rome, the ſenate of Genoa daily exhibited new inſtances of perfidy towards the unhappy iſlanders. Two other chiefs, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the late revolt, had been ſeized, and executed, under pretence of their having incited the people to another inſurrection; and rigorous meaſures were adopted in reſpect to the reſt. The alarm inſtantly ſpread over the whole iſland. Neither life nor property was any longer ſafe under ſuch an odious tyranny, and a civil war, with all its horrors, became preferable, in the opinion of all, to ſuch a dangerous and degrading ſtate of ſervitude. But the ſituation of the deputies who had repaired to Florence was infinitely more critical than that of any of their countrymen; they were alarmed leſt the government had diſcovered their intrigues with Baron de Newhoff; and they ſaw no ſecurity for themſelves but in a new war.

Affairs were in this ſituation, when an emiſſary on the part of Theodore landed on the iſland, with letters addreſſed to the chiefs, in which he ſtated, that he would ſoon ſet ſail for Corſica, provided with powerful aſſiſtance, in order to deliver the people from the infamous yoke of their cruel oppreſſors; and he entreated them in the mean time to remain faithful to their promiſe, and prepare, by means of courageous exertions, to fulfil the glorious enterpriſe which they had ſworn to accompliſh.

The deputies inſtantly communicated theſe diſpatches to an aſſembly of the malcontents, and the moſt lively joy was diſcovered on the occaſion. A little before they had determined on eſtabliſhing an ariſtocracy under the name of a republic; but they now unanimouſly reſolved to nominate the baron, king, on his arrival in the iſland. In conſequence of this reſolution, they appointed ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed nobles to receive and compliment him in the name of the people.

It

It was on the 15th of March, 1736, that Theodore arrived at the port of Aleria, on board of a twenty-four gun ſhip, carrying the Engliſh flag. This veſſel was accompanied by two tranſports laden with proviſions and ammunition, conſiſting of 14,000 ſacks of flour, 6 braſs 12 pounders, 20,000 muſkets, bayonets, &c. In addition to theſe articles, there were 14,000 ſuits of regimentals, an equal number of ſhoes and hats, and a military cheſt, in which was contained 100,000 *ſequins*, a coin which pointed out the ſtate whence the ſuccour had been derived.

Theodore was immediately conducted to Corte, the capital, amidſt the acclamations of the multitude, who in his perſon beheld a tutelary genius, that was to prepare their future felicity, and put an end to all their preſent misfortunes. A general aſſembly was inſtantly ſummoned, and the Baron de Newhoff was unanimouſly elected to the ſovereign authority, under the title of THEODORE I. KING OF CORSICA AND CAPRAJA. This ſingular event occurred April 15th, 1736, exactly a month after his arrival, and the crown was on the ſame day declared to be hereditary, and ſettled upon him and his deſcendants. Being ſolemnly proclaimed, a branch of laurel was entwined round his head, after the ancient manner, and, like the monarchs of old, he was born on the ſhoulders of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the nation into the midſt of the people and the troops, who ſaluted him with the joyful exclamation of "Liberty for ever! Long live king Theodore!"

The new monarch, on his acceſſion to the throne, found the ſituation of his kingdom truly deplorable. The Corſicans were at that period far behind the reſt of Europe in point of attainments and civilization. They were indeed a warlike people; but they carried on hoſtilities without either order or method; they were brave and reſolute, but they were unſkilled in the military art; they eſteemed valour rather than diſcipline; in ſhort, they only knew how to overrun an enemy's country, deſtroy every thing before them, plant ambuſcades, and fire with unerring nicety and preciſion. They were no leſs ignorant in reſpect to civil inſtitutions; prejudices ſerved them inſtead

ſtead of principles; and they had no idea whatever of a regular government.

Theodore was not diſconcerted by theſe untoward circumſtances; on the contrary, he hoped to find new reſources in the very paſſions of his people. Perſuaded that men in a ſtate of ſociety reſemble muſical inſtruments in an orcheſtra, which elicit more or leſs agreeable ſounds, in proportion as they are well or ill managed, he undertook to faſhion his new ſubjects according to a better model; and reſolved to begin by reforming their manners.

One of his firſt cares was to eſtabliſh a militia, to levy an army, and to invite men converſant in the art of war into his ſervice, with a view to inſtruct the Corſicans, who, being naturally brave and indefatigable, wanted experience alone. He then formed and promulged a ſmall code of laws, ſimple, clear, and uniform; for it was one of his maxims, that only a rich and flouriſhing people could afford to poſſeſs a juriſprudence, the forms of which were embarraſſing and the text equivocal. He himſelf occaſionally aſſiſted at the tribunals, in order to ſee that juſtice was adminiſtered impartially, and according to the regulations laid down; in criminal affairs, he never aſſented to the condemnation of any individual who had not been convicted by judicial proofs: he always inclined towards the ſide of mercy; and if he exhibited any bias, it was in favour of the principles of natural equity.

Liberty of conſcience was permitted to every one. Theodore, at one period indeed, conceived the idea of introducing a new religion, the *dogmas* of which were more liberal, and the faith leſs marvellous, than that adopted by the natives. He at the ſame time diſplayed his talents for finance: he provided a great ſeal *; cauſed money to be coined †; aboliſhed the ancient impoſts;

* See the plate.

† As a mint has always been conſidered as one of the prerogatives and appurtenances of royalty, the author of this article has been anxious to gain as much information as poſſible relative to the coins ſtruck during the ephemeral ſovereignty of Theodore. All the dies appear to have been very poorly cut, and the impreſſions are ſuch as may be expected from what the French term *pieces de neceſſité*, to which claſs they manifeſtly appertain.

poſts; ſupported an army of 15,000 men; and provided for the other exigencies of the ſtate, out of the ſums he had brought along with him.

Determined to ſtrengthen his intereſts by the ties of gratitude and of vanity, he granted patents of nobility, and inſtituted a body of knights, of *the Order of Deliverance*. The whole iſland now reſounded with his eulogiums, and he was regarded as a new Mango Capac, who had deſcended on earth in order to humanize a barbarous people.

In the mean time the noiſe of this ſingular revolution had ſpread throughout all Europe. The Genoeſe were extremely alarmed, becauſe they eaſily diſcovered that Theodore muſt have received ſuccour from ſome foreign power; and they at firſt ſuppoſed, as he had entered the iſland in a veſſel carrying Engliſh colours, and with a paſſport from the conſul of the ſame nation, that the court of Great Britain had formed deſigns on Corſica, with a view to increaſe its power in the Mediterranean. They now applied to France for ſuccour, and were promiſed the aſſiſtance of a body of troops, which arrived ſoon after, under the orders of M. de Baiſſeux.

Until theſe could be brought into action, they had recourſe to other meaſures. The firſt ſtep taken by the ſenate was to endeavour to increaſe the number of its partizans; at the ſame time it publiſhed a manifeſto, in which Theodore was conſidered as an adventurer, his royalty as an uſurpation, and his promiſes of

1. An engraving of a copper coin is given in the works of lord Orford, Vol. I. p. 155. The obverſe conſiſts of a royal crown, underneath which are the letters T. R. ſurrounded by two branches of laurel, with the date, 1736, below. In the centre of the reverſe the ſum is indicated, viz. SOLDI CINQUI; the legend, which is nearly defaced, appears to have been, RE PER IL BONO PUBLICO.

2. Another piece, the half of this, of the ſame metal.

3. A third coin, value unknown, with the effigy of the virgin Mary impreſſed on one ſide of it, accompanied by the following motto:

MONSTRA TE ESSE MATREM.

Shew thyſelf a mother!

There is a print of this laſt in a curious French work, on coins, publiſhed at Paris about five years ſince, entitled "*Recueil Général des pieces obſidionales et de Neceſſité, par M. Pierre Ancher Tobieſen Duby.*" 3 Vol. 4to.

assistance as the dreams of a visionary. These arts, at first treated with contempt, were, at length, attended with considerable success. The assertions were so bold, and the calumnies so well adapted to the prejudices of the people, that they made a considerable impression; more especially as the succours, promised by the new king, had not arrived; whereas the forces of Genoa and her allies increased daily.

In order to do away the effect of this state paper, Theodore issued a counter manifesto, in which he depicted the crimes of the Genoese, asserted the rights and liberties of the Corsicans, detailed his own services, and recapitulated the wise measures of his administration. The cunning of the senate, however, triumphed over the management of the king; and truth obliges us to confess, that neither his policy nor moderation were such as could have been expected from his abilities and experience.

In the first place, he had rendered himself disagreeable to the priesthood, a body the enmity of which is always formidable in the exact proportion of the ignorance of the people. In consequence of this, his alliance with the Turks was termed by them *sacrilegious*; as if it had been a crime to obtain that assistance from Mahometans which Christians were unwilling to confer. His majesty also seems to have spoken too freely of the superstitions of the Roman church *; an offence not likely to be forgiven by those who profited by them: thus the priests, who led the people, having become his enemies, the people themselves did not fail, in a short time, to participate in their resentments.

A plot is said to have been formed, about this period, against his life; certain it is that three persons, allied to the most powerful families of Corsica, were arrested, and executed in a sum-

* Theodore was at length sensible of his error; for he afterwards gave the Corsicans the same counsel, in order to re-conquer their liberties, that Antonio Peréz is said to have instilled into the mind of Philip II. king of Spain, with a view to obtain universal monarchy, viz.

CONSEJO, PELAGO Y ROMA.

In other words, he advised them to pursue sage measures, to establish a marine, and acquire the protection of the court of Rome.

mary

many manner, which added greatly to the number of malcontents; who publicly reproached Theodore with tyranny, and aſſerted, in the bitterneſs of their indignation, that the yoke of the republicans was comparatively light to that of an abſolute monarch.

A ſudden change now took place in the temper and diſpoſition of his ſubjects; and the king found himſelf abandoned even by the greater part of his ſoldiers. In ſhort, thoſe only remained attached to him on whom he had beſtowed offices and appointments.

He now, in his turn, began to change his conduct. He told thoſe about him, that he was determined, in future, to make his glory and happineſs conſiſt in the public felicity: he, on all occaſions, affected popularity; aſſiſted the poor, and gave ready audience, and promiſed immediate redreſs to the meaneſt of his ſubjects, who happened to be oppreſſed. He alſo endeavoured to gain the clergy over to his intereſts by means of promiſes of ſupport and protection; but as it was evident that his power began to totter, they rejected all his advances. Beſides, the armament then fitting out by Genoa, was reputed to be powerful, and they were deſirous to make their peace with the ſtrongeſt party, even at the expence of their country.

In this critical ſituation, his ſole reliance was in the immediate arrival of 6000 Albamans, under the command of the famous Kurafa; but he ſoon learned that they had entered into the ſervice of the king of the two Sicilies. In addition to this intelligence, the ſituation of the Ottoman Porte, now engaged in a conteſt with the Ruſſians and Imperialiſts, was ſuch that he could not expect any further ſuccour from that quarter.

Thus buffetted by fortune on every ſide, diſappointed in all his reſources, and ſurrounded by a mutinous people, he at length determined to quit Corſica:—not, however, as a fugitive king, but with the full and entire conſent of his ſubjects. In conſequence of this reſolution, which was ineffectually oppoſed by the courtiers, he iſſued letters for convoking a general aſſembly. All the *pieves*, or diſtricts, not in the poſſeſſion of the Genoeſe, ſent deputies thither; and it was to the full as numer-

ous as that which had conferred the crown. Theodore entered the hall in which the ſtates were to deliberate, and aſcending the ſteps, which led to the royal chair, ſeated himſelf in the midſt of them. A profound ſilence having now taken place, he roſe, with an air of dignity, and delivered an harangue, ſo well adapted to the occaſion, as to make a great and laſting impreſſion on his auditors.

He began by obſerving, that having been diſappointed in the ſuccours he expected, he was about to depart, with a view to ſolicit them in perſon; and that he intended to nominate a council of regency during his abſence. He then exhorted them, "to remain faithful and loyal to their ſovereign, and no longer to diſgrace themſelves by ſeditions, as, in that caſe, he would forſake them for ever, and ceaſe to recogniſe them as his ſubjects." He added, "that in accepting the crown he entertained no other ambition than that of enfranchiſing them, at the expence of his repoſe, and even of his life, from the tyranny of the Genoeſe, under which they had ſo long groaned; and it was painful for him to remark, that they themſelves formed the chief obſtacle to the completion of his wiſhes. Royalty, conſidered by itſelf, had no charms in his eyes; he was ready to reſume his former rank without regret; and although his finances were exhauſted, he ſtill poſſeſſed an intrepid mind, that could ſcorn the rigours of poverty, and glory in reſembling the Fabricii of antiquity, who conſidered honour and virtue as their ſole treaſure."

This ſhort oration, added to the misfortunes of their prince—misfortunes which they now accuſed themſelves of having created, or at leaſt augmented—produced a ſudden effect on the aſſembly, the members of which inſtantly aroſe, as if by unanimous conſent, offered to renew the oath of fidelity, and promiſed to ſpill the laſt drop of their blood in his defence.

Theodore, however, being ſuſpicious of the promiſes of an inconſtant people, was not to be moved. On the contrary, by an edict promulged at Sartena, November 14, he conferred the regency on the following nobles:

The Marquis HIACENTE DE PAOLI, and
The Marquis Don LOUIS GIAFFERI,
who were termed marſhals-general of the kingdom,
The Marquis LUCAS ORNANO.
The Count JOHN FELIX PONZONI.
The Count DURAZZI.
The Chevalier ANTONIO SUZINI D'AULLE.
The Count MARI.
The Chevalier FERNANDI.
The Count PUILLICIO.
The Count CASABIANCA,
Colonel SAMPIERI.
The Chevalier LERAVALLE,
The Count SUCINI.
The Marquis MATRA.
The Count PETER GAFFORI,
Colonel CORONI.
Colonel MATTEIDE NILO.
The Count AMBROSI.
The Count LAZZELOTTI.
The Count NATOLI.
The Chevalier FELIX DE PIETRALBA,
General GRALLOUD.
General PAETTI.
The Chevalier CUTTOLI.
The Count PERALDI.
The Chevalier GUAGNO,
The Sieur DOMINIQUE TOMASINI, and
The Sieur AMBROSE PIULICI.

That, on which Theodore took his departure, was a day of mourning to the Corſicans. All the nobles accompanied him to the port of Aleria, where he had diſembarked only eight months before. There he harangued them again; and, after having enjoined the ſcrupulous obſervance of his regulations, he went on board a little veſſel, that had been prepared for him beforehand, and inſtantly ſet ſail for Conſtantinople.

On his arrival in that city, he found the Turks too much occupied about the war in Hungary, to attend to his ſolicita-

tions; and he ſoon deemed it prudent to remove. However, as the Genoeſe had ſet a price upon his head, it now became neceſſary to diſguiſe himſelf, for a time, in ſuch a manner as to eſcape aſſaſſination.

His adventures, during two years, are, on this account, rather gueſſed at than known. He is reported, at one time, to have aſſumed the habit of an abbé, and to have appeared in Livonia; at another to have reviſited Florence, where he received ſome temporary relief from the munificence of a few generous Engliſhmen. If we believe ſome, he repaired to Paris, and was ordered to depart from France within the ſpace of twenty-four hours. He then embarked at Rouen, and arrived at Amſterdam, accompanied by four Italian ſervants: there, we are told, he was arreſted for 16,000 florins; but, being ſoon after liberated, was ſeized at Naples, in the houſe of the Dutch conſul, and ſent priſoner to the fortreſs of Cueta.

We are informed, by the gentleman uſually conſidered as his ſon *, that the war which enſued on the death of the emperor, appearing favourable to his intereſts, he determined to appear once more on the political ſtage; and accordingly repaired to Great Britain, with a view to point out the advantages ariſing to a maritime power from the poſſeſſion of Corſica. Nay, we are aſſured, that he was actually ſent on board a frigate to the Mediterranean; but, as the admiral who commanded our fleet there did not think proper to give him any ſupport, he ſolicited leave to be landed at Leghorn, and from that place repaired to Sienna, and then returned to London.

We, however, conſider all this period of Theodore's hiſtory as the region of conjecture; and return to that portion of his narrative founded on facts.

Certain it is that he appeared in London in 1748-9, and lived in lodgings in Mount-ſtreet, Groſvenor-ſquare; and that, having contracted ſome debts to the amount of 450l. he was arreſted, and conveyed to the King's-bench priſon †. There

* See Memoires de Corſe, p. 152.

† The debts in queſtion are ſaid to have been incurred, and the impriſonment to have enſued, in conſequence of the agency of the Genoeſe miniſter in London, who foreſaw, that by this means he would put an end to the claims of Theodore upon Corſica at a very trifling expence.

he was for ſome time ſupported by the charitable donations of individuals. Among theſe were the earl of Granville and the counteſs of Yarmouth; a few merchants in the city promoted a ſubſcription for him; and Horace Walpole, afterwards lord Orford, wrote a paper in the "World" (No. VIII, Thurſday February 22, 1753), with this motto:

"DATE OBOLUM BELISARIO,"

in his behalf.

'This prince,' ſays he, (on whoſe hiſtory I ſhall not at preſent enlarge) 'after having bravely expoſed his life and crown in defence of the rights of his ſubjects, miſcarried, as Cato and other patriot heroes did before him. For many years he ſtruggled with fortune, and left no means untried which indefatigable policy or ſolicitation of ſuccours could attempt, to recover his crown. At laſt, when he had diſcharged his duty to his ſubjects and himſelf, he choſe this country for his retirement; not to indulge a voluptuous inglorious eaſe, but to enjoy the participation of thoſe bleſſings which he had ſo vainly endeavoured to fix on his Corſicans. Here, for ſome months, he bore with more philoſophic dignity the loſs of his crown, than Charles V. Caſimir of Poland, or any of thoſe philoſophic viſionaries, who wantonly reſigned theirs in order to partake the ſluggiſh indolence, and, at length, the diſquiets of a cloiſter.

'Theodore, though reſigned to his fortunes, had none of that contemptible apathy which almoſt lifted our James II. to the ſupreme honour of monkiſh ſainthood. It is recorded of that prince, that talking to his courtiers at St. Germain, he wiſhed for a ſpeedy peace between France and Great Britain; "for then," ſaid he, "we ſhall get Engliſh horſes eaſily."

'The veracity of an hiſtorian obliges me not to diſguiſe the bad ſituation of his Corſican majeſty's revenue, which has reduced him to be a priſoner for debt in the king's-bench priſon; and ſo cruelly has fortune exerciſed her rigours upon him, that laſt ſeſſion of parliament he was examined before a committee of the houſe of Commons, on the hardſhips to which the priſoners in that gaol had been ſubject. Yet let not ill-nature make ſport with theſe misfortunes! His majeſty had nothing to

bluſh at, nothing to palliate in the recapitulation of his diſtreſſes. The debts on his civil liſt were owing to no miſapplication, no improvidence of his own; no corruption of his miniſters; no indulgence to favourites, or miſtreſſes. His diet was philoſophic; his palace humble; his robes decent: yet his butcher, his landlady, and his tailor, could not continue to ſupply an eſtabliſhment which had no demeſnes to ſupport it, no taxes to maintain it, no exciſes, no lotteries, to provide funds for its deficiencies, and emergencies.'

At the concluſion, Mr. Robert Dodſley, bookſeller, of Pall-Mall, is appointed "high treaſurer, and grand librarian of Corſica;" and a ſubſcription, "for a ſubſidy, for the uſe of his Corſican majeſty," was opened at Tully's head, in Pall-Mall. In conſequence of this, fifty pounds were procured, and ſent to the unhappy king in priſon*.

At length an act of inſolvency took place; and, in May 1756, a man who had worn a crown, and wielded a ſceptre, took the benefit of it, and actually regiſtered the kingdom of Corſica in behalf of his creditors at Guildhall.

Copy of the Act of Renunciation of the Kingdom of Corſica by Theodore I. in behalf of his Creditors.

SURRY TO WIT. } "A ſchedule or inventory, containing a full and true account of all debts, effects, and eſtates, both real and perſonal, (of what kind or nature ſoever) of Theodore-Stephen de Newhoff, a German from Weſtphalia, and late of Mount-ſtreet, Groſvenor-ſquare, now a priſoner in the King's-bench priſon, and a liſt of the names of all and every perſon and perſons that are any wiſe (and how much) indebted

* The following day rule has been copied *verbatim* from the original, communicated to the editor by Mrs. Clarke, daughter of the late colonel Frederick:

BANC. R. THE BEARER,

Theodore, baron de Newhoff and de Stein, hath this day a RULE of court to go out of the priſon of the King's-bench granted to him, to tranſact his affairs. Dated this twelfth day of February, 1753.

(Signed)

LAW. COTTAM.

unto

unto him the ſaid Theodore-Stephen, baron de Newhoff, and the witneſſes that can prove the ſame, purſuant to an act of parliament, made in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of his preſent majeſty king George the ſecond, entitled an act for the relief of inſolvent debtors.

Debtors names and places of abode.	Sums due.	How due and for what.	Witneſſes and vouchers thereof.
That he is entitled to the kingdom of Corſica, and hath no other eſtate or effects but in right of that kingdom.			

The above written is a full and true ſchedule, as aforeſaid, of all my eſtates and effects whatſoever, except wearing apparel, bedding for myſelf and family, working tools and neceſſary implements for my occupation and calling, and thoſe, in the whole, not exceeding the value of ten pounds. Witneſs my hand this twenty-fourth day of June, 1755.

THEODORE BARON DE NEWHOFF.

Examined with the original in the cuſtody of John Lawſon, Eſq; clerk of the peace for the county of Surry, this ſecond day of September, 1757, by me

HERMAN VERELET."

About the ſame time the following advertiſement appeared in the public advertiſer *:

An Addreſs to the Nobility and Gentry of Great Britain, in the Behalf of Theodore, Baron de Newhoff.

"The Baron, through a long impriſonment, being reduced to very great extremities, his caſe is earneſtly recommended for a

* Lord Orford's Works, Vol. I. p. 157.

contribution

contribution to be raiſed, to enable him to return to his own country; having obtained his liberty by the late act of parliament. In the late war in Italy, the Baron gave manifeſt proofs of his affection for England; and as the motives of his coming here are ſo well known, it is hoped all true friends to freedom will be excited to aſſiſt a brave, though unfortunate, man, who wiſhes to have an opportunity of teſtifying his gratitude to the Britiſh nation.

"Thoſe who are pleaſed to contribute on this occaſion, are deſired to depoſit their benefactions in the hands of Sir Charles Aſgyll, alderman, and company, bankers, in Lombard-ſtreet, or with Meſſrs. Campbell and Coutts, bankers, in the Strand."

Notwithſtanding his liberation by the inſolvent act, Theodore appears to have remained within the liberties of the Fleet until December 1756; when taking a chair, for which he had not money to pay, he was carried to the Portugueſe miniſter's, in Audley-ſtreet; but not finding him at home, he prevailed upon the chairmen to conduct him to the houſe of a tailor, No. 5, Little Chapel-ſtreet, Soho; who, having known him formerly, and compaſſionating his miſerable ſituation, took him into his houſe. There the moſt unfortunate of monarchs fell ſick next day, and died after a ſhort illneſs, December 11, 1756.

It has been uſually ſuppoſed, that the body was buried by ſubſcription: the following facts, however, may be depended upon, as they were communicated to me by an ingenious artiſt*, whoſe parents lived in the neighbourhood, and on whoſe information I can implicitly rely. No ſooner had Theodore's demiſe taken place, than ſome difficulties occurred relative to the interment. On this Mr. Wright, an opulent oilman in Compton-ſtreet, ſaid "he was determined, for once in his life, to have the honour of burying a king!" He accordingly kept his word, and Mr. Charron actually recollects to have ſeen the corpſe *lying in ſtate*†; it was buried on the 15th of December. The honour-

able

* Mr. Charron, of the Thatched Houſe court, St. James's-ſtreet.

† The editor has been favoured, by Mrs. Clarke, grand-daughter to Theodore, with the undertaker's bill, of which a copy is here ſubjoined: it appears from this curious

able Horace Walpole, ſoon after, cauſed a neat marble monument to be erected near the grave, in St. Ann's church-yard.

curious document, that three gentlemen attended the funeral; which, if not grand, was at leaſt reſpectable; and that coronets (moſt probably from the difficulty of obtaining regal crowns) were not omitted in the furniture of the coffin. It would ſeem, however, that out of a charge of ten pounds eleven ſhillings and two pence, eight pounds eight ſhillings were only paid: this either aroſe from the ſcantineſs of the fund aſſigned for liquidating the expences of his majeſty's funeral, or a returning ſenſe of prudence in the munificent oilman, who might have conſidered the ſurplus as an *over-charge*, and refuſed payment accordingly.

UNDERTAKER'S BILL.

[Copied from the original.]

JOSEPH HUBBARD,

COFFIN-MAKER, undertaker, and ſworn appraiſer, at the Four Coffins and Crown in New-ſtreet, near Bread-ſtreet, Carnaby-market, St. James's, Weſtminſter, performs funerals, both public and private, at reaſonable rates, and as cheap as any where in London. N. B. Buys and ſells all manner of houſehold furniture.

For the Funeral of Baron Newhoff, King of Corſica, interred in St. Ann's Ground, December 15, 1756.

	£.	s.	d.
To a large elm coffin, covered with ſuperfine black cloth, finiſhed with double rows of braſs nails, a large plate of inſcription, two cup coronets, gilt, four pair of Chineſe contraſt handles, gilt, with coronets over ditto, the inſide lined and ruffled with fine crape and inſeared...	6	6	0
A fine double ſhroud, pillow, and nutts	0	16	6
Four men in black to move the body down	0	4	0
Paid the pariſh dues of St. Ann's	1	2	8
Paid the grave digger's fee	0	1	0
Beſt velvet pall	0	10	0
Uſe of three gentlemen's cloaks and crapes	0	4	6
A coach and hearſe with pairs	0	16	0
Cloaks, hat-bands, and gloves, for the coachmen	0	7	0
Beer for the men	0	1	0
Attendance at the funeral	0	2	6
	£10	11	2
Received in part	8	8	0
Balance due	2	3	2

Weſtminſter,

Weſtminſter, ſurmounted by a crown, taken from one of his majeſty's coins, and the following inſcription to be engraved beneath:—

NEAR THIS PLACE IS INTERRED
THEODORE KING OF CORSICA,
WHO DIED IN THIS PARISH, DECEMBER 11, 1756,
IMMEDIATELY AFTER LEAVING THE KING'S-BENCH PRISON
BY THE BENEFIT OF THE ACT OF INSOLVENCY;
IN CONSEQUENCE OF WHICH HE REGISTERED
HIS KINGDOM OF CORSICA
FOR THE USE OF HIS CREDITORS.

" The grave, great teacher, to a level brings
" Heroes and beggars, galley-ſlaves and kings.
" But THEODORE his moral learn'd ere dead;
" Fate pour'd its leſſons on his *living* head,
" Beſtow'd a kingdom, and deny'd him bread."

Theodore was reſerved in his manners, and always exhibited much dignity of deportment. He was of the middle ſize, and is allowed, by all who recollect his figure, to have poſſeſſed a comely perſon. Two prints of him have been ſeen by the writer of this article: one a ſmall whole length engraving; the other is what artiſts term a three-quarters, with the inſcription of

THEODORUS CORSICÆ REX.

He is there repreſented with a benignant countenance, a contemplative eye, and thick lips; he is dreſſed in a mantle, intended to convey the idea of royal robes; while a broken column behind, intimates his luckleſs deſtiny. Theodore is ſaid, to the laſt, to have maintained a ſtately port, and to have received benefactions under a canopy conſiſting of the top of a half-teſter bedſtead. His majeſty is alſo reported to have exerciſed his privileges, at leaſt ſo far as related to *chivalry*, within the pre-

cincts of a jail; and he who could not extricate himſelf from durance, contrived, in this miſerable ſituation, to add to the number of the knights of "the order of Deliverance *."

A.

REINIER DE KLERK,

LATE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE DUTCH EAST-INDIA COMPANY'S POSSESSIONS IN ASIA.

THE Portugueze having doubled the ſouthern extremity of Africa, during the reign of Emanuel the Great, ſoon obtained a footing in the Indies. They were diſpoſſeſſed, however, of many of their principal ſettlements by the Dutch, who, after reſcuing themſelves from the yoke of Spain, ſuddenly obtained a large portion of the commerce of Aſia. They procured, in particular, a complete monopoly of the ſpice trade, in queſt of which they did not bluſh to ſtoop to the loweſt and moſt cruel arts; and contrived to unite rapacity with ſplendour, and a narrow mercantile policy, engendered in the north of Europe, with all the pomp and parade of eaſtern magnificence. The iſland of Java was the ſeat of their empire, and Batavia, its capital, became, as it were, the metropolis of Aſia. Thence they diſpatched their factors, to rule both on the continent and the

* A facetious old gentleman, who died ſome years ſince, told the editor that he had been actually knighted in an apartment of the King's bench, by Theodore, king of Corſica, and that he paid the *fees of office* demanded on the occaſion. He was familiarly termed "Sir Michael," by his friends, in conſequence of this circumſtance. The *regal ſword* with which theſe feats were performed was preſented to the late worthy and reſpectable Dr. Milner of Maidſtone, as a remuneration for the many ſervices conferred on captive majeſty.

iſlands,

iſlands, with the power and ſtate of viceroys; while the governor-general, controlling and commanding the whole, under the appearance of a limited authority, found means to enjoy a degree of ſplendour ſcarcely inferior to that of ſome European kings, and to exerciſe a deſpotiſm equal to what is known and practiſed at the *durbars* of the native princes. The ſtyle in which he lived was calculated to excite the veneration of the natives; and even made a powerful impreſſion on his own countrymen. He reſided in a ſumptuous palace, was attended by guards both of horſe and foot; and, what has not yet been attempted in the moſt ſlaviſh countries of Europe, all carriages were obliged to ſtop at his approach; while the owners, expoſing themſelves to the rays of a vertical ſun, were enjoined to ſtand bare-headed until his excellency paſſed *. Even in the churches, he diſputed homage with the divinity, for both ſexes were obliged to riſe at his approach, and remain erect until he was ſeated.

Such haughtineſs could not fail to excite the indignation of every man of ſpirit; but it raiſed far different ſenſations in the crowd of adventurers who repaired to the eaſt, all of whom aſpired, in their turn, to become governors of the Indies. They too hoped to be able to reign deſpotically over millions of ſubjects; and burned with an ardour inſpired by vanity, and ſublimed by ſordid lucre, to appoint heirs-apparent to the monarchy of Tydore, and to dethrone the kings of the Moluccas, of Boni, and of Bantam.

Reinier de Klerk †, born at Middleburgh, the capital of the province of Zealand, November 22, 1710, appertains to this claſs. His parents, who were poor and honeſt, deſtined him for the ſame humble rank of life as themſelves, but being of an

* The governor-general was always preceded by an officer and two trumpeters, who pointed out the neceſſary ceremony to foreigners; and the ſame degrading homage was required by the *Edele Heeren*, or Counſellors of India. Captain Carteret, of the navy, who was at Batavia in 1768, greatly to his credit, reſcued the honour of the Engliſh nation from ſuch humiliation, by refuſing compliance to the eſtabliſhed *etiquette*.

† See Ary Huyzer's life of R. De Klerk, in Low Dutch, publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1788; alſo Stavorinus's Voyages, tranſlated by Mr. Wilcocke, 1799.

enterpriſing

enterpriſing diſpoſition, he entered into the Dutch navy when only fifteen years of age, and went on a cruize on board a frigate appointed to look out for the homeward bound Eaſt India fleet. The ſpirit of adventure, ſo far from abating, ſeems to have increaſed during a firſt trial; for in the courſe of the next year he went to India as a common ſailor, and afterwards performed another voyage in the ſame capacity. He appears to have been long in the ſervice before he met with any conſiderable preferment, for we find him going out again in 1731, for the laſt time, as only third mate. At Batavia his promotion was more rapid, for he was there ſpeedily appointed, firſt to be ſecond in command, and, ſoon after, he had a country ſhip confided entirely to his charge, in which he made no leſs than ſeven voyages to Padang, on the weſt coaſt of Sumatra.

While there he frequently acted both as a military and naval officer, having been appointed to command the troops and veſſels ſent to the aſſiſtance of the kings of Baros and Sorkam, two allies of the company, whom they played off, as occaſion ſerved, againſt the monarch of Acheen. During theſe expeditions De Klerk conducted himſelf with ſuch bravery and good conduct, that he obtained the title of the "gallant hero," in the letters and congratulations of the Indian princes.

His reputation was now eſtabliſhed, and the government of Batavia being fully conſcious of his ſervices, wanted only a proper opportunity to advance him. In ſhort, he had by this time laid the foundation of his future greatneſs, and began already, not only to be conſcious of his own merits, but alſo to look forward to the ſpeedy accompliſhment of his ambitious projects. When one of the company's officers at Padang, happened one day to obſerve, with an air of ridicule, "that De Klerk would in time be placed at the head of the military eſtabliſhment at Batavia," the future chief replied, with an air of ſuperiority, "that he looked far above that, and aſpired to become governor-general."

In purſuance of his deſtiny, he abandoned the naval ſervice of the company in 1737, and was appointed junior merchant, and chief of Lampong-Toulang-Bauwang, one of their factories

in

in Sumatra. The then governor-general Valkenier was induced to ſend him thither, partly becauſe he was intimately acquainted with the affairs of that iſland, and partly becauſe he was admirably adapted to ſettle the diſputes that had recently taken place between the kings of Bantam and Palembang, about the boundaries of their reſpective territories *. The manner in which he accompliſhed his miſſion is worthy of notice, partly becauſe it exhibits a complete ſpecimen of European policy, and partly becauſe none of the great maritime powers of the north have ever ſcrupled to recur to ſimilar meaſures, whenever it ſuited their intereſts.

"EX UNO DISCE OMNES."

De Klerk, in purſuance of his inſtructions, ſailed up the river of Lampong in an armed veſſel, as far as the village of Mangala, and came to an anchor between the fleets of the rival nations. He then endeavoured to ſettle their differences, but they either diſallowed his interference as an umpire, or would not abide by his deciſion. Having remained in his firſt poſition during eighteen months, and ſeeing that the negociations were protracted from day to day, he determined at length to have recourſe to ſtratagem. Pretending that he and his men were lodged very incommodiouſly on board, and that it was neceſſary for them to ſleep on ſhore, he demanded, and after much difficulty, obtained permiſſion to erect a houſe of bamboos, or reeds, which, on account of the ſlightneſs of the ſtructure, did not arouſe the jealouſy of the unwary natives. Adopting every poſſible artifice to lull them into a falſe ſecurity, he took care, for ſome time, to ſuffer nothing that could give the leaſt umbrage; but he had no ſooner completed his plans, than he landed

* The reader muſt be a novice in the affairs of the eaſt, if he imagines that the government interfered in theſe petty diſputes from a love of peace. The intereſts of the company happened, perhaps accidentally, at times to be blended with thoſe of humanity; for in caſe of hoſtilities, a failure of pepper and country produce would have enſued; and two or three veſſels might have returned without a lading! Or (what actually occurred), being apprized of the exiſting differences, the Dutch were determined to obtain ſomething for themſelves, in the quality of peace-makers.

four

four pieces of artillery during a dark night, and planting theſe, one at each angle of his houſe, behind a breaſt-work of bamboos, hoiſted the Dutch flag at day-break, and fired a ſalute from his new battery.

The rival princes hated one another moſt cordially, but both of them were impreſſed with a ſalutary dread, leſt the Dutch Eaſt India company ſhould be able to form a ſettlement there; knowing, by experience, that from this moment their conſequence, and even independence, was at an end. The aſtoniſhment and ſorrow of both the kings, on perceiving by theſe alarming appearances that they were duped, may be eaſily conceived. After ſome conſultation, they ſent meſſengers to the governor of this new fort, in order to demand the reaſon of theſe hoſtile preparations; on this, De Klerk, who was well acquainted with the genius and policy of the contending parties, and now amply provided with the *ultima ratio* of trading companies as well as of kings, replied, "that he was determined to enforce a ſpeedy adjuſtment, and as he could not anſwer to his government for being any longer detained by their frivolous conduct, he hoped they would immediately compromiſe their differences, and thus prevent a more ſerious interference on his part." The diſputes about the boundaries were accordingly ſettled to the ſatisfaction of all parties, and the limits then laid down between the two empires continue the ſame to this day.

If the *end* can excuſe the *means*, ſo far much good was effected; but De Klerk did not ſtop here, for he thought that the mediator was entitled to ſomething, and he accordingly built a regular fort on the diſputed territory, and on the preciſe ſpot where his bamboo houſe had ſtood. This he named *Valkenoog*, (Hawkſeye), in alluſion to the name of the governor-general; and the company have ever ſince remained in quiet poſſeſſion of it, which muſt be attended with great advantage, as the *Lampong* is a river of conſiderable extent, and there is a conſiderable village in the immediate neighbourhood.

Having returned in the year 1741 to Batavia, where the fame of his late exploit had long preceded him, De Klerk of courſe

experienced a grateful reception on the part of the government. On his arrival, he found the capital ſtill in commotion in conſequence of the maſſacre of the Chineſe *; which had taken place during the preceding year. The inſurgents, urged on by

* A little before the perpetration of this horrid maſſacre, the Dutch government pretended to be alarmed at the number of natives of China who repaired thither, and Van Imhoff, at that time a leading member in the council, propoſed that every one who could not prove himſelf to be engaged in trade, &c. ſhould be ſeized, and tranſported to *Ceylon*, there to be employed in the company's mines!

Inſtead of adopting the proper meaſures to prevent the arrival of future adventurers, or regulate the conduct of thoſe already ſettled in Java, recourſe was had to the moſt arbitary means. A great number of Chineſe were ſeized, and put in irons; and among theſe were ſeveral perſons of property, who were not liberated till they had paid conſiderable ſums of money by way of ranſom, which muſt undoubtedly have been *winked* at by the government, as it could not remain ignorant of ſuch an atrocious perverſion of the law.

This conduct, of courſe, occaſioned great murmurs, and induced the reſt of the nation to credit a report, that thoſe who were unable to ranſom their lives with money would be put to death by drowning, &c. In conſequence of this the Chineſe retired by thouſands to the interior parts of the iſland, and rendered the ſafety of the ſettlement for ſome time precarious; for they began to lay waſte the country, and even marched up to the gates of the city, threatening to exterminate the Chriſtians, as they were pleaſed to term the Hollanders. They were repelled, however, by the joint efforts of the civil and military eſtabliſhments. In the mean time the inſurgents, who reſided within the town, kept themſelves quiet, and in order that theſe innocent and harmleſs people might be protected from inſult, the government iſſued an order, directing them to keep their doors ſhut, and not to leave their houſes after ſix o'clock in the evening.

Notwithſtanding this, all the Chineſe without diſtinction, men, women, and children, were put to the ſword; neither pregnant females nor ſucking infants being ſpared by the relentleſs aſſaſſins; the priſoners in chains, about one hundred in number, were at the ſame time ſlaughtered like ſheep.

But the deliberate conduct of many of the Dutch Europeans was ſtill more horrible. Thoſe to whom the wealthy Chineſe had fled (and this is related on the teſtimony of a Dutch writer, Ary Huyſers, who was long reſident at Batavia), violating every principle of honour and humanity, delivered them up to their ſanguinary enemies, and thus found means to embezzle the property confided to their care.

The governor-general, Valkenir, and his brother in-law, Helvetius, were accuſed of directing this maſſacre; but the names of the ſecret authors remain to this day involved in impenetrable obſcurity.

The anſwer of the Emperor of China to the Ambaſſadors employed to apologize for this atrocious tranſaction, is truly memorable:

"He was but little ſolicitous for the fate of unworthy ſubjects, who in purſuit of lucre had quitted their country, and abandoned the tombs of their anceſtors."

every

every ſpecies of provocation, that can incite the human mind to vengeance,—by hatred, revenge, and even by deſperation—ſtill continued their ravages in the neighbourhood, while a large body maintained themſelves, and remained unſubdued at Baſſie. Had they conducted their meaſures with a degree of prudence equal to their animoſity, they might either have extirpated the Dutch from Java, or at leaſt become an independent ſtate.

But policy, as well as injuſtice, was wholly on the ſide of their oppreſſors, for the Dutch government now called in the aſſiſtance of the Emperor, who, inſtead of maintaining an exact neutrality, as his intereſts demanded, actually fitted out an auxiliary army at the requeſt of the governor-general. The Dutch at the ſame time marched a body of troops againſt the inſurgents, and De Klerk accompanied them on this expedition as ſecretary. In conſequence of theſe efforts, the Chineſe, and ſuch of the Javaneſe as had joined them, were driven further up the country, and the war was transferred from the proximity of Batavia to the north-eaſt coaſt of the iſland.

Thither De Klerk repaired with the army, and found means to ingratiate himſelf into the confidence of the two commiſſioners, who ſuperintended the military operations, and were extremely eager to put an end to hoſtilities. In the mean time, the general of the allies, thinking, perhaps, that it ought to be the policy of his court not to annihilate the enemy, neglected to uſe his efforts towards the completion of the war. Nay, he was accuſed of giving the powder and ball furniſhed by the company to the rebels; and, when his troops were engaged, inſtead of firing againſt the inſurgents, they pointed their muſkets in the air. In ſhort, he is ſaid to have done much more harm than good; and the Dutch government had complained ſo bitterly of his conduct at the court of the *Soeſoe-hoenam* (backing, as uſual, perhaps, their ſolicitations with threats), that he either cordially wiſhed, or cunningly feigned a deſire, to get rid of his general; but pretended to be unable to accompliſh ſo delicate a buſineſs himſelf, and therefore committed the execution of it to the Dutch commiſſioners.

Veryſſel, the principal of theſe, now entertained the moſt ardent deſire to procure poſſeſſion of the perſon of the commander in chief of the allies, but either being unacquainted with the manners and cuſtoms of the people, or having a head little calculated for ſtratagem, he was at a loſs how to accompliſh his wiſhes. After contemplating this project in every poſſible point of view, without the moſt diſtant proſpect of ſucceſs, he at length conſulted the ſecretary De Klerk, who affecting to perceive the innumerable difficulties attending its execution, gave him little hopes of ſucceſs, but undertook to make the attempt, obſerving, that "his life was devoted to the ſervice of the company."

Having at length formed his plan, he ſet out accompanied by ſome native ſervants, carrying opium, velvets, and fine cloths, to the commander, whom he wiſhed to entrap; knowing that this was the moſt likely way of preventing all ſuſpicion of his enterprize. On reaching the tent of the Javaneſe general, after offering the preſents, he endeavoured to perſuade him to pay a complimentary viſit to the commiſſioners at Samarang, offering, in return, that he and his attendants ſhould remain as hoſtages in the camp. This, after ſome heſitation, was agreed to, and on repairing thither the chief was received with every demonſtration of joy, and treated with ſuch reſpect by all the members of the Dutch government, that De Klerk was diſmiſſed with many compliments to the commiſſioners.

This conduct was well calculated to lull ſuſpicion to reſt; and ſuch was the fatal ſecurity on the part of the Javaneſe, who implicitly confided in the honour and good faith of the Europeans, that he was at length induced to viſit Samarang, without receiving hoſtages in return, or adopting any precaution whatſoever for his ſafety. He had no ſooner entered the fort, however, than he had cauſe to repent his temerity, for he was arreſted, put on board a ſhip, and carried priſoner to Ceylon, where he died.

The addreſs of De Klerk on this occaſion was attended with the moſt complete ſucceſs; but it cannot be termed honourable, ſo long as the leaſt veſtige of faith is reſpected either among

nations

nations or individuals. Such a conſideration as this did not however operate on the mind of an ambitious adventurer, ſtimulated by the hope of obtaining lucrative and confidential employments. Theſe ſoon followed, for he was now inveſted with the command of Sourabaya, the eaſternmoſt poſſeſſion in Java, at that juncture a poſt of great truſt and importance.

The prince of Madura, who pretended to be attached to the company, had about this time conquered nearly all the dominions of the Emperor, who was now conſidered as its creature, and as it was feared that the victor might effect independence, it became an object of policy to ſtop him in his career, and even oblige him to reſign his acquiſitions. De Klerk, being upon the ſpot, was accordingly directed to deliver a letter from the commiſſioner to the prince, deſiring him to reſtore the imperial city of Cartaſowra, which he had ſo lately obtained poſſeſſion of. At firſt he made many objections, but perceiving that force would be recurred to, he at length promiſed compliance. This was only a pretext, however, to gain time, for he had conceived the deſign of making himſelf maſter of the whole eaſtern part of Java, as far as Balambouang; and as it would be difficult to complete this without the participation, or at leaſt *neutrality*, of the company, he attempted to corrupt the chief of Sourabaya.

De Klerk, like the reſt of his countrymen, loved money; but he adored preferment ſtill more; beſides, his conſcience, perhaps, which permitted any thing in favour of his employers, would not tolerate ſo heinous an offence againſt them: on the contrary, he ſpurned at the propoſition, and with the moſt honourable integrity thwarted all the deſigns of the enterprizing native. The prince of Madura, perceiving him to be incorruptible, conceived the deſign of ruining him, hoping to find his ſucceſſor more tractable. He accordingly preferred a variety of complaints againſt De Klerk to the ſupreme government; and, as it was the policy of the council to ſoothe the allies, ſometimes even at the expenſe of their moſt faithful ſervants, the chief at Sourabaya was recalled, Auguſt 1, 1743.

But as no inſtance of malverſation could be adduced againſt him, and as his ſervices were known to the whole ſettlement,

he found means to vindicate himſelf ſo completely to the new governor Van Imhoff, who had juſt arrived from Holland, that, inſtead of being reprimanded or diſgraced, he was ſent back in a higher ſtation, being now appointed chief adminiſtrator at Samarang.

About this period governor Van Imhoff conceived the plan of farming out the territorial revenues throughout all the reſidencies along the north-eaſt coaſt of Java, and had placed Mr. E. Sterrenburg at the head of the government of Samarang, in order to carry this project into execution; but as he not only did not fulfil his expectations, but actually preſumed to complain of the diſtreſſes of the natives, the governor, in 1746, repaired in perſon to the ſpot, and loaded De Klerk with careſſes, promoting him, ſoon after, to be ſecond in command.

In the mean time Sterrenburg, the *commandant*, was not only diſplaced, but arreſted and ſent in chains to Batavia, although the directors in Holland had been ſo much ſatisfied with his conduct, as to appoint him extraordinary counſellor of India. Notwithſtanding this, the governor and council (the immediate ſervants of the company) paid ſo little attention to this order of their maſters, that they actually baniſhed him for the term of five and twenty years to a place very properly termed "Fort Revenge," on the iſland of Tulo-ay, in the neighbourhood of Banda. Actuated by an infernal ſpirit of revenge, Van Imhoff, by way of rendering the life of his former friend ſtill more precarious, appointed his declared enemy, De Klerk, governor of Banda, December 30, 1748; and it was generally imagined that he would ſoon ſhorten his days by retorting on him the ill uſage he himſelf had formerly experienced at the hands of his now humbled adverſary. But, to the honour of the new governor, he diſappointed ſuch an ungracious prognoſtication, and acted in a manner that reflects the higheſt credit on his memory. While entering the harbour of Neira, the following letter from his exiled enemy was put into his hand:

"*To governor De Klerk, &c.*

"Sir,

"Pleaſe to accept my congratulations on your arrival in this province,

province, and I moſt cordially wiſh that the ſettlement may flouriſh under your adminiſtration. In the mean time, I beg leave to remind you of the well-known ſaying of Solon; and I remain with all due reſpect,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

E. STERRENBURG."

The governor's reply was as follows:

"*To Mr. Sterrenburg.*

"Sir,

"I thank you for the friendly congratulations contained in your letter of yeſterday. It is not cuſtomary with me to attack a defenceleſs enemy, and you may be aſſured, that I ſhall endeavour to render your reſidence in this province as comfortable as poſſible.

"In the mean time I ſend you ſome wine, cheeſe, and butter, accompanied with the lateſt newſpapers from Holland. Whenever you want any thing, write freely to

Your humble ſervant,

R. DE KLERK."

Such a generous proceeding in behalf of a man, who had not only been his own perſonal foe, but was at that very moment the victim of his benefactor's vengeance, excited the warmeſt gratitude on the part of Sterrenburg, who ſurvived his oppreſſor, and lived to ſee his honour and character vindicated by a reviſion and annulment of his former ſentence.

But it was not to his priſoner alone that the new governor evinced his regard for juſtice, for the very next ſtep taken by him ſaved the unhappy natives from the horrors of an approaching famine. Perceiving that a few Dutch monopoliſts had occaſioned a ſcarcity of rice, he inſtantly interpoſed his authority, and obliged them to ſell this neceſſary article of life at the uſual price. In addition to this, he exerted himſelf with

great effect to render his government flouriſhing; and much larger quantities of mace and nutmegs were collected during his adminiſtration than in any former one. In ſhort, he left Banda in 1753, accompanied by the ſighs of the grateful inhabitants; and it appears, upon this occaſion, that, inſtead of reaping any benefit from his official ſituation, he had expended conſiderable ſums of his own money, and returned to Batavia without any increaſe of wealth.

In the courſe of the next year he married Mrs. Veryſſel, the widow of his old friend the commiſſioner, and lived with her during a period of twenty-ſix years in the capital of Java; having thus an opportunity of celebrating their *ſilver* wedding day, which is a very rare circumſtance among Europeans*.

In the mean time the directors at home were ſo ſenſible of his honourable and diſintereſted conduct in Banda, that they preſented him with a ſum of money, by way of indemnifying him for the extraordinary expences he had incurred while the adminiſtration of that iſland had been confided to his care. New preferments awaited him, for he was now appointed extraordinary counſellor, and took his ſeat in the council of India, May 30th, 1755. This not only gave precedence to his lady, a matter of no ſmall eſtimation at Batavia, but obliged all thoſe, not of the ſame rank, to exhibit an humiliating obedience to himſelf: we ſhall ſee, however, in the ſequel, that the mind of De Klerk was too great to permit the continuance of ſo degrading a mark of reſpect.

As the directors at home perceived, with great ſorrow, that a number of dangerous innovations had taken place in their ſettlements in India, they ſent out orders to adopt a plan of reform; and the new counſellor having tranſmitted to them, in return, an admirable model, under the title of "Radical Account of Banda," they teſtified their approbation of it, and deſired that the arrangements there pointed out ſhould be carried into practice.

* The Dutch are accuſtomed to keep the twenty-fifth and fiftieth anniverſaries of their marriage with great pomp. The firſt of theſe jubilees is termed the *ſilver*, and the ſecond the *golden* wedding day; becauſe on the one the married pair are crowned with a ſilver crown, and the utenſils, &c. are of the ſame metal; while on the other a golden crown is uſed, and all the apartments glitter with gold. *Note to Stav. by Mr. Wilcock.*

A war

A war having taken place, about this time, in Ceylon, between the king of Candia and the company, De Klerk ſpoke his opinions ſo freely at the council table, that Vander Parra, the governor general, wiſhed to remove all oppoſition, by nominating him to the government of that iſland; but he excuſed himſelf on account of his health. The appointment, however, was beſtowed on his friend Baron Van Eck, who ſpeedily terminated the conteſt by ſeizing on Candia, the capital city of the enemy.

At length, December 28th, 1775, the governor general, Peter Albert Vander Parra, died, after adminiſtering the vice-regal office during the ſpace of fifteen years, in one of the worſt climates in the world. In conſequence of this event, Mr Jeremiah Van Riemſyk, who had filled the important ſituation of director general for eleven years, acquired the chief management of the company's affairs in India, and De Klerk became his ſucceſſor in the direction. He had now ſat no leſs than twenty years in the council, without receiving any preferment; but he had the grand object of his early ambition in full view; for the new governor died in the courſe of two years, and De Klerk was at length appointed to the high and confidential ſituation of governor general of all the poſſeſſions and eſtabliſhments of the Eaſt India Company of the Netherlands, October 4th, 1777. He was ſixty-ſeven years of age when he obtained the government; and, when he reflected on the length of time he had been in purſuit of it, he was accuſtomed to expreſs himſelf by means of the homely proverb, "That it was like muſtard after meat."

One of the firſt objects of his adminiſtration was to aboliſh that odious cuſtom to which natives and Dutchmen, foreigners and inhabitants, in ſhort, all ranks and deſcriptions, had hitherto been ſubject; that of alighting from their carriages on the approach of the ſupreme magiſtrate, and remaining bareheaded during his paſſage; alſo the ceremony of ariſing on his or his wife's entrance into a church. In all the various branches of adminiſtration he effected great meliorations and improvements; and every thing appears to have proſpered under his ex-

perienced management. By the reduction of Goach he brought the war of Macaſſar to a concluſion; by far milder methods he procured the ceſſion of the provinces of Landak and Succadana in Borneo, where he eſtabliſhed a reſidence, and erected a fort, called Puntiana, in order to protect the trade there, which conſiſts in diamonds, wax, and ſago. The inhabitants of the Moluccas having evinced what was termed a refractory ſpirit, in other words, being deſirous of ſhaking off the company's intolerable yoke, he ſeized on the kings of Tidore and Bachian, whom he detained in captivity at Batavia; while the hereditary prince of the former of theſe provinces was exiled to Ceylon, and the Moluccas, like Ternate, rendered dependent on Batavia.

From regulations of a far more noble nature we cannot withhold our entire praiſe. It was he who, in 1778, had the honour of eſtabliſhing the firſt literary ſociety at Batavia, of which he became preſident; he alſo encouraged the erection of ſchools, and endeavoured to ſubſtitute clergymen of learning and talents, in the place of thoſe ignorant adventurers who were accuſtomed to repair to the Indies. The Jaccatra chiefs, or native regents, being indebted in a large ſum of money, inſtead of oppreſſing them, by demanding the whole at once, he conſented that it ſhould be liquidated by inſtalments; and, in order that they ſhould not experience any further vexations, he appointed two members of the government to ſuperintend their intereſts.

He alſo did every thing in his power to promote and extend agriculture. In order to effect this, he partly ſold, and partly diſtributed, a large tract of land appertaining to the company, in the interior parts of Jaccatra, among the Javaneſe, and thus not only recruited the exhauſted finances, but added greatly to the comforts of the natives.

Before his time it had always been cuſtomary, on the acceſſion of a new governor general, for the regents and princes of the north-eaſt coaſt to repair to Batavia, in order to do homage; but partly out of an averſion to pomp, and partly from a well grounded policy, he determined that the governor of Samarang ſhould be empowered to act as deputy on this occaſion; which regulation

regulation tended not a little to the eaſe and advantage of the native chiefs, who were no longer obliged to undertake a long journey to the capital of the iſland.

It were to be wiſhed that the unqualified praiſe of this great governor were conſonant to the ſpirit of juſtice; but the narrator is reluctantly obliged, from a love of truth, to acknowledge, that on ſome few occaſions he permitted himſelf to exerciſe an auſterity of command that bordered upon oriental deſpotiſm. On the 9th of October, 1778, he removed, by an irregular exerciſe of his authority, the preſident and five members of the council of juſtice, becauſe they refuſed to deliver up ſome original papers, which they juſtly conſidered as ſacred, the detention being enjoined by their oath of ſecrecy. The company at home, incenſed at this proceeding, ſoon after reſtored them to their offices, and ordered that their ſalaries ſhould be paid from the day of their depoſition.

Notwithſtanding this, De Klerk's modeſty and forbearance were ſingular, and exemplary on many occaſions, for although he had ſucceeded to the chief command in 1777, yet he would not permit himſelf to be publicly inſtalled until July 10th, 1779, when he had received a confirmation of his appointment from his ſereno highneſs the Prince of Orange, who tranſmitted a letter of congratulation upon the occaſion.

The infirmities of age now crept faſt upon him; but ſuch was the activity of his mind, that, inſtead of panting for retirement, he was accuſtomed to ſay, "that a governor general ſhould die with a ſword in one hand and a pen in the other."

He however permitted himſelf at laſt to be perſuaded, in the month of Auguſt, 1779, to withdraw to his country ſeat, called Grogol, about ſix or ſeven miles from Batavia, for the benefit of the air; there he was ſeized with an illneſs which finally ended in his death. Although incapable of diſcharging the functions of government, he however did not dream of reſigning; but, in March 1780, he applied to the council to be exonerated from the duties of his office until he ſhould recover, and Mr. Alting, then director general, was appointed to the temporary ſuperintendence of public affairs.

Governor

Governor De Klerk now approached his end, for he loſt his memory, and exhibited every ſymptom of diſſolution. He accordingly died September 1, 1780, when he had nearly attained the 70th year of age; a period of life to which but few arrive even in Europe, and almoſt none but natives in Batavia.

The corpſe, according to cuſtom, was carried to the caſtle, whence it was conveyed, on the 4th, to the Dutch church, with great pomp and ſplendour, and interred there, next to that of Veryſſel, his old friend and patron *.

Thus, from the humble ſituation of a common ſailor in Europe, De Klerk roſe by ſlow degrees to be governor-general of the Dutch Indies, after ſerving the company, with fidelity and talents, upwards of half a century. In a country famous for corruption, he appears to have kept his hands clean; riſing from the dregs of the people, he ſeems to have poſſeſſed little or none of that haughtineſs ſo diſguſting in an upſtart. In ſhort, although he had ſome faults, yet, upon the whole, he was one of the moſt able and upright magiſtrates that ever ſuperintended the affairs of Holland, or, indeed, of any modern European nation in Aſia. S.

SIR WILLIAM JAMES, BART.

LATE CHAIRMAN OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, &c. &c.

THERE is a falſe pride, generally attendant on ſudden elevation, which induces both families and individuals to throw a veil over their origin. And yet, when this ſubject is ſoberly canvaſſed, ſurely nothing can be ſo ridiculous; for is it not infinitely more honourable to be the origin, rather than the mere continuator, of an opulent and reſpectable race? the root, in preference to the branch, of an aſpiring progeny? The prejudices

* See Appendix to Vol. III. of Stavorinus' Voyages.

of

of mankind are, however, in this inſtance, as in many others, at variance with reaſon; and we ſeldom find men coming forward like a late American, equally celebrated in the philoſophical as in the political world, who frankly owned, during his embaſſy, that he was the ſon of a tallow-chandler; and commenced his will, ſome time previous to his deceaſe, with the recognition of his being a printer*, and miniſter plenipotentiary. The want of this manly boldneſs has overſhadowed the early life of many celebrated men, and concealed a variety of intereſting and inſtructive circumſtances from the public eye.

Of the origin of the late chairman of the Eaſt India company, all that is known with certainty is, that he was a native of Wales; that his parents were extremely poor; and that he had many difficulties to ſtruggle with in his youth. If my informant, who came from that neighbourhood, be correct, he was born near Milford-Haven in 1721, and for ſome time followed the occupation of huſbandry, in the humble ſtation of a plough-boy. The ſight of the ocean has inſpired many adventurous youths with the idea of becoming ſailors; and perhaps the continual view of the noble harbour juſt mentioned, and the adjacent ſea, which preſented themſelves in every direction, may have inſpired him with wiſhes that led to the completion of his future deſtiny.

We know, from good authority †, that at the age of twelve he became a ſailor, and that a period of more than twenty years elapſed before he obtained the command of a ſhip. He began his career in the merchant ſervice; but, in 1738, we find him ſerving under the gallant Sir Edward, afterwards lord Hawke, in the Weſt Indies; it is ſuſpected, however, from circumſtances, that he was not in the way of promotion as a midſhipman, but might have acted in ſome other ſtation which he had obtained, rather by good behaviour than intereſt; and we hint this, merely with the view of inferring, that no enterpriſing

* "I Benjamin Franklin, printer, at preſent miniſter-plenipotentiary from the united and independent ſtates of America to his moſt chriſtian majeſty Louis XVI. king of France, hereby declare my laſt will and teſtament," &c.

† The information of his widow, the late lady James.

terprifing young man ought to be deterred by common difficulties.

Some years after, he procured the command of a ſhip in the Virginia trade; and on this occaſion experienced no ſmall portion of the frowns of fortune; for he was taken priſoner by the Spaniards, who do not treat their captives with any remarkable degree of mildneſs, and carried into the Havannah, which has been the grave of ſo many Engliſhmen. From a dungeon in the iſland of Cuba, both he and his men were, however, at length releaſed; but it was only to experience freſh calamities. Having embarked on board a brig for the colony of South Carolina, a very hard gale of wind came on the ſecond day after their departure, and the veſſel, which does not appear to have been calculated to encounter the occaſional hurricanes of thoſe latitudes, ſtrained ſo much, that the moſt imminent danger enſued. The pumps were ſet to work; the people unemployed at them were occupied in bailing out the water; in ſhort, every exertion was made, but the veſſel could not be kept afloat.

At length Mr. James, and ſeven of the crew, deſpairing of any other means of ſafety, got into the boat, with a little bag of biſcuits and a keg of water: ſoon after this, the brig, as had been foreſeen, went down and diſappeared. In her ſmall boat they remained twenty days, expoſed not only to the danger of the winds and waves, but experiencing the ſlow approaches of famine, and dying a thouſand deaths, amidſt protracted exiſtence, in the terrible anticipation of a fatal cataſtrophe. The ſupply of freſh water being unfortunately very ſcanty, was regularly diſtributed, in equal portions, from the commander's ſnuff-box; and their bread became diſguſtful by being wetted with the ſea, which, during two whole days, made a breach over them.

Being unprovided with a compaſs, they had no idea where they were, or towards what part they were driven: the appearance of any land, however, would have been grateful; and they at length enjoyed the delightful proſpect on the twentieth day after the brig had ſunk. It proved to be Cuba—the very

ſame iſland whence they had ſet out; and the ſpot which they firſt reached was not ten miles diſtant from their old priſon. But a priſon had no longer any horrors for them; and they readily, and even cordially, delivered themſelves up to the Spaniards, who received them once more into captivity: and it is not a little remarkable, that but one out of the eight periſhed. They were all, however, affected with the hardſhips they had experienced, and the uſe of their limbs was interdicted for a conſiderable time.

Having at length found means to return to England *, he entered into the ſervice of the Eaſt India company in 1747; at which period it was but a petty trading aſſociation, for a few obſcure merchants of Leadenhall-ſtreet were at that time the feudal tenants of the Mogul, and had not yet dreamed of being ſovereigns of Hindooſtan. In their ſervice he made two voyages as chief mate; and having evinced much good conduct, and diſplayed conſiderable talents, he was appointed to the command of a new ſhip equipped for war, and called the Guardian, from the ſituation in which ſhe was deſtined to be employed, and which led to his own future fortune and preferment. Soon after this he ſailed from Bombay, with orders to protect the trade on the Malabar coaſt, then greatly annoyed by the depredations of Angria, and other pirates, who ſeem to have done occaſionally by ſea what the Moors and Europeans did daily by land: that is, *they attacked thoſe weaker than themſelves*; with this difference, indeed, that the naval marauders, inſtead of being only at enmity with one foe at a time, lived by the indiſcriminate plunder of all who happened to be leſs powerful than themſelves.

* The author of this article has been told, that Sir William married, for the firſt time, about this period, and that his wife kept a public houſe in Wapping, called, from the ſign, "the red cow;" but he will not guarantee the truth of the aſſertion. One amiable trait he, however, cannot omit here. After having taſted the fruits of proſperity, he returned to Wales, inquired earneſtly after a young woman with whom, while yet children, he had interchanged a promiſe of marriage; jocularly reproached her for not keeping her word; exerciſed ſome acts of friendſhip towards the huſband, and preſented his *quondam* ſweetheart with a gown which he had brought with him on purpoſe.

Of

Of this claſs of men, and their country, it is here neceſſary to ſay ſomething by way of elucidation. That extenſive tract, reaching nearly from Bombay to Goa, is called the *Pirate Coaſt**. We learn from Pliny, that the Roman Eaſt India trade was ſubject to the inroads of the inhabitants, who appear, at that time, to have been Arabians; and, according to the accurate Rennel, no ſituation can poſſibly be better adapted for the purpoſes of naval depredation; for although the general outline be apparently ſtraight and uniform, the ſhore is every where niched with bays and receſſes. The multitude of ſmall ports afford a ſecure aſylum, while the elevated inland ſtations, being favourable to diſtant viſion, have fitted this neighbourhood to be the choſen ſeat of piracy. The ſhallowneſs of the harbours, and the ſtrength of the country within, are well calculated to protect the freebooters from extirpation; and, indeed, afford ſuch ſecurity, that, after all our victories, they are nearly as numerous at this day as ever, and will probably continue to infeſt the Indian ſeas as long as there is any commerce to be preyed upon. While their fellow corſairs of Barbary are compelled to rove at a diſtance from their own ſhores in ſearch of booty, here the prizes come within ſight of the coaſt, and the grabs and gallivats may lie ſecure in port until it be diſcovered whether the opportunity for obtaining booty be favourable or not.

During the time that the Mogul empire remained proſperous, care was taken to repreſs the outrages of theſe men, and Dunda Rajapore † was the name of the harbour at which Aurengzebe's fleet rendezvouſed for that purpoſe, under the command of the Siddee, or high admiral, who, like the *Comes Littoris Saxonici* of our own iſland, was employed to repel the incurſions of rovers of all kinds.

One of the principal of theſe faſtneſſes was called Bancoote, or Victoria, the latter of which names it ſtill retains. Severndroog, Sunderdoo, and Vingorla, are ſo many rocks ſituated in lat. 15° 22′ 30″, ſix or ſeven miles from the ſhore. The

* Ptolomy gives a liſt of the ports, and he terms the natives Ἀνθρωποι πειρατικοι.

† Pennant's Hindooſtan, Vol. I. p. 104.

chief,

chief, however, yet remains to be mentioned: this is Gheriah, nearly midway between Bombay and Goa; and it appertained to the moſt noted freebooter, whoſe name was Angria, and who poſſeſſed great power, and lived in a kind of regal ſtate. In ſhort, this was the Algiers of the Indian pirate coaſt; and had been long the reſidence of a ſucceſſion of Angrias: the firſt of whom, Conagee Angria, an adventurer in the time of Aurengzebe, having been entruſted by the Mahrattas with the command of the port of Severn-droog, betrayed his truſt, declared himſelf independent of his maſter, extended his territories one hundred and twenty miles along the coaſt, and as far inwards as the Ghauts; while negroes, muſſulmen, and renegado chriſtians, flocking to his ſtandard, this corſair and his ſucceſſors became formidable by their power and depredations.

The nature of the ſervice in which captain James was now employed, afforded him almoſt daily opportunities of aſcertaining the ſtrength, learning the habits, and even conteſting the power of theſe marauders. During the two years occupied by him, in convoying the merchant ſhips from Bombay and Surat to the Red Sea, the gulph of Perſia, and along the Malabar coaſt from the gulph of Cambay to cape Comorin, he was frequently attacked by the veſſels of the different piratical ſtates. At one time, when he had near ſeventy ſail under his protection, he was aſſailed by a large fleet of Angria's frigates and gallivats, not badly provided with guns, and, as uſual, full of men. Having formed the line with his little ſquadron, conſiſting of the Guardian, Bombay grab, and Drake bomb-ketch, he engaged the enemy, and kept them in cloſe action, while his convoy got ſafe into Tellicherry. In this conflict, during which the hope of victory inflamed one ſide, and that of plunder inſpired the other, and which ſeems, on the part of both, to have been diſputed with great animation, the brave Engliſh commander ſunk one of the enemy's largeſt gallivats, and obliged the reſt to take ſhelter in Gheriah and Severn-droog.

It may eaſily be ſuppoſed, that the fame of this action ſoon procured additional preferment to the commander. Accordingly, in the beginning of 1751, after a period of only four years ſervice,

vice, and but two from his first promotion to a ship, captain James was appointed commander in chief of the East-India company's marine forces, and hoisted his broad pendant, as commodore, on board the Protector, a forty-four gun ship.

The depredations of the pirates had rendered the navigation of single vessels extremely hazardous; and the recent capture of a Dutch fifty gun ship, and part of her convoy, made them more than usually daring.

It was resolved, therefore, to commence an immediate attack on this nest of marauders, and destroy some of their principal settlements. Accordingly, on April 2, 1755, commodore James on board the Protector, which was a fine stout vessel, with his old ship the Guardian, the Bombay, and Drake, her former consorts, and a few gallivats, sailed from one of the company's ports *, on an expedition from which great advantages were augured. Gheriah, the principal fortress and capital of Angria, appeared too formidable for so small a force; but Severn-droog, where his fleet often took shelter and refitted, afforded a better prospect of success, and a certainty of considerable booty to the victors. It was the second port on this coast in point of strength: batteries defended it along the whole extent of the shore, while the mouth of the harbour was protected by a castle mounting seventy pieces of cannon, which would alone have rendered it nearly impregnable, had it been in the possession of an European power.

After reconnoitering the place, the English commodore having the advantage of a leading wind, steered his little fleet close to the walls, and commenced a severe fire on the garrison. The Drake, stationed at a greater distance in the rear, in the mean time threw in her bombs with considerable effect; and, in less than three hours, the governor, who was unaccustomed to the horrors of a regular siege, became so completely intimidated, that he surrendered the castle, and the vessels in the harbour †.

Fort Victoria, and four others, next day followed the exam-

* Bombay.

† The Mahrattas, who, as well as the English, had been sufferers by the freebooters, pretended to be desirous to contribute their assistance on this occasion, and, accordingly fitted out a fleet for that purpose; but it never came within reach of the enemy's guns.

ple of Severn-droog; and while this brilliant achievement not a little heightened the fame already acquired by the victor, it added greatly to the glory of the Engliſh arms in the Eaſt*.

The ſucceſs of the expedition ſerved greatly to facilitate another of the ſame kind, of ſtill greater magnitude. On his arrival at Bombay, the uſual ſtation of his fleet, the commodore found rear-admiral Watſon there with a conſiderable force; and the government deeming this an excellent opportunity to annihilate the power of Angria, conſulted with that celebrated officer on the beſt means of effecting it. It was accordingly determined that commodore James, who had ſo lately proved himſelf an experienced commander, ſhould now diſplay his qualities as a good ſeaman. In conſequence of this reſolution he ſet ſail for Angria's capital; arrived in the neighbourhood towards the duſk; ſtood in cloſe under the walls of Gheriah, and in the courſe of the night fitted out his boat, in which he himſelf took all the ſoundings, examined all the bearings, and made himſelf intimately acquainted with the various channels leading to this celebrated fortreſs.

Having effected all this in the courſe of a few days, he returned to Bombay, and gave in his report to the Engliſh admiral. The attack being immediately determined upon, the neceſſary troops, ſtores, &c. were embarked with all poſſible diſpatch, and lieutenant-colonel, afterwards lord Clive, was appointed to the command of the land forces. The united ſquadron, conſiſting of the company's veſſels before enumerated, and three line of battle ſhips, with ſeveral frigates, belonging to Great Britain, arrived off the deſtined port February 10, 1756. The poſt of honour ſeems to have been aſſigned to the commodore upon this occaſion; for he ſtood in with the Protector, and led one diviſion of the ſquadron to the attack, while the frigates and bomb-ketches formed another. In the mean time the ſhips of the line, calculated from their weight of metal to make a quicker and more laſting impreſſion, commenced a furious cannonade. While theſe ſilenced the fire of the caſtle and batteries, the ſhells from the ketches deſtroyed the fleet, which had been

* Orme's Hiſt. I. 411.

hauled for ſafety into the inner harbour. Terror and diſmay now reigned within the walls, and before the cloſe of the evening the flag of ſubmiſſion was hung out, and the governor capitulated.

Thus in leſs than twenty-four hours, and at the expence of no more than twenty men, a ſmall ſquadron, bravely led on and admirably conducted, without any efficient ſervice from the army, made itſelf maſter of Gheriah, and all its dependencies.

Tullagee Angria, the laſt of that name, eſcaped a few days before the attack, of which he had received intimation; but left behind him his wife and children, who, to the honour of the Engliſh admiral, were treated by him with great humanity. But if this chief was careleſs of his offspring, and inſenſible to the fate of his family, he was jealous at leaſt of his wealth; for he carried away all his immenſe treaſure, except about the value of 100,000l. ſterling, and thus prevented any further contention between the army and navy, who, according to Mr. Pennant, had nearly quarrelled about the diviſion of the ſpoil before they had obtained it.

But it was not againſt barbarians alone that commodore James diſtinguiſhed himſelf. Soon after this, while cruiſing off the Malabar coaſt, he ſpied and gave chace to a French ſhip, called l'Indienne, from the Mauritius, greatly ſuperior to his own in both men and guns; but in a ſhort time after being brought to action, ſhe ſtruck and was carried into Bombay.

Theſe, however, were exploits to which nerve and ſinew contribute not a little; and in which the heart has, to the full, as much concern as the head. An adventure, in which conſiderable ſcience was diſplayed, next engaged his attention, and increaſed his fame. It had been long ſuppoſed by commodore James, that it was poſſible, by getting out of the courſe of the trade winds, for a veſſel to reach a latitude where variable gales prevailed, and that a communication might thus be kept up between different parts of the company's ſettlements at all times of the year. He accordingly reſolved to attempt this, and actually ſucceeded. Sailing from Bombay, in a *clean ſhip*, in the midſt of a contrary monſoon, he ſteered from land, got into favourable

vourable weather, and arrived on the Coromandel coaſt, to the ſurpriſe of the whole ſettlement, after a voyage nearly as ſhort, in point of duration, as had been commonly made during a favourable ſeaſon. This event was not only attended with agreeable reſults as a ſpeculation, but was actually pregnant with practical benefits; for it was he who, on this occaſion, not only carried the firſt intelligence of the war with France, which had been received at Bombay by an overland diſpatch from England, but, at the ſame time, brought five hundred troops to the aſſiſtance of Bengal; by which admiral Watſon and colonel Clive were enabled, in March 1757, to take Chandenagore from the enemy, and thus ruin their trade and conſequence in the Eaſt *.

Having now obtained a conſiderable fortune by his ſhare of the prize money of Severn-droog, Gheriah, &c. as well as by the gains reſulting from his own mercantile tranſactions, he returned in 1759 to his native country, purchaſed an eſtate at Eltham in Kent, and ſoon after married Miſs Goddard, a lady of a very reſpectable family in Wiltſhire. The Eaſt India company, in teſtimony of his ſervices, immediately preſented him with a handſome gold-hilted ſword, on the blade of which his exploits were enumerated. Government, however, did not at this period reward his merits; and we are ſorry to add, that it was not until his naval trophies were nearly faded in the remembrance of his contemporaries, that he was honoured with a title. Indeed it is moſt likely, that had he not occupied conſiderable ſituations at home, in which he had an opportunity of conferring favours, none would ever have been received.

Moſt gentlemen, who have obtained fortunes in India, aſpire,

* We are informed, in the hiſtory of Hindooſton, Vol. I. p. 260, "that in effecting this paſſage, the commodore croſſed the equator in the meridian of Bombay, and continued his courſe to the ſouthward as far as the tenth degree, and then was enabled to go as far to the eaſtward, as the meridian of Atcheen head, the N. W. extremity of Sumatra, from whence with the N. E. monſoon, which then prevailed in the bay of Bengal, he could with eaſe gain the entrance of the Ganges, or any port on the Coromandel coaſt." The track is laid down in Arrowſmith's map of the world.

on their arrival here, to the management of the company's affairs. The commodore accordingly became a candidate for the directorſhip, and not only procured a ſeat in Leadenhall-ſtreet, but was appointed, firſt deputy chairman, and then chairman, offices of great conſideration, and to which conſiderable influence is neceſſarily attached.

At length, on July 25, 1778, his majeſty was pleaſed to confer upon him a baronetage; he alſo *obtained* a ſeat for a Cornish * borough; was elected one of the elder brethren, and deputy maſter of the Trinity Houſe; a governor of Greenwich Hoſpital; and, whenever he was not obliged to remain out by rotation, was reappointed, during more than twenty years, a director of the Eaſt India company.

Having been accuſtomed from his early youth to an active life, he was always buſied about ſchemes of general importance. When Louis XVI. took part with the American colonies, and a war in conſequence enſued between this country and France, Sir William, ever attentive to the affairs of the Eaſt India company, planned the annihilation of the enemy's power in India, by the capture of Pondicherry, which was accordingly taken in conſequence of his ſuggeſtions, but reſtored at the peace. The company was ſo conſcious of his merits upon this occaſion, that he was preſented with a ſervice of plate.

His health now began to decline, and his conſtitution exhibited but too many palpable ſymptoms of premature decay, in conſequence of the fatigues to which he had been expoſed, and the unhealthy climates in which he had reſided in early life. Immediately before his daughter's marriage, ſome preſages of an apoplexy were diſcovered; and on the very day that ceremony, which had his full aſſent, took place in St. Anne's church, he fell down in a fit and expired, December 16, 1783, aged ſixty-two.

Lady James, his widow, who is alſo ſince dead, determined to erect a monument to his memory on the northern brow of Shooter's hill; and, being a woman of conſiderable taſte,

* Weſt Looe.

ſhe

ſhe was reſolved to effect her purpoſe in a manner that could not fail to attract the notice of every traveller who paſſed into Kent: indeed, this teſtimony of her affection may be diſcovered in a clear day from many parts of the metropolis, and from the tops of moſt of the public buildings.*

By way of perpetuating the memory of the capture of Severndroog, the year after the death of its victorious aſſailant, ſhe cauſed a caſtellated building to be erected, after a deſign by Mr. Jupp, the ſummit of which is upwards of one hundred and forty feet higher than the top of St. Paul's cupola. It conſiſts of three ſtories, and is ſurmounted by battlements. The inſide is fitted up in an appropriate manner, with arms, partiſans, ſhields, daggers, javelins, &c. appertaining to the various nations of the Eaſt; and the whole is ſo contrived as to impreſs the mind with the belief that it is the identical armoury appertaining to Angria. In the room above this, the naval actions and enterprizes of the Commodore are painted on the ceiling; and there is a moſt admirable view of London, the river Thames, the ſhipping, and the adjacent country, from the windows.

On a tablet over the entrance is the following inſcription:

THIS BUILDING WAS ERECTED MDCCLXXXIV.
By the repreſentative of the late
SIR WILLIAM JAMES, BART.
To commemorate that gallant officer's achievements in the
Eaſt Indies,
During the command of the Company's marine forces in
thoſe ſeas;
And in a particular manner to record the conqueſt of
The caſtle of SEVERNDROOG, on the coaſt of Malabar,
Which fell to his ſuperior virtue and able conduct,
On the 2d day of April, MDCCLV.†

From

* The ſpot on which this monument has been erected poſſeſſes ſo commanding an aſpect, that it has been ſelected for the ſite of a telegraph, which communicates on one ſide with the Admiralty, and on the other with the flag ſhip at the Nore.

† In the ſame vault with Sir William James, the body of General Goddard, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his achievements in India, lies alſo interred, by the care of

From the above narrative it may be eaſily perceived that Sir William James was an able ſeaman and excellent commander; and that to thoſe profeſſional qualities he united thoſe of an enlightened ſuperintendent, and a faithful guardian of the affairs of a company which he had long ſerved, and to the flouriſhing ſtate of which he had not a little contributed.

Although not inattentive to the increaſe of his fortune, yet upon proper occaſions he could be generous, nay munificent; and he is known at one time to have made a preſent to a friend of what, on converſion into money, would have produced the ſum of two thouſand pounds.

He was ſucceeded in his title and eſtate by his eldeſt ſon, who then became * Sir Richard James; and, on his deceaſe, by his youngeſt, who alſo died, November 16, 1792, at the age of eighteen. Lady Rancliffe, his only daughter, died January 18, 1797; and his widow, Lady James, ſoon after.

The arms furniſhed by the Heralds' Office to Sir William were in ſtrict alluſion to his achievements, as follows: *Azure, on a chevron or, between three lions or, paſſant, guardant, and ducally crowned, three fired bombs proper. Creſt, a fort on fire, the flag ſtruck.* E.

the late Lady James, to whom he was nearly related. Deſcended from an ancient family in Wiltſhire, but born to little or no fortune, he determined to carve out one for himſelf in Aſia. When only between ſixteen and ſeventeen years of age he accordingly embarked for India, and acted under generals Sir Eyre Coote and Lawrence, on the coaſt of Coromandel. He afterwards ſerved during twenty years in Bengal, and made a moſt arduous march acroſs the peninſula of India, which, from Calpy to Surat, is a diſtance of eight hundred miles, as meaſured on the general's own map by the late Mr. Pennant, who compares it to the famous expedition of Xenophon.

"Poſt mortem *Cyri*, neque armis vinci, neque dolo capi potuerunt, revertenteſque inter tot indomitas nationes, et barbaras gentes, per tanta itineris ſpatia virtute ſe neque terminos patriæ defenderunt."

* Sir Richard James, the ſecond baronet, was the ſon of Sir William by a native of Aſia. He entered into the ſervice of the company, and was a captain at the time of his father's death. He was the firſt perſon born in Hindooſtan that ſucceeded to the hereditary honours of England.

FIELD.

FIELD-MARSHAL BARON DE LOUDON,

GRAND CROSS OF THE MILITARY ORDER OF MARIA THERESA, AULIC COUNSELLOR OF WAR, &c.

In the ſcience of war nearly every thing depends on the genius and reſources of a commander. What did the armies of France achieve on the continent during the time of the duke of Marlborough? What were the exploits of the Pruſſians anterior to the reign of Frederick? And, it may be aſked with nearly equal propriety, what laurels have been gathered by the Houſe of Auſtria ſince the death of Loudon? This ſeems to have been the laſt of the great captains in the ſervice of the imperial family; and to that circumſtance, perhaps, may in ſome meaſure be attributed its ſudden declenſion in point of power and conſequence. It becomes, therefore, an object of curioſity at leaſt, if not of importance, to trace the origin and progreſs of the victorious Field-Marſhal, to narrate his exploits, and to eſtimate his character. There will alſo be ſome novelty in the undertaking, for there is reaſon to believe, that no account has as yet appeared of this great man, in our language; and, what is not a little ſurpriſing, he ſeems to have actually outlived the fame of his own exploits, for he ſunk ſilently into the grave at the commencement of the French revolution, without notice, and almoſt without mention.

Gideon Erneſt, Baron de Loudon, born at Tootzen in 1716, is ſaid to have been deſcended from the noble Scotch family* of the ſame title; one of the younger branches of which, being actuated, no doubt, by the hope of bettering his fortune, emigrated from

* Field-Marſhal Loudon being anxious to aſcertain the fact, applied to Sir R. M. Keith, formerly miniſter from England at Vienna, and carried on, by his means, a correſpondence with the Earl of Loudon, who preſented him with a genealogical tree on purpoſe to verify the deſcent, but this ill-fated pedigree fell into the hands of the Tartars in 1769. About three years after, another was, however, procured, properly certified by the College of Heralds at Edinburgh, and is now in poſſeſſion of the Field-Marſhal's nephew, the preſent Baron de Loudon.

La Vie du B. de L. par Pezzl.

Ayreſhire in the fourteenth century, and ſettled in Livonia. His deſcendants acquired conſiderable property there, and ſeem to have made ſome little alteration in their name *, they, however, now bear the original one.

During the reign of Charles XI. of Sweden, the nobility of Livonia experienced a ſeries of oppreſſions, for that prince did not ſcruple to revoke the grants made to them on account of their ſervices. Soon after the acceſſion of Charles XII. they attempted to procure the reſtoration of their ancient rights and privileges; but their deputy, the celebrated and unfortunate Patkul, who ſo courageouſly pleaded the cauſe of his conſtituents, was moſt unjuſtly put to death by this tyrannical prince, who thus baſely avenged himſelf for the manly freedom with which the gallant chief had defended the intereſts confided to his care, and no redreſs was ever obtained.

All the Loudons, at leaſt thoſe of Livonia, appear to have been ſoldiers; and, among many that could be named, the uncle of the Field-Marſhal entered into the ſervice of Sweden, and became a captain in the guards of Charles XI. The ſubject of theſe memoirs being deſtined alſo for the profeſſion of arms, his education was greatly neglected, a circumſtance he himſelf always lamented; he, however, fortunately obtained ſome little knowledge of geometry and geography, ſuch as his native province may be ſuppoſed at that period capable of affording. His acquiſitions, even in theſe branches, muſt, however, have been very limited, for while he was only fifteen years of age (in 1731) he entered into the ſervice of Ruſſia, as a cadet in a regiment of infantry.

That power, which had ſuddenly riſen from obſcurity, during the reign of Peter I. before which it was always conſidered as an Aſiatic nation, began to take an active part in the concerns of Europe. After giving the law to Poland, the Ruſſians, under the empreſs Anne, prepared to act a ſtill more important part; and we accordingly find them penetrating from the banks of the Volga to thoſe of the Rhine, and entering the German empire, for the firſt time. The object in 1735 was preciſely the ſame as at this moment: to aſſiſt againſt the French. Young Loudon,

* Loudohn inſtead of Loudon.

who

who ſerved in the auxiliary army, had, however, no opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, for the peace that ſoon after enſued prevented it from performing any exploits worthy of being recorded.

The Turks, taking advantage of the abſence of ſo large a body of troops, are ſuppoſed to have incited the Tartars of the Crimea to make incurſions into the neighbouring provinces. On this the empreſs declared war againſt the Grand Signior, recalled her forces, now no longer neceſſary to her allies, and prepared to achieve great enterpriſes. The Marſhal de Munich inſtantly took the field, and, during three brilliant campaigns, among other exploits, carried the lines of Perekop by aſſault; ſeized on Oczakow; gained the battle of Stavetſchane; forced Choczim to ſurrender; occupied Moldavia; and puniſhed the inhabitants of the Crimea in the uſual manner, by pillaging, ravaging, burning, and deſtroying their country.

M. De Loudon, who, after paſſing through the intermediate ranks, had become a firſt lieutenant, was preſent at all the celebrated actions performed in the courſe of this war; it is to be feared, that he alſo participated in ſome of thoſe ſcenes which add new and unneceſſary horrors to the unavoidable diſorders incident to a ſtate of hoſtility.

Thinking, however, that his advancement did not keep pace with his merit (for he had now ſerved eight years without obtaining a company), the lieutenant quitted the army, immediately after the peace of 1739, and repaired to Peterſburgh; but finding that his memorials were not attended to, he applied to his countryman, the count De Lowenwalde, then marſhal of the court, and favourite of the empreſs Anne. A ſingle word from this Livonian would have procured for him the trifling preferment he was ſo ambitious of obtaining, but he refuſed to grant his patronage. At his houſe, however, Loudon became acquainted with Hochſtetten, an Alſacian by birth, who acted as his ſecretary. That gentleman repreſented, that Maria-Thereſa being attacked on all ſides, on the death of the emperor Charles VI. it would be moſt adviſable for him to offer his ſervices to the houſe of Auſtria. This propoſition was inſtantly acceded to, and

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the ſecretary, who had conceived an attachment to the young adventurer, not only gave him letters to ſome of his own friends, but obtained an introduction for him to the count De Lowenwalde, Aulic counſellor of war, and general of cavalry.

Happening to paſs through Berlin, in his route to Viénna, he accidentally met with ſeveral of his brother officers there, who had ſerved along with him in the Ruſſian army. They immediately adviſed him to accept of a commiſſion from the king of Pruſſia; offering, at the ſame time, to preſent their old acquaintance to his majeſty, of whom they would alſo ſolicit a company. M. De Loudon at length conſented, and of courſe expected a polite reception at leaſt; but Frederick II. after conſidering his perſon attentively, turned his back, and ſaid to the officers who attended him*, "The face of this man does not ſuit me!" It was thus, that by affecting a ſkill in phyſiognomy, this prince not only loſt an admirable officer, but made an implacable enemy; and, what is not a little remarkable, while Nicolai deſcribes Loudon's countenance as remarkably open, Pezzl, his biographer, actually ſeems to juſtify the king's judgment, by allowing it to have been cold and reſerved, and far from conveying a prognoſtication of great talents.

M. De Loudon, ſhocked at the ungenerous reception he had thus ſo unexpectedly met with, determined to ſet out inſtantly for Vienna; and, very luckily for him, he found means to be introduced to the count De Roſenberg, then ambaſſador from Auſtria to Berlin, who gave him letters to his court, at which he arrived in 1742.

The many reſpectable recommendations with which this young

* The following is the account, as given in the text of Baron de Beck: "Le jour de l'audience arriva, et M. De Loudon fut préſenté au roi. Mais Frederic II. après l'avoir conſidéré très attentivement, lui tourna le dos, et dit aux officiers de ſa ſuite: "La phyſiognomie de cet homme ne me revient pas."

"Alors s'éloigna des etats de ce prince, un homme qui á n'en juger que par les apparences, étoit peu important, mais qui, dans la ſuite, devint le plus redoubtable adverſaire de ce puiſſant monarque."

It is not a little remarkable, that Louis XIV. conceiving a ſimilar diſguſt to prince Eugene of Saxony, who was originally an abbé, firſt refuſed him a prebend, and then a company of dragoons; on which he repaired to Vienna, and at length made the court of France repent of its conduct towards him at the battle of Hochſtedt.

warrior

warrior happened to be furniſhed, created a deſire in Maria-Thereſa to ſee and converſe with him. While he was waiting in an ante-chamber to be preſented to her imperial majeſty, a ſtranger approached, and aſked who he was, and what he wanted? On anſwering theſe queſtions, he was told, with a benignant ſmile, that his wiſhes ſhould be gratified; the gentleman who had accoſted him then retired into the empreſs's cloſet. In a few minutes afterwards, M. De Loudon being admitted, was greatly aſtoniſhed to find that this was no leſs a perſon than the conſort of Maria-Thereſa. It may be readily ſuppoſed that, after being announced by ſuch a protector, he was moſt graciouſly received.

It was preciſely at this period that Francis Trenck, couſin to the famous baron Trenck, was levying what on the continent has been uſually called a *free corps*, but which, in plain Engliſh, might with more propriety have been called a *corps of free-booters*. This adventurer had known Loudon in Ruſſia, and was very deſirous that he ſhould ſerve under him as a captain of *Pandours*. The other accordingly complied, and entering Bavaria with theſe marauders, was preſent at many of the cruel ſcenes which were either ordered or connived at by his colonel, ſuch as the pillaging of towns, villages, caſtles, &c. &c. It was proved afterwards, to the honour of the captain, that he took no part in theſe exceſſes.

All Bavaria being now over-run by the Auſtrians, the French troops were repulſed to the frontiers of their own country, and forced to repaſs the Rhine in 1743. The Auſtrian army followed cloſe at their heels, and Loudon marched at the head of his company, along with Trenck's *corps*, which formed the advanced guard. During the night of June 30, 1744, prince Charles of Lorraine alſo croſſed the Rhine, four leagues from Phillipſbourg, with the main body, and entered the enemy's territories. Trenck's Pandours, as uſual, led the way, and our warrior actually embarked in the firſt boat.

Having ſoon after this taken poſt with an advanced guard at Alſace-Zebern, they were ſurpriſed during the night by a body of Frenchmen, and on this occaſion Loudon received the only wound he ever experienced during the whole courſe of his life.

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The ball entered a little above the right breaſt, and paſſing obliquely, came out by the ſide of the ſhoulder blade. The moſt unlucky circumſtance attending the event was this, that it carried away one of the buttons of his Hungarian cloak, or *dolman*, which was left in his body. The captain being taken priſoner, was carried to a neighbouring village, and entruſted to the care of a ſurgeon. His recovery was ſlow, and the pain he endured exceedingly acute; the extraneous body, ſo unfortunately introduced, was however at length extracted, and a ſuppuration inſtantly took place.

A few days after, the main body of the Auſtrian army once more advanced, and the Pandours, who, according to cuſtom, led the way, ſpread terror and affright around them. The cruelty and rapine committed by this *horde*, that had been got together in Sclavonia, induced the French poſts inſtantly to retire; and their flight was on this occaſion ſo precipitate, that they left their wounded priſoners behind them. The peaſant at whoſe houſe Loudon happened to lodge, was induced to depoſit his money with his gueſt, who placed it behind his pillow, and was ſoon after recogniſed by his *corps*; after reſtoring the property of his hoſt, he rejoined the army, and was followed thither by the French ſurgeon, who never relinquiſhed his attendance until his patient was entirely recovered. Loudon afterwards met with him by accident in Saxony, during the *ſeven years war*, at which time he was ſurgeon-major of the French army, and they were both extremely happy to renew their acquaintance.

Public affairs now took a new and unexpected turn, for the king of Pruſſia, affrighted at the ſucceſs of the Auſtrian army in Alſace, concluded a ſecret treaty with France, and Charles VII. and his allies; he then entered Bohemia in the ſummer of 1744, under the ſpecious pretence of reſtoring liberty to Germany, to the emperor his dignity, and to Europe peace. On this the Auſtrians ſuddenly recroſſed the Rhine, entered Bohemia, and obliged the army of the houſe of Brandenburgh to evacuate that kingdom.

In the mean time Trenck's Pandours had been converted into a regular Hungarian regiment, and under its ſtandard Loudon fought at the battles of Strigau and Soor. After the latter of theſe

theſe actions, in conſequence of ſome diſputes with his colonel, he left the corps, and repaired to Vienna, where he determined to live in a calm and tranquil manner until fortune ſhould prove more kind.

In 1748, Maria-Thereſa having concluded a peace with all her enemies, Trenck's regiment was diſmiſſed, as well as other bodies of light troops, on which the colonel-proprietor alſo returned to the capital. Soon after this he was accuſed of having committed an infinite number of cruel and unjuſt actions, both in the enemy's dominions and in thoſe of the houſe of Auſtria; of having violated the military and civil laws; and even of having proved unfaithful to his ſovereign. A duel was on the eve of taking place between captain De Loudon and his old commander, when the latter was arreſted and tried on account of the pillage committed by him in Bavaria. On this occaſion he endeavoured to throw the blame of many of his proceedings on Loudon, but, fortunately for the latter, he had preſerved the *orders* *, in conſequence of which he had acted, and thus exculpated himſelf; while his old commander, on the other hand, was broke and condemned to be impriſoned for life.

In the mean time, having nothing more than his half-pay to ſupport him, he lived in great obſcurity, and there are ſome of the inhabitants of Vienna ſtill alive who remember to have ſeen him repairing daily to a little eating-houſe in the ſtreet called *Alſter*, where he made his frugal repaſt in a manner ſuitable to his ſlender fortune.

He was at length inclined to offer his ſervices to ſome other potentate, when his friends luckily procured for him a majority in a regiment of Croats, then ſtationed on the frontiers, whither ſoon after he repaired †. Happening about this time to be quartered at Pæſing in Hungary, he there ſaw and married the ‡ daughter of a Croatian officer.

At this period of his life the major ſeems to have been ſenſible

* They happened to be written with a pencil.

† This *corps* was called the regiment of Liccaner.

‡ Mademoiſelle Claire de Hagen. By this lady he had a daughter, born at Vienna during the firſt campaign of the ſeven years war, who died young. This was his only child.

of

of the diſadvantages he laboured under from the want of a regular education. He was conſcious that natural talents alone are not ſufficient to form a great commander, and that a knowledge of the ſciences is alſo eminently neceſſary. He therefore applied himſelf with the moſt ſedulous attention to improve his theoretical acquirements, and accordingly bent the whole force of his mind towards the ſtudy of geometry and geography*.

In 1755 the Imperial court having levied large contributions in Croatia, the peaſants left their villages, and the troops actually began to diſband; on this occaſion Loudon diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a particular manner, by prevailing on the inhabitants to return, and with the ſoldiers, more eſpecially thoſe belonging to his own regiment, to remain with their colours.

In a ſhort time after (towards the latter end of 1756) the *ſeven years war* commenced, and the King of Pruſſia invaded Saxony. The houſe of Auſtria immediately aſſembled two armies in Bohemia, one on the frontiers of Saxony, under field-marſhal Browne; the other in Sileſia, under prince Piccolomini. In conſequence of a violent diſlike conceived by general Petozzi, who then commanded in Croatia, the major's name was not inſerted in the liſt of officers deſtined to act during that campaign; the future conqueror of Kunnerſdorf was therefore left to his ſtudies on the borders of the Licca. This omiſſion affected him to ſuch a degree, that, without receiving permiſſion either from the Aulic council of war, or his own general, he repaired to Vienna, on purpoſe to ſolicit permiſſion to ſerve againſt Frederick II. It happened, luckily for him on this occaſion, that the violences committed on the part of the Pruſſians in Saxony, by order of the king, had induced the empire to levy an *executive army*, and as the proceedings of the Germanic body are proverbially ſlow, the empreſs determined in the mean time to diſpatch large detachments of Croats, in order to haraſs the enemy.

* It is recorded of Loudon, that on his wife's reproaching him with continually poring over maps, &c. he replied with much good nature, "I ſhall reap great ſervice from my preſent ſtudies when I become a field-marſhal!"

"Eh! mon ami, ne t'occupe donc pas ſans ceſſe de tes malheureuſes cartes." "Laiſſe moi faire, quand je ſerai un fois feld-marechal, cette etude me ſera utile!"

Maria-

Maria-Thereſa, who never did any thing without conſulting the late prince De Kaunitz, requeſted him to pitch upon a proper commander. Fortunately for major De Loudon the very ſame Hocſtettin, who had adviſed him fifteen years before to enter into the ſervice of Auſtria, occupied at this moment an important ſtation about the perſon of the miniſter; for in conſequence of a revolution in Ruſſia, the count De Lawenwalde had been ſent to Siberia, and his former ſecretary was lucky enough to repair to, and be patronized at, the court of Vienna.

In conſequence of his intereſt and recommendation, Loudon was inſtantly brought from a little ſhabby apartment in which he reſided, at the houſe of a tailor in Hungary-ſtreet, and, after a long conference with the prince, he was immediately ſent off to the army commanded by field-marſhal Browne, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel of Croats.

From this moment Kaunitz never ceaſed to be his benefactor and protector; in ſhort, he warmly eſpouſed his intereſt during the whole courſe of his life.

Our warrior arrived at head-quarters ſoon after the doubtful battle of Lowoſchitz; and when the field-marſhal marched from Bohemia, with an intention of diſengaging the little Saxon army ſhut up in the camp of Pirna, he was entruſted with the command of a corps of 2000 light troops. Being obliged, at length, to retreat, the new lieutenant-colonel, at the head of only 500 Croats, ſurpriſed the town of Eſtchen, cut two ſquadrons of Pruſſian huſſars in pieces, and took a great number of horſes. This, which was his firſt exploit during the preſent war, gave his general a very favourable idea of his military talents.

Accordingly, when the troops were placed in winter quarters, Loudon obtained the command of the *cordon* drawn along the frontiers of Luſatia, and the Croats, who are always active when the enemy can be pillaged with any proſpect of ſucceſs, were continually engaged either in predatory expeditions, or in alarming and haraſſing the foe. Their commander, who conducted them with prudence, at the ſame time diſplayed great

perſonal valour, and alſo expoſed himſelf to unremitting fatigue; by which means he ſoon gained the entire confidence of the ſoldiery.

During the month of February, 1757, the generals Lœwenſtein and Macquire reſolved to ſurpriſe the poſt of Hirſchfeld, in Luſatia, which was garriſoned by a Pruſſian battalion, protected by a redoubt, and defended by two pieces of cannon. The town was accordingly attacked at ſix o'clock in the morning, in three different places. Loudon, who happened to be preſent on this occaſion, had the moſt perilous part of the enterpriſe aſſigned to him, and he conducted himſelf with ſuch ſkill and bravery, that he carried the redoubt and cannon, after which the troops who defended them were obliged to ſurrender. This trifling advantage is only ſo far remarkable, as it procured for him the rank of colonel on the 17th of March of the ſame year.

In the month of April following, the Pruſſian armies once more entered Bohemia, on which the Auſtrian light troops quitted the frontiers, and Loudon rejoined field-marſhal Browne, who ſoon after* fought the memorable battle of Prague; which ſeems to have been gained by Frederick II. after ſeveral battalions of his beſt troops, particularly Schwerin's regiment of infantry, had ran away, by a grand military movement, worthy an experienced general. While the enemy's grenadiers deſcended from the hills, and purſued his forces, of whom 1500 were already made priſoners, they left an opening of about 600 paces between the right and left wing; throught his ſpace his majeſty inſtantly precipitated himſelf, at the head of a body of cavalry, and thus cut off the communication. The flank, in which Loudon was ſtationed, was then attacked both by horſe and foot, and forced to take refuge in Prague; on this that city was inſtantly beſieged. Thus an army of upwards of 30,000 men was ſhut up in a fortified place by one maſterly manœuvre, and had not marſhal Daun gained the battle of Kolin, the whole of them would have been ſtarved into a ſur-

* May 6, 1757.

render.

render. The loſs of that action obliged the king of Pruſſia to raiſe the ſiege; on which Loudon, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a ſally, during which he had taken two pieces of cannon, hung on his rear and gained ſeveral advantages.

Towards the beginning of Auguſt, the colonel entered Saxony, puſhed his huſſars to the neighbourhood of Dreſden, carried ſeveral of the enemy's poſts, and took poſſeſſion of a few of their magazines full of proviſions. He was now ordered to join the *executive army* of the empire, and had acquired ſo much reputation by this time, that Maria-Thereſa, who was ſenſible of his ſervices, on the 25th of Auguſt, 1757, raiſed him to the rank of major-general*.

He was preſent at the battle of Roſbach, fought November 5; but the new general does not ſeem to have been actually engaged in the action, having occupied the woods along the banks of the Saale with his light troops.

Soon after the battle of Kolin, the empreſs-queen created a new military diſtinction, called the order of Maria-Thereſa, after her own name; and on the twenty-third of April, 1758, major-general De Loudon was inveſted with the *inſignia*. He had no ſooner received this ſignal honour, than he attacked a a large Pruſſian convoy in the neighbourhood of Olmutz; and out of 4000 waggons belonging to the enemy, many of which were laden with treaſure, about 200 only reached the place of deſtination. Three days ſubſequent to this exploit, July 2, he was raiſed to the rank of lieutenant-field-marſhal.

After raiſing the ſiege of Olmutz, the king, who had deceived marſhal Daun reſpecting his future operations, inſtantly retreated towards Bohemia; on which Loudon was diſpatched with a body of light troops, and not only cut off his convoys, but haraſſed him exceedingly. His majeſty on this determined to put the Croats between two fires. He accordingly made the neceſſary diſpoſitions, and in perſon attacked the Auſtrian general, near Opotſchana; but the lieutenant-field-marſhal found means to eſcape by his uſual addreſs.

* The courier who was entruſted with the commiſſion, having been ſeized by a Pruſſian patrole, the king inſtantly tranſmitted it to Loudon, whom he complimented at the ſame time on account of his gallantry.

Having seized on the town of Peitz, he laid all the neighbouring country under contribution, and sent forward his hussars to the gates of Francfort on the Oder. His unexpected arrival in the vicinity of the Marche of Brandenburgh alarmed the Prussians so much, that general Zeithen was sent against him; on this he nailed up the cannon, and destroyed his own magazines, after which he fell back on the grand army.

Frederick had by this time reduced the Russians to a state of inaction, in consequence of the battle of Zorndorf, during which his troops, in pursuance of the express command of that monarch, gave no quarter to the enemy; his majesty on this once more advanced against field-marshal Daun, who retired through Lusatia towards Bohemia. In the course of this retrograde march Loudon, as usual, protected the flanks of the Austrian army with his Croats. He also distinguished himself in a particular manner by the choice of his positions, and proved more troublesome to the Prussians than any other of their adversaries. In consequence of these achievements, the king attacked him two different times, on both which occasions he made three different corps advance, at the same period, in flank and rear. This manœuvre was repeated at Fischbach and Bishofswerden. It would have been temerity in a commander of light troops to give battle to the king of Prussia and his generals: he therefore retired to a new post, nearer to head quarters, without suffering any considerable loss.

In the mean time the two great rival armies were encamped opposite each other; and on the morning of the 14th of October, 1758, was fought the celebrated battle of Hochkirchen, the merit of which has been attributed to general De Loudon*; be this as it may, he was present at that action in which Frederick, who never pardoned similar faults in his own generals, permitted himself to be surprised in his camp, and was obliged to retire with the loss of 10,000 men, 100 pieces of cannon, 30 stand of colours, camp equipage, ammunition, &c. It i

* M. Pezal attributes either the whole or part of the plan to Loudon; but it is scarcely probable, that a commander of Croats should direct the councils of so great a general as marshal Daun.

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thus that the field-marſhal deſcribed the merit of the troops, in his diſpatches to the empreſs:

"We are principally indebted for this victory to the courage and intrepidity of the army in general, and principally the infantry; more eſpecially the Croats, who ſerved under Loudon."

Soon after this the king of Pruſſia decamped in the night, gained two days march of the enemy, and, by that means, prevented the infantry from following him. Loudon, however, was diſpatched with the light troops, with orders to haraſs his rear-guard. Several ſharp actions enſued at Schamberg, Paſſendorff, Lauban, and Lœvenberg; and the Auſtrians made many priſoners; their general himſelf, however, was very near being taken by a body of Pruſſian huſſars, in the neighbourhood of Lauban, but he eſcaped by the interpoſition of his uſual good fortune.

During the winter, the empreſs, who had heard ſo much of his exploits, was now deſirous to ſee the commander of the Croats at Vienna, where he accordingly arrived, with madam De Loudon, February 24, 1759; and Maria-Thereſa, who received him in the moſt flattering manner, conſided the care of his health, which had been lately impaired, to the ſkill of her own phyſician *. Soon after this he was decorated with the grand croſs of the order of Maria-Thereſa, and elevated to the rank of baron, not only of the hereditary ſtates, but alſo of the Roman empire.

The corps commanded by Loudon, now conſiſting of 10 battalions of infantry, 20 ſquadrons of cavalry, 5000 Croats, a few companies of grenadiers, and the free battalion, which bore his own name, joined the Ruſſians early in the ſpring, and gained the important battle of Kunnerſdorff †: a victory ſolely to be attributed to his talents, for he ſeized a critical moment to attack general Zink in rear and flank at the ſame time, and purſued both infantry and cavalry as far as Oetſcher. The em-

* Baron Van Swieten.

† Frederick on this occaſion wrote the following billet with a pencil, on the field of battle, to M. De Finckenſtein, his miniſter of ſtate:—"Tout eſt perdu; ſauvez la famille royale. Adieu pour jamais."

preſs Elizabeth, who then ſat on the throne of Ruſſia, was ſo ſenſible of his ſervices on this occaſion, that ſhe preſented the general with a magnificent ſword, the hilt of which was of gold richly ſet with diamonds; and every regiment appertaining to his army, preſent in the action, was gratified with 1000 roubles. Maria-Thereſa, his own ſovereign, at the ſame time raiſed him to the rank of general-feldzeugmeiſter. General De Soltikow, however, did not improve the advantages which fortune had thrown in his way; for, inſtead of following up the blow, he re-croſſed the Oder; on which Loudon ſeparated from him, and, after a long march along the frontiers of Silecia, cantoned his troops near Teſchen, and repaired firſt to Vienna, and afterwards to Prague.

In the campaign of 1760, the general, who had juſt obtained the colonelcy of the regiment of Wolfenbuttle, aſſembled a body of troops near Konimſthau; as the enemy did not enter Bohemia, as was expected, he repaired to the frontiers of Sileſia, failed in an attempt to ſurpriſe Neuſtadt, but actually cut off the Pruſſian regiment of Mantpeefel. During the night of the 17th of June he attempted to take Glatz by aſſault, but did not ſucceed. Early on the morning of the 23d of the ſame month, he attacked the Pruſſian general De Fouqué, at Landſhut, and putting himſelf at the head of his own regiment, which formed the van of one of the four columns, he aſſailed the left wing of the enemy. In three quarters of an hour the two principal entrenchments of Buchberg, and Doetorberg, were carried; the line of communication between the two mountains was then ſcaled; battalion was cut in pieces after battalion; and, at length, about 8 o'clock in the morning, a large body of both horſe and foot were obliged to lay down their arms and demand quarter. M. De Fouqué on this aſſembled a choſen band of troops, formed them into a ſquare battalion, and made a grand effort to force his way through the midſt of the aſſailants. Having harangued his faithful ſoldiers, and excited their courage by the memory of their former glory, they promiſed to ſpill the laſt drop of their blood in the enterpriſe. He then began his march, but was attacked by the Auſtrian cavalry,

valry, which were, however, forced to retire with precipitation. The regiment of Lœwenſtein, one of the beſt and braveſt in the ſervice, on this ruſhed forward once more to the charge, but was arreſted in its career by a hedge of bayonets; at that critical moment a battalion of grenadiers arrived, and threw the Pruſſians into diſorder. General De Fouqué's horſe was now ſhot under him, and he himſelf received three wounds; his men on this began to give way, and a freſh charge by the cavalry proved uncommonly deſtructive, as his brave followers refuſed to accept of quarter*. In this engagement Loudon took 8318 rank and file priſoners; beſides the commander in chief, the generals Malakowſki and Schenkendorf, and 246 other officers. The camp, 50 pieces of cannon, 34 ſtand of colours, and two ſilver kettle drums, alſo fell into the hands of the victor. The glory of the action, however, was not a little diminiſhed by the plunder of the town of Landſhut.

Soon after this baron De Loudon reſumed his operations againſt Glatz, and, at length, proved ſucceſsful; a circumſtance which, in conjunction with the approach of Daun, obliged the king of Pruſſia to raiſe the ſiege of Dreſden. The baron then appeared before Breſlau, and threw in a number of ſhells and red-hot bullets, which burnt the palace and a number of private houſes. The reproach conveyed by the governor, in the following obſervation, ought not to be omitted.

"In direct oppoſition to the laws of war, you have commenced the ſiege of a city by ruining its inhabitants." The recollection that the king of Pruſſia, in 1757, committed ſimilar horrors at Prague, and during that very campaign at Dreſden, can ſcarcely palliate this enormity: it only proves that both Frederick and Loudon violated all the rights of humanity. Who can lament that the general was foiled in this attempt? Indeed one

* The king of Pruſſia ſtill retained his eſteem for Fouqué, whom he compared to Leonidas king of Sparta, and ſoon after appointed him provoſt of the chapter of Magdebourg. At the end of the war he repaired thither, and made a ſolemn vow that he would never more follow the profeſſion of arms. This oath he kept moſt religiouſly, and, notwithſtanding the repeated requeſts of Frederick, could never be prevailed upon even to be preſent at a review.

is naturally inclined to rejoice, that Tauenzien having ordered the largeſt cannon on the ramparts to be pointed at his head-quarters, the Auſtrian commander was obliged to remove to a more reſpectable diſtance, and ſoon after found it neceſſary to raiſe the ſiege.

Having now joined the grand army, he advanced againſt what he ſuppoſed to be a Pruſſian detachment, poſted on the heights of Pfaffendorf, but it proved to be the main body commanded by the king in perſon; notwithſtanding this he continued the action, which his German biographers are pleaſed to dignify with the name of "the battle of Lignitz," on the loſs of which he retreated in good order to Katzbach, and complained of the conduct of Daun, who did not ſuccour him on this occaſion as he had reaſon to expect. On the 20th of October he inveſted Koſel, but proved as unfortunate here, as he had been at Lignitz and Breſlau.

M. De Loudon had hitherto acted chiefly in the character of a partiſan; at the commencement of the campaign of 1761, he was, at length, entruſted with a regular army of 60,000 men, without being ſubject to the commands of any ſuperior. On this occaſion he diſplayed all the qualities of a great general, for he obliged the king of Pruſſia to fortify his camp, and even to remove his baggage every night under the cannon of Schweidnitz; nay he actually got poſſeſſion of that fortreſs by aſſault, and took up his winter quarters in Sileſia.

Maria-Thereſa was ſo well pleaſed with his conduct during this campaign, that ſhe preſented him with her portrait enriched with brilliants, accompanied by a very flattering letter. It is alſo neceſſary to mention a circumſtance greatly to his honour: he now began to leave off the practices he had learned under Trenck, and actually indemnified his ſoldiers with money inſtead of booty. On the attack of Schweidnitz he promiſed them 100,000 crowns, on condition they did not plunder the miſerable inhabitants, on which the Walloon grenadiers made the following very equivocal reply: "We will not accept of any thing from our father Loudon! Lead us on, and we will obey." This implied an acquieſcence, and the general accordingly preſented

feated every ſoldier, after the action, with £3 crowns; but it would appear, notwithſtanding this, that, actuated by the licentious ſpirit of a military life, they were unable to reſiſt the temptation. The regiment of Kollowrath, however, ſcorned to participate in the diſgrace, and received a recompence from the empreſs herſelf, on account of its exemplary conduct.

The death of Elizabeth of Ruſſia, towards the latter part of the year 1761, and the conſequent advancement of Peter III. inſtantly changed the political ſyſtem of Europe, elevated Frederick from an abyſs of calamities, gave a fatal blow to the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria, and finally produced a peace. No ſooner did the king of Pruſſia learn this important event, than he left his capital, in the vicinity of which he had determined either to conquer or periſh, formed a junction with the Ruſſian army that had formerly oppoſed him, and advanced with rapid ſtrides againſt marſhal Daun. Having ſat down before Schweidnitz, he commenced the ſiege in form, and at laſt made himſelf maſter of that place in ſixty-three days, which Loudon had got poſſeſſion of in three hours. Glatz, another conqueſt made by the ſame general, was the ſole poſſeſſion appertaining to the king of Pruſſia, that ſtill remained under the dominion of the empreſs; a treaty was therefore entered into and concluded in the month of February, 1763, between the belligerent powers.

The further ſervices of the generals, who had ſo gallantly defended the dominions of Maria-Thereſa, now became uſeleſs, and were accordingly diſpenſed with. Baron De Loudon received no additional military preferment by way of recompence, but he was rewarded with a penſion on the revenues of Bohemia; and the empreſs purchaſed for, and preſented him with, the lordſhip of Klein-Betſchwar, not far from Kolin.

No ſooner was the peace proclaimed than he repaired to the baths of Carlſbad, in order to re-eſtabliſh his health. Thence he ſet off for his new acquiſitions, and, as they did not appear ſufficiently large, he ſold the greater part of the jewels which had been preſented him by the emperor Francis, and the empreſſes Maria-Thereſa and Elizabeth, and with the produce purchaſed

purchaſed the lordſhip of Great Betſchwar, in the neighbourhood of his former eſtate. He then built a ſuperb caſtle there, ſuperintended the cultivation of his lands, and lived after the manner of the nobility of the country.

In 1766 the empreſs nominated him a member of the Aulick council of war, and in 1767 the immediate nobility of the empire received him into their body. Three years after this Maria-Thereſa, ſtill grateful for his former ſervices, inveſted him with the command of Moravia, and placed Brun under his juriſdiction; but he ſoon reſigned a ſituation which does not appear to have been ſuitable to his wiſhes.

The emperor Joſeph II. having viſited the king of Pruſſia in his camp near Neiſſe in 1769, Frederick returned the compliment in 1770, and repaired to the camp of Neuſtadt in Moravia. Loudon, who was preſent at the interview, received many teſtimonies of his majeſty's regard, and was always addreſſed by him as a field-marſhal, although he well knew that the other had not obtained that rank. When they ſat down to table, the baron with his uſual modeſty wiſhed to place himſelf at the bottom, but the king prevented this, by exclaiming, "Seat yourſelf next to me, M. De Loudon, for I would much rather have you *on my ſide* than *oppoſite to me* * !.

In conſequence of the memorable partition of Poland, in 1773, the emperor Joſeph determined to viſit his ill-gotten poſſeſſions in that unhappy country. He was accompanied on this occaſion by the generals Loudon, Pelegrini, and Noſtitz. One day, after a long journey, they arrived at a village peopled by Jews only, and deſtitute of the neceſſaries of life. On this the illuſtrious travellers ſallied forth in ſearch of proviſions, and, as each had undertaken to bring his diſh, they returned after a long ſearch, with the emperor at their head, carrying a plate of victuals in his hand.

* A compliment paid to Loudon by Joſeph, deſerves to be noticed here. His Imperial majeſty having aſcended one of the higheſt mountains on the frontiers of Bohemia, accompanied by his generals, exclaimed, "This is the firſt time that ever an emperor and his officers aſſembled in this ſpot; let us engrave ſo remarkable an adventure on the trees. We will affix our names and titles: for you, field-marſhal, that of Loudon alone will be ſufficient."

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On the death of Maximilian-Joſeph, elector of Bavaria, a new war ſeemed ready to break forth in Germany, and Loudon, in conſequence of this, was at length elevated, on the 27th of February, 1778, to the dignity of field-marſhal. The king of Pruſſia having now formed two grand camps, the emperor eſtabliſhed an equal number, in order to oppoſe him; he himſelf, aſſiſted by field-marſhals Lacy and Haddick, commanded in the firſt and largeſt of theſe; the ſecond, conſiſting of about fifty thouſand men, was confided to Field-Marſhal De Loudon. The incurſion of Frederick into Bohemia was prevented by the judicious poſition taken by his rival behind the Elbe, while the irruption threatened on the part of prince Henry was rendered dangerous by that fortified ſtation choſen by Loudon, with the Iſer in front.

On the concluſion of the peace of Teſchen, in 1779, Loudon returned to his caſtle.

At the beginning of the Turkiſh war the Field-Marſhal was not called forth from his retirement; but on the death of the Prince de Lichtenſtein, who commanded the Croats and other light troops, he was nominated his ſucceſſor. The army received the intelligence with tranſport, and the emperor, in order to facilitate his departure and evince his own eſteem, preſented him with horſes, carriages, and camp equipage, appertaining to the royal family. Having repaired to the head-quarters in Auguſt 1788, he inſtantly ſignalized his arrival by beating the Turks poſted on the mountain of Agino. He then beſieged and took Dubitza, after an obſtinate reſiſtance; attacked and conquered a body of the enemy in the neighbourhood of Novi, which place, alſo, at length fell into his hands. Berbir, or Turkiſh Gradiſka, however, held out during that campaign, but in 1789 it was at length forced to yeild.

At length, on the death of field-marſhal Hadick, Loudon was appointed commander in chief of the grand army. The ſiege of Belgrade being now reſolved upon, he croſſed the Danube near Banovecz, and the Saave at Polieveze, and inveſted the place on the 14th of September. The ſuburbs having been taken by aſſault, the city itſelf ſoon after ſurrendered, and the pacha who commanded, on ſigning the capitulation, was pleaſed

to

to obſerve on this occaſion, that he was ready to comply "ſince Providence had predeſtined this event from ALL ETERNITY!"

On the 12th of October General Klebeck, the Field-Marſhal's nephew, ſet out with the joyful news to Vienna, on which occaſion he was accompanied by twenty-four poſtillions blowing their horns; on the 14th TE DEUM was ſung in the church of St. Stephen, his Imperial majeſty aſſiſted in perſon, and the air was rent with the ſhouts of "Long live the emperor! Long live Loudon!" Immediately after this, the Field-Marſhal was declared generaliſſimo of all the armies, the other commanders were enjoined to receive his orders, and the Aulick council of war was entruſted with the execution of them. Orſowa, however, held out until the next year, and the king of Pruſſia, who had taken no part in the conteſt, as long as the Ottomans made a formidable ſtand, now formed an alliance with the Porte, and prevented Auſtria and Ruſſia from driving the Turks out of Europe.

In 1790 three grand armies were aſſembled under Loudon, in Bohemia, Moravia, and Gallicia, but at this critical period Joſeph II. happened to die. His ſucceſſor, Leopold, confirmed the appointment made by his predeceſſor, and the Field-Marſhal repaired to Vienna, to conſult with his new ſovereign. On the 18th of June he ſet out on his return to Moravia. On the 26th he dined with the prince Lichnowſki at Gratz, and, happening unfortunately to eat ſomething difficult of digeſtion, a fever enſued. He proceeded, however, on his journey, and arrived next day at his head-quarters at Neutitſchein, where the diſeaſe ſeemed to increaſe. Græpferth, ſurgeon-major to the army, however, treated his diſorder with ſuch ſkill, that on the 5th of July his patient was pronounced out of danger. That very day, however, he rode out, againſt the opinion of his phyſician, and on the evening of the 6th had a return of his malady, in conſequence of a retention of urine, to which he was ſubject.

The ſurgeon-major now wiſhed to call in ſome other medical men, but the general refuſed to conſent. On awakening next day from a kind of lethargy with which he had been ſeized, he told Græpferth that he could not recover, but begged that the pain,

pain, which was intolerable, might be alleviated. On this the bladder was punctured, and five pints of red and glarious urine were diſcharged. He now made the neceſſary diſpoſitions as to his fortune, took the ſacrament in preſence of his generals and *aids-de-camp*, invited the field-marſhals Colloredo and Botta to ſubſcribe his teſtament, as witneſſes, and, on perceiving his nephew Alexander on his knees by his bed-ſide, with his face bathed in tears, he addreſſed him thus: "Ariſe, be a man and a Chriſtian! love God, and never do any hurt to your fellow-creatures. Providence has raiſed me from the duſt to a pitch of grandeur I never ſought for. During my whole life I have thought of nothing elſe than performing my duty; may I ſerve as an example to you!" Soon after this he experienced great torture, but was at length releaſed from pain by his death, which occurred at ſeven o'clock in the evening of July 14. The body, decorated with all the attributes of a field-marſhal, was removed to Haderſdorf, where it was interred with great magnificence.

Thus died, in the ſeventy-third year of his age, Field-Marſhal Baron de Loudon, *generaliſſimo* of the Auſtrian armies, a poſt of high honour, truſt, and importance, which had been formerly confided to prince Eugene of Savoy, and was only created on ſingular occaſions.

In perſon, he was well formed, meagre, and of the middle ſize. His hair, which was red in his youth, had become grey, and very thin, long before his death. He wore a falſe *toupee* and two little curls; his *queue* was tied cloſe to his neck. His eyebrows, which ſtill retained part of their primitive colour, projected conſiderably; his face was long, his noſe elevated, his cheeks were ſunk, his chin was round and well proportioned, his mouth handſome, his eyes grey, his head inclined a little forward, and his complexion was that of a reddiſh brown. The author of this article leaves it to the phyſiognomiſts to decide whether theſe are, or are not, the features and characteriſtical traits of a hero!

Loudon from his early youth had avoided the ſociety of women; he was exceſſively timid and chaſte, and has always been conſidered as a good huſband. He appears, however, to have been

been a bad maſter. He refuſed to meliorate the condition of his vaſſals, although requeſted by M. De Raab, in the name of the emperor Joſeph. He carried his ideas of military obedience into private life, and required the ſame ſcrupulous ſubordination from his ſervants and peaſants as from his ſoldiers. He retained the odious cuſtom of the *corvée*, a kind of ſtatute-labour performed gratuitouſly by his vaſſals; they were obliged to aſſemble at the ringing of a bell, to begin labour all at the ſame inſtant, and, if we are to believe the reports of Germany, they were treated like ſo many ſlaves.

It ought to be mentioned to his honour, that he was very modeſt reſpecting his own exploits, and ſtudiouſly avoided to ſpeak on the ſcience of war, although it was the only one with which he was acquainted. He affected to be very religious, and generally ſtepped out of a church into a carriage, when he ſet off to commence a campaign which was deſtined to put thouſands to death. This was the faſhion, however, at Vienna during the reign of Maria-Thereſa.

The Field-Marſhal was a true *ſoldier of fortune*; he never inquired into the juſtice of the cauſe for which he drew his ſword; the will of his ſovereign was ſufficient. We therefore find him equally diſpoſed to ſecond a legitimate conteſt againſt the king of Pruſſia, to countenance the plunder of unhappy Poland, or continue an unprovoked aggreſſion againſt the Turks.

Previouſly to his demiſe, the devotees and prieſts of a ſuperſtitious capital were charmed with his conduct, for he had abjured the Lutheran religion, adopted the true faith, and actually received the communion of the *eſtabliſhed church* during his laſt moments. He was alſo accuſtomed to declaim againſt the *new philoſophy*; which he appears, however, to have been incapable of comprehending.

What then muſt have been their chagrin, when, on opening his will, it was diſcovered that he was to be buried in *unſanctified* earth, in the midſt of a grove, after the Turkiſh manner, and that a Pagan tomb of white marble (part of the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed Ottomans) was to be placed over his grave!

Joſeph II, ſome years before his death, ordered a ſtatue of Field-

Field-Marſhal De Loudon to be erected in the grand hall of the Aulick council. It conſiſts of a figure as large as life, cut in white marble. Carachi was the ſculptor: the following is the epitaph:

GIDEONIS. LOUDONI. SUMMI. CASTRORUM.
PRÆFECTI. SEMPER. STRENUI. FORTIS. FELICIS. MILITIS.
ET. CIVIS. OPTIMI. EXEMPLUM. QUOD. DUCES.
MILITESQUE. IMITENTUR. JOSEPHUS. II.
AUG. IN EJUS. EFFIGIE. PROPONI.
VOLUIT. ANNO CIↃ.IↃ.CCLXXXIII.

BAILLY*.

JEAN-SYLVAIN BAILLY was born in Paris on the 15th of September, 1736. His father was the fourth in ſucceſſion of his family, diſtinguiſhed as a painter, and his grandfather actually died in conſequence of ſome experiments in order to ſtain marble with pigments which he himſelf had brought from China. Young Bailly was alſo deſtined to be a painter, and had already made ſome progreſs in the art, when he ſuddenly evinced an inclination for polite literature, eſpecially poetry. In conſequence of this turn, he compoſed tragedies which even Lanouë deemed worthy of commendation, without, however, adviſing him to confine his attention ſolely to the drama.

Mademoiſelle Lejeuneux, who dedicated her time to the pencil, was the friend of Lacaille, and Bailly, by her means, got acquainted with him; this decided his application to the ſciences; and ſo early as 1762 he preſented to the academy "Obſervations on the Moon," which, at the inſtigation of Lacaille, were drawn up with all the minuteneſs of detail demanded by the new and improved ſtate of aſtronomy. This performance was afterwards quoted by him with approbation, in the ſixth volume of *Ephemerides*.

Bailly alſo calculated the orbit of the comet of 1759, the re-

* Eloge de Bailly, par Jerôme Lalande.

turn of which had occupied the attention of aſtronomers; and on the 29th of January, 1763, he was admitted a member of the Academy of Sciences. In the courſe of the ſame year he publiſhed a large and uſeful work: this was a digeſt of the obſervations made by Lacaille, in 1760 and 1761, on the zodiacal ſtars, to the number of five hundred and fifteen, among which are one hundred and thirty-two omitted in former catalogues: it is true, indeed, that theſe are to be found in Mayer's "Zodiac," but it muſt be at the ſame time acknowledged, that their poſitions, as deſcribed by Lacaille, are much more exact. Thus Bailly rendered an important ſervice to aſtronomy, by making us enjoy the fruit of labours which had coſt the author his life, and would have remained uſeleſs had it not been for the zeal of his pupil.

It was alſo in 1763 that he turned his attention towards the theory of the ſatellites of Jupiter; the difficulty and importance of this ſubject had already attracted the attention of the academy, and it was propoſed, as the ſubject of a prize, in the month of April 1764.

Legrange, who was accounted one of the firſt geometricians in Europe, became a candidate for the reward offered on this occaſion by the academy. The new academician calculated the ſame *perturbations* by the theory of Clairaut; their united efforts made us acquainted, for the firſt time, with the ſingular alterations of theſe little planets, and produced a ſeries of tables, the equations of which were no longer empirical.

In 1766 Bailly publiſhed an important treatiſe, with the modeſt title of "An Eſſay on the Theory of the Satellites of Jupiter*," with tables of their motions, and the hiſtory of this branch of aſtronomy, in fifty-three pages quarto; from this moment the learned part of the ſcience appears to have intereſted him.

The moſt ingenious memoir ever drawn up by him, is that of 1771, relative to the light of Jupiter's ſatellites. Bailly, on this occaſion, very ingeniouſly availed himſelf of the idea conceived by Fouchy, of covering the circle of the object-glaſs by means of pellucid ſubſtances, until the ſatellite had diſappeared, that he

* "Eſſai ſur la théorie des ſatellites de Jupiter."

might thus be enabled to meaſure the degree of light*: he obſerved and calculated the variations produced by the proximity of the ſatellites to Jupiter, and their elevation above the horizon; he at the ſame time determined their diameters, and the duration of their immerſions; he alſo pointed out a mode of comparing the obſervations made with different teleſcopes, ſo as to attain a degree of perfection until then unknown in that branch of aſtronomy. This work, replete with ſagacity, could only have been accompliſhed by one of our moſt eminent aſtronomers; and I obſerved to him, during the height of his glory, that I would rather have achieved this, than have been the firſt on the liſt of preſidents of the ſtates-general and mayor of Paris, although his own merit had placed him in thoſe auſpicious ſituations.

His attachment to literature at length induced him to forſake his aſtronomical labours; in 1767 he became one of the competitors at the French academy, by means of his *eloge* of Charles V. and that academy diſtinguiſhed it with approbation on adjudging the prize to Laharpe.

In 1768 Bailly tranſmitted the *eloge* of Corneille to the academy of Rouen, which obtained the *accejſit*; and he ſent the *eloge* of Leibnitz to the academy of Berlin, which bore away the prize.

In 1769 his *eloge* of Moliere gained the *accéſſit* at the French academy; Chamfort acquired the prize.

The *eloges* of Cook, of Lacaille, and of Greſſet, ſtill further ſignalized his talents for *Belles Lettres*, and made Buffon and ſeveral other members of the academy of ſciences deſirous that he ſhould be appointed ſecretary of that illuſtrious inſtitution. If Condorcet obtained the majority of ſuffrages in 1771, he was perhaps indebted for the preference to his birth, and the friendly exertions of d'Alembert. The French academy, however, recompenſed him at length, for on the 26th of February, 1784, he was received a member of it, in the room of Treſſan.

In 1775 Bailly preſented the public with his firſt volume of the hiſtory of aſtronomy. On this occaſion, his talents for the

* —— "De diminuer l'ouverture de l'objectif par des diaphragmes juſqu'a faire diſparaitre un ſatellite, pour en meſurer le degré de lumiere, &c."

ſciences, and taſte for literature, united to pruduce a work at once uſeful and agreeable, replete with learned diſſertations, luminous ideas, brilliant deſcriptions; calculated, at the ſame time, to make aſtronomy known and beloved; and which will perhaps be more uſeful to that ſcience, by procuring proſelytes, than profound diſſertations, ſo rarely ſought after, and ſtill more rarely underſtood. The hiſtory of aſtronomy may be conſidered as a treatiſe on that ſcience; but that treatiſe is ſo elementary, ſo ſimple, ſo agreeable, that while the flowers are always conſpicuous, the thorns often remain unſeen.

Bailly tranſmitted his book to Voltaire, who, while he returned thanks, ſtarted at the ſame time many objections; this produced a correſpondence, the reſult of which was given to the world in two intereſting volumes, his "Letters on the Origin of Sciences*," and "the Atlantides of Plato, and the ancient hiſtory of Aſia†," publiſhed in 1777 and 1779. Voltaire could ſcarcely give credit to the exiſtence of a people deſtroyed and forgotten, who had preceded and enlightened all others; he was perſuaded that the Bramins, who have taught us ſo many things, were the authors of philoſophy and ſcience: Bailly conſidered them merely as the depoſitaries.

As to the Atlantides of Plato, Plutarch formally declares the whole to be a fable (ſee *Journal de Paris*, October 15, 1780); and M. Bartoli, in his "Impartial Reflections," publiſhed in 1780, conſiders the ſtory as an allegorical deſcription of the misfortunes of the Athenians (ſee *Journal de Savans*, January, 1781). This is not the place to diſcuſs that ancient queſtion; it is ſufficient merely to obſerve, that Bailly treats the ſubject with equal taſte and erudition.

In 1781 and 1782 he compoſed a great work, "On the Origin of Fables and Ancient Religions," replete with knowledge and reſearch, the publication of which at once intereſted the learned world, and reflected honour on the author. Bailly did not entirely give in to the allegorical ſyſtem of ancient traditions, which the citizen Dupuis has eſtabliſhed in a victo-

* "Lettres ſur l'origine des ſciences."

† "Lettres ſur l'Atlantide de Platon, et ſur l'ancienne hiſtoire de l'Aſie."

rious manner in the "Journal des Savans" of 1779 and 1780, as well as in his other works: his ideas were fixed; his part was taken; and, notwithſtanding my efforts, I could not bring him back to what appeared to me to be the truth. Being an enthuſiaſt in the cauſe of aſtronomy, I alſo regretted the time devoted by him to reſearches and diſcuſſions rather curious than uſeful, and which did not in the leaſt contribute to the progreſs of a ſcience he was ſo capable of illuſtrating.

His ideas reſpecting the ancient ſtate of Aſia were ſimilar to thoſe of Buffon relative to the cooling of the earth; he accordingly lived on very friendly terms with that great naturaliſt, till the election of Maury to a ſeat in the French academy occaſioned an irreparable breach: Bailly not only denied his vote to a man whom he did not eſteem, but refuſed to abſent himſelf from the acadamy on the day of election, and from that moment there was an end of all connexion between one who wiſhed to be maſter, and another who choſe to remain independent

The "Hiſtory of Aſtronomy" had engaged Bailly in profound and erudite inquiries, which the academy of inſcriptions and belles-lettres, in 1785, rewarded by an election merited indeed, but extremely rare, becauſe before his time Fontenelle alone had belonged to the three great academies: and certainly Fontenelle was not ſo well entitled to the palm of ancient erudition as Bailly.

His "Hiſtory of Indian and Oriental Aſtronomy," which appeared in 1787, juſtified the choice of the academy; for it required an infinity of reſearches, which no perſon, perhaps, could have conducted ſo well as himſelf, becauſe they demanded an immenſe number of calculations.

In 1784 the animal magnetiſm of Meſmer, as practiſed by Deſlon, occaſioned a ſingular and inconceivable agitation in Paris: the king nominated phyſicians, the academy natural philoſophers (phyſiciens), with a view to enlighten the public on this ſubject. Bailly, who was one of the commiſſioners elected by the latter, was alſo choſen chairman. The report delivered in upon this occaſion, conſiſting of 108 pages octavo,

occupied his attention during a conſiderable time; for it was an important fact, worthy of being inſerted in the hiſtory of the errors of the human mind, and exhibited a moſt extraordinary inſtance of the power of the imagination.

The academy having appointed commiſſioners in 1786, for the examinatſon of a plan of a new *hotel-dieu**, by Poyet the architect, Bailly drew up a report of 250 pages octavo; this is a work extremely valuable, both on account of the philoſophy and humanity diſplayed by the author. Inſtead of one, he propoſed the erection of four different hoſpitals, and Breteuil, then miniſter, who had the greateſt confidence in his judgment, was decidedly fixed as to the execution of the project; but the revolution of 1789 occurred, and obliged him to reſign.

On April the 26th, 1789, the electors of Paris, having aſſembled to nominate the deputies to the ſtates-general, choſe Bailly ſecretary. There were many academicians in this aſſembly, but Bailly was a member of all the academies. His talents as a writer were known; the intereſting reports drawn up by him relative to the hoſpitals, and animal magnetiſm, had excited the attention of the public; in addition to this, his character for diſcretion and mildneſs had acquired him great reputation on the ſcore of morality, ſo that no perſon united ſo many claims as himſelf to be ſecretary to ſo great an aſſembly. This choice was too flattering not to be complied with, and from that day the aſtronomers loſt a fellow-labourer from whom they had ſtill much to expect.

Similar reaſons ſoon occaſioned him to be nominated a deputy, and paved the way for his election as preſident of the third eſtate, on its aſſembling at Verſailles May 5. On the 17th of June, the commons having conſtituted themſelves a national aſſembly, Bailly was continued in the chair, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in that office. It was he who, on the 20th, conducted the aſſembly to the Tennis-court at Verſailles; and he alſo preſided, on the 27th, when the two other orders united themſelves with the third eſtate. On the 2d of July Orleans was nomi-

* The name formerly beſtowed on a celebrated hoſpital in Paris, now called *l'Hoſpice de Humanité*. Edit.

nated

nated his ſucceſſor, and, on his refuſal to act, the biſhop of Vienne was elected; on this occaſion a deputation was appointed to thank Bailly for the manner in which he had exerciſed his functions.

On the 15th of July, the king having repaired to Paris after the capture of the Baſtille, Bailly was elected chief magiſtrate by acclamation, under the name of mayor of Paris.

It would be unneceſſary to follow him in his public career: it appears inconteſtable, however, that in the exerciſe of his various functions, as deputy, preſident, and mayor, he diſplayed the knowledge, firmneſs, and moderation, of a philoſopher. Some have accuſed him of debaſing royalty; others of paying too great deference to it: it would be improper to agitate this queſtion at preſent; it is reſerved for the deciſion of a future generation. I do not know how far he might have been deceived, but I am certain he poſſeſſed the talents and love of juſtice requiſite in a magiſtrate, joined to a deſire of being ſerviceable to a country to which he had devoted both his time and his life, and ſacrificed all his ſtudies, or, in other words, all his happineſs.

The various ſocieties to which he belonged bore evidence of his worth; his buſt was inſtalled at the municipality with great pomp, as well as at the academy of ſciences, where they had never before admitted that of any living academician. His glory was at its meridian: placed between the people and the king, he protected them, as it were, from one another; although inferior to both, his influence was equally uſeful to each; and the philoſopher maintained his proper equilibrium amidſt the ſolicitations of all parties.

The moſt diſagreeable and the moſt fatal event, during the whole courſe of his adminiſtration, occurred on the 17th of July, 1792, when the party in oppoſition to the monarchical conſtitution excited the people to commotions, which the national aſſembly commanded Bailly to diſſipate. He was obliged, on this occaſion, to repair in perſon to the Champ de Mars: there he riſked his life; there muſkets were fired in ſpite of all his precautions; and, in conſequence of this, he loſt his head two

years afterwards, when the only object and only reſource of the tyrant was to flatter the people, to careſs their paſſions, and to go beyond even their reſentments.

Bailly was mayor of Paris from the 15th of July, 1789, until the 16th of November, 1791, that is to ſay, during two years and a half. Petion, whom a party wiſhed to put in his place, occaſioned many embarraſſments which made him prefer retiring, more eſpecially as his health abſolutely required repoſe. He travelled during the year 1792, and part of 1793; he alſo wrote an account of the events which he had witneſſed, and in which he had been not unfrequently one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed actors. Thoſe memoirs do not come down lower than the 2d of October 1789, and yet they make more than 600 pages quarto. This work will undoubtedly make its appearance, and in it we ſhall diſcover the characters and the motives of the leaders of the revolution, and the concatenation of circumſtances which drew the others along with them.

In the memoirs, printed in two volumes in 1790, by Debuire, none of his ſpeeches, after the 30th of Auguſt 1789, are inſerted. When the remainder are collected, they will add freſh intereſt to his character and conduct.

During his journey he was not ignorant of the machinations carrying on againſt him, and he had many opportunities of quitting France. Cato ſaid

INGRATA PATRIA MEA NEC OSSA HABEBIS;

Ungrateful country, you ſhall not even poſſeſs my bones.

But Bailly was more firm than Cato: he would not abandon his native ſoil; he preferred the example of Socrates.

Such a man could not be condemned but for the commiſſion of an error, or by means of a crime. The XIVth article of the rights of man expreſsly ſtates, that it is criminal to give a retroactive effect to a law; but this injuſtice was committed daily during the nine months reign of that ferocious beaſt whoſe ravages ended on the 9th Thermidor.

Bailly was a victim of the tribunal of blood on the 9th of November 1793; and thoſe who had procured his condemnation

tion found means to prolong his ſufferings, by requiring that the place of his execution ſhould be changed; in conſequence of which the ſcaffolding was removed: this occaſioned a delay of more than two hours. He was the only perſon towards whom they exerciſed this additional barbarity *.

Bailly, in 1787, married Jeanne Leſeigneur, widow of Raymond Gaye, who had been his intimate friend during twenty-five years. She had arrived at an age calculated to inſpire conſideration and attachment on the part of a man of merit, who was not likely to be led away by the ordinary motives of beauty or fortune; more eſpecially as he had eight nephews to whom he wiſhed to act the part of a father.

The perſon of Bailly was tall, his countenance was ſerious, but majeſtic; and his character, although firm, was replete with ſimplicity. His diſintereſtedneſs was conſpicuous on a variety of occaſions; he conducted himſelf with great generoſity towards his relations, and exhibited much benevolence to the poor during his magiſtracy, at which period he expended a conſiderable part of his private fortune.

No learned man ever diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſo many different ways as Bailly, or united ſo many claims to glory and applauſe: but the greateſt and nobleſt teſtimony is that derived from his virtue, which always remained unblemiſhed; was always reſpected; always admired in the academy, the metropolis, at the head of the greateſt aſſemblies, in the moſt exalted ſtations, as well as in the midſt of his friends, by whom he was cheriſhed, and in the boſom of his family, by which he was adored.

* They ſpit upon and burnt a pair of colours cloſe to his face: ſome of the more furious advanced in order to ſtrike him, notwithſtanding the executioners themſelves were indignant at ſuch brutal conduct. They alſo covered him with dirt, while a cold rain, that deſcended in torrents, added to the horror of his ſituation. With his hands tied behind his back, and obliged to ſwallow the moiſture that trickled down from his noſe, he at times demanded that a period ſhould be put to ſo many calamities: but even then his requeſt was uttered with the dignified calmneſs of a philoſopher. To a man who ſaid, "You tremble, Bailly;" he replied, "Yes, my friend, but it is on account of the cold." *Memoires d'un Détenu, par Riouffe.*

CONDORCET*.

JEAN-ANTOINE-NICHOLAS CARITAT DE CONDORCET was born at Ribemont in Picardy, three leagues from Saint-Quintin and De la Fere, on the 17th of September 1743; and his family, which is very ancient, has held a reſpectable rank, both at Orange and in Dauphiné, ever ſince the tenth century †.

At the age of fifteen he was ſent to ſtudy philoſophy at the college of Navarre, and luckily fell into the hands of an able profeſſor, citizen Giraud de Kéroudon, who has ſince diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſeveral ſcientific works, and taught mathematics in the college of France with applauſe. During the firſt year of his reſidence there, young Condorcet exhibited but little reliſh for the metaphyſical queſtions relative to the nature of ideas, of ſenſations, and of memory; indeed the profeſſor had declined theſe ſubjects, as much as the cuſtom of thoſe times permitted. In the courſe of the following year, mathematics and natural philoſophy decided his future vocation; and although he had more than one hundred and twenty fellow-ſtudents, he acquired a greater portion of fame than any of them. At Eaſter he ſupported a public theſis, at which Clairaut, d'Alembert, and Fontaine, the firſt geometricians we then had, aſſiſted; his conduct on this occaſion obtained their applauſe.

After his courſe of philoſophy was finiſhed, he returned to his family, but ſtill continued to cultivate geometry. His attachment to it, indeed, carried him back to Paris in 1762; on which occaſion he choſe to live along with his old profeſſor, in order to have more frequent opportunities of indulging his ruling paſſion. He at the ſame time attended the chemical lectures of Macquer and Beaumé, frequented the literary aſſemblies that met at the houſe of mademoiſelle De Leſpinaſſe, and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the geometricians.

* Notice ſur la vie & les ouvrages de Condorcet, par Jerome Lalande.

† Calendrier des princes & de la nobleſſe 1750.

In

In 1765 he publiſhed his firſt work, "ſur le Calcul Integrel," (on Integral Calculations), in which he propoſed to exhibit a general method of determining the finite integral of a given differential equation, either for differences infinitely ſmall, or finite differences. D'Alembert and Bezout, the commiſſioners of the academy, employed to examine the merits of this performance, obſerved in their report, that the greater part of the methods were of the author's own invention, that the production itſelf inferred a degree of knowledge very ſeldom to be met with at ſo early an age (he was then only twenty-two); in ſhort, that it afforded a preſage of talents worthy of being excited by the approbation of the academy.

Thus Condorcet was already one of the firſt geometricians in Europe; and no more than ten could be even then reckoned, who were equal to him in ſtrength of parts: one at Peterſburg, one at Berlin, one at Baſil, one at Milan, and five or ſix at Paris. England, where the new geometry had ſhone ever ſince the time of Newton, could no longer boaſt of any geometrician who could be ranked among theſe I have juſt mentioned.

In 1767 Condorcet publiſhed a ſecond work, entitled "du Problême des Trois Corps" (of the Problem of Three Bodies): in this he preſented the nine differential equations of the movement of the bodies of a given ſyſtem, ſuppoſing that each of theſe bodies ſhould be propelled by a certain force, and that a mutual attraction ſubſiſted among them. He alſo treated of the movement of three bodies of a given figure, the particles of which attracted each other in the inverſe ratio of the ſquare of the diſtance.

In addition to this, he explained a new method of integers, by approximation, with the aſſiſtance of infinite ſeries; in fine, he added to the methods exhibited in his firſt work, that which M. De la Grange had convinced him was ſtill wanting.

In 1768, under the title of the firſt part of his "Eſſais d'Analyſe" (Analytical Eſſays), he publiſhed a letter to d'Alembert, in which he reſumed the ſubjects treated of in his two former works, and endeavoured, by means of new exhibitions, to extend his methods of integral calculation, in the three hypotheſes

potheſes of evaneſcent differences, finite differences, and partial differences. He there alſo gave the application of infinite or indefinite ſeries to the integration; the methods of approximation, and the uſe of all the methods for the dynamic problems, eſpecially the problem of three bodies: theſe modes might have become an uſeful help, that would have led to important diſcoveries, but he only pointed out the road neceſſary to be followed, for he did not undertake to purſue it.

He was received into the academy on the 8th of March, 1769. In the courſe of the ſame year he publiſhed a memoir on the nature of infinite ſeries, on the extent of ſolutions afforded by this mode, and on a new method of approximation for the differential equations of all the orders.

In the volumes of 1770, and the following years, he preſented the fruits of his reſearches on the equations with partial and finite differences; and in 1772 he publiſhed "L'Eſſai d'une Methode pour diſtinguer les Equations differentielles poſſibles en termes finis de celles qui ne le ſont pas," (An Eſſay on a method to diſtinguiſh poſſible Differential Equations in finite Terms, from thoſe which are not ſo). The ſervice that this was likely to afford to geometry, determined him to print it, although he was ſenſible of its imperfections. The mode of calculation here preſented is an admirable inſtrument, but it is ſtill very far diſtant from that degree of perfection to which it may be brought; the labours of Euler, d'Alembert, and Condorcet, have tended to advance it; Laplace, Legendre, and Couſin, were ſucceſsful in the cultivation of it; but the work is immenſe, and the number of co-operators aſtoniſhingly ſmall. Condorcet demonſtrated that the equations of conditions are thoſe which ought to be followed, in order to conſtitute the integral indefinite, either a maximum or a minimum. The equations of conditions had before been given by Euler, but Condorcet preſented them under a general form for the differentials of all the orders, which enabled us to become acquainted with their identity. It muſt, however, be allowed that he confined his operations to general purpoſes; for, in conſequence of attending but little to their application, they have not attained

tained all the perfection they are capable of. He continued, for ſome years longer, to occupy his attention with thoſe inquiries, in conſequence of which he produced a large treatiſe on integral calculations. The citizen Kéralio, formerly governor to the infant of Parma, was at the trouble, about the year 1785, to copy them with his own hand, and the work actually began to be printed in the courſe of the following year. One hundred and twenty-eight pages only were, however, completed; but the remainder is ſtill in the hands of his family. I have diſcovered from the proof ſheets, that this treatiſe conſiſts of five parts:—

I. Of the formation of differential equations.

II. Principles of integral calculation applied to differences infinitely ſmall.

III. Principles of integral calculation applied to partial differences.

IV. Principles of integral calculation applied to finite differences.

V. Different applications of integral calculation.

As I then perceived that the author was occupied about many other matters of importance, I did not expect that he would find leiſure, or, perhaps, courage to continue the impreſſion of ſo laborious a work; luckily, however, the manuſcript is ſtill in exiſtence, as well as that of an elementary treatiſe on arithmetic *.

In the midſt of theſe analytical labours, Condorcet committed his philoſophical ideas to writing, as may be ſeen from his "Letter to a Theologian." This was one of the firſt works which he himſelf cauſed to be printed, but he did not affix his name to it. In it he commented, with much wit and propriety, on the accuſations of the author of "Three Ages of Literature," againſt the philoſophers of that day: but he puſhed philoſophy a little too far; for, even ſuppoſing his ſyſtem demonſtrated,

* *Traité Elementaire d'Arithmetique.* This was lately preſented to the French legiſlature by Garat, and three thouſand copies were printed by its order. *Edit.*

it would be more advantageous to confine thoſe truths within the circle of the initiated, becauſe they are dangerous, in reſpect to the greater part of mankind, who are unable to replace, by means of principles, that which they are bereaved of in the ſhape of fear, conſolation, and hope.

On the 10th of June, 1773, Condorcet was declared ſecretary-elect to the academy, which office was to devolve to him on the demiſe of Fouchy; on this occaſion he was preferred to Bailly, who alſo ſolicited the place. Theſe new functions naturally induced him to neglect the ſtudy of geometry, to which his genius was ſo admirably adapted. But at once the ſcholar and the friend of d'Alembert, like him he was induced to ſhine as a writer, although this talent, much more eaſily acquired, and in fact more common, could not tempt him with the proſpect of ſo great and durable a portion of glory as the higher geometry.

(1771.) The firſt eloge compoſed by Condorcet was that of Fontaine, who had been conſidered by Euler as the moſt profound of all the French geometricians, and the man from whom moſt might be expected. No one was better calculated to appreciate the talents of Fontaine than a ſcientific man, capable of the ſame reſearches, and who himſelf had acquired celebrity in the ſame career; but in comparing Fontaine to d'Alembert he diſcovered that predilection, afterwards ſo perceptible in the other eulogiums of the moſt celebrated geometricians, written by him during the life of his friend. Theſe eloges, which are extremely difficult in their compoſition, form ſo many monuments of the hiſtory of that ſcience. We are no where elſe enabled to appreciate labours which cannot be underſtood by more than ten perſons of the contemporary generation.

The eloge of Condamine, which he recited in 1774, appears to be a maſter-piece of another kind: the travels of that celebrated academician, the vivacity of his character, the diverſity of his works, the everlaſting activity of his imagination, and the extreme candour of his ingenuous mind, furniſhed Condorcet

dorcet with portraits which were loudly applauded, and which placed him in the firſt rank of thoſe who have acquired fame by this ſpecies of writing.

Never, before this period, did ſo much knowledge, philoſophy, imagination, energy, boldneſs of ſtyle, and eloquence, excite enthuſiaſm in the breaſts of the auditors; and, during nearly twenty years that he purſued this brilliant career, in the courſe of which he delivered fifty-four eloges, he never once ceaſed to produce the ſame degree of admiration, and receive the ſame ſhare of applauſe.

This unexampled ſucceſs cauſed him to be received a member of the French academy in 1782; and certainly no perſon had a better right to this honour than ſuch an admirable writer.

But Condorcet was not ſatisfied with compoſing the eloges required by his office. In 1773 he publiſhed a volume of thoſe omitted by Fontenelle; that is to ſay, of eleven academicians who died previouſly to the reſtoration of the academy in 1699, viz. Huyghens, Roemer, Picard, Roberval, Mariotte, Perrault, Charas, Freniele, Blondel, Duclos, and Lachambre. It is aſtoniſhing that, in the eloges which promiſed the leaſt intereſt, ſuch as that of Joſeph de Juſſieu, ſentiment and genius occupied the place of the ſubject, and we are ſtill taught to admire the ſecretary, while, at the ſame time, we felicitate the academician. One is tempted, on this occaſion, to recollect Alexander envying Achilles for having been ſung by Homer.

The eulogies of extraordinary men, ſuch as Bernard De Juſſieu, Haller, Linnæus, Buffon, Bernoulli, Euler, Macquer, Tronchin, Trudaine, and Franklin, afforded him a far better opportunity of exciting admiration.

The lives of the academicians whom he did not love, ſuch, for inſtance, as that of Buffon, loſt nothing of their importance when deſcribed by him; and thoſe of the academicians whom he loved moſt, were not accompanied with that exaggeration which might have been expected from the warmth of his imagination.

He was requeſted to print a collection of his eloges, in order to form a continuation to the ſix volumes by Fontenelle, Mirau,

Mirau, and Fouchy: it were to be wiſhed that his heirs would favour the public with an edition of them, the memoirs of the academy being too bulky and too little known; ſuch a collection would be eminently advantageous, in order to excite emulation in the ſciences. I recollect that, after having peruſed that made by Fontenelle, at the age of ſixteen, I felt myſelf actuated by the deſire of no other glory, no other happineſs, than the honour of belonging to the academy. I had not indeed conceived even the hope, but I travelled a hundred leagues merely to behold academicians; I therefore could not contain my indignation, when I was obliged to make mention, in "Le Journal des Savans," in February 1791, of that revolting pamphlet, publiſhed by Chamfort, againſt the academies.

The life of Turgot, publiſhed by Condorcet in 1787 (two volumes octavo), afforded him an admirable opportunity for the exerciſe of his talents, relative to the different branches of government and politics. The generality of miniſters do no more than their places require, and what thouſands would perform equally well in their ſituation; but when one preſents himſelf among the crowd, gifted by nature with ſuperior talents, in addition to principles or virtues peculiar to himſelf, and whoſe genius had outſtripped his age ſo far as to be diſowned by it; in ſuch a caſe, the hiſtory of that man intereſts all ages and nations. His example may prove permanently uſeful, and he may give to important truths that authority ſometimes neceſſary to reaſon itſelf. Such was the ſtateſman whoſe hands Voltaire inſiſted on kiſſing, even when he was no longer in place, and whom Condorcet unveiled to the world, by means of a work ſo curious and important, that I am tempted to pardon this digreſſion from, or rather this theft committed on, geometry, in favour of the public good.

Not only did Condorcet compoſe an eulogium on a miniſter after his diſgrace, but he was courageous enough to declare againſt a miniſter while in place, and that too at a moment when he enjoyed a high degree of eſteem: in ſhort, he wrote in oppoſition to Neckar during his adminiſtration, with the ſame freedom he was accuſtomed to uſe in the time of Turgot's.

When

When the miniſter De la Vrilliere died, Condorcet would not deliver an eloge on him at the academy; nay, he declared that he could not degrade his pen by ſuch a ſubject.

In his eulogiums he ſpared neither princes nor miniſters; he never attempted to palliate their faults; and, although the flattery of the academies has been aſſigned as a juſtification of their deſtruction, the direct contrary may be ſaid to have been the caſe while d'Alembert and Condorcet were the interpreters of their ſentiments.

It was remarked by ſeveral perſons, when Condorcet was elected ſecretary, that his birth would give him certain rights to public notice, or at leaſt enable him to uſe certain liberties, and occaſions of this kind preſented themſelves more than once.

The life of Voltaire, prefixed to the magnificent edition of his works, is another of his labours equally precious, on account of its taſte and philoſophy. His intimate connexion with Voltaire, not only rendered this in ſome meaſure a duty, but procured him the means of fulfilling it; he alſo ſuperintended the publication, and enriched it with many notes.

In 1783 he ſuppreſſed the extracts of the memoirs uſually included in the publications of the academy. The members approved of his conduct, being ſolely influenced on this occaſion by the conſideration, that it ſaved much trouble to a learned man, who could employ his time in a more uſeful manner, by extending the boundaries of our knowledge in geometry: accordingly the volumes of the academy were always enriched with his own memoirs.

In 1781 he produced his firſt diſſertation on the calculation of probabilities, in which he applied the mode of analyſis to the queſtion about determining the probability, that a regular arrangement is the effect of an intention to produce it.

In 1782 appeared his memoir, "Sur l'evaluation des droits éventuels de la feodalite" (On the value of the eventual produce of feudal rights). On this occaſion he ſearched for the total value, at a certain moment, of all the ſums which might have been received during an indefinite number of times at the epochs of alienation by ſale, or ſucceſſion by death, the probability of which

which is diſcovered by the obſervation of ſimilar events. In 1785 he publiſhed an able work on another ſubject, under the modeſt title of "Eſſai ſur l'application de l'analyſe à la probabilité, des deciſions rendres à la pluralitié des voix" (An eſſay on the application of analyſis according to the probability of the deciſions rendered by the plurality of voices).

Turgot, the comptroller-general, who at that time occupied his attention with the moral and political ſciences, and was alſo one of the author's friends, deſired, for the good of mankind, that the *certainty* of which theſe different ſpecies of knowledge is ſuſceptible, might be demonſtrated by the aſſiſtance of calculation; on this occaſion, he expreſſed a conſolatory hope that the human ſpecies would neceſſarily make a progreſs towards happineſs and perfection, in the ſame manner as it had done towards the attainment of truth.

In order to ſecond the views of Turgot, Condorcet undertook a work replete with geometrical knowledge. He examined the probability of an aſſembly's rendering a true deciſion, and he explained the limits to which our knowledge of future events, regulated by the laws of nature, conſidered as the moſt certain and the moſt uniform, might extend. If we do not poſſeſs a *real*, we at leaſt have a *mean* probability, that the law indicated by the events, is the ſame conſtant law, and that it will be perpetually obſerved. He conſidered a forty-five thouſandth part as the value of the riſk, in the caſe when the conſideration of a new law comes in queſtion, whether the deciſion rendered in conſequence of the leaſt plurality be true, or whether a true deciſion reſults from the required plurality. Buffon eſtimates a ten thouſandth part as a riſk always to be overlooked, and it is eaſy to imagine, that it will be extremely difficult to procure the probability required by Condorcet; however, it appears from his calculation, that an aſſembly conſiſting of ſixty-one votes, in which it is required that there ſhould be a plurality of nine, will fulfil this condition, provided there is a probability of each vote being equal to four-fifths, that is to ſay, that each member voting ſhall only be deceived once in five times.

He applied theſe calculations to the creation of tribunals, to the

the form of elections, and to the decisions of numerous assemblies, the inconveniences attendant on which were exhibited by him; in short, this work furnished a grand, and at the same time an agreeable, proof of the utility of analysis in important matters, to which it had never before been applied.

In 1787, 1788, and 1789, he published the three volumes entitled "Lettres d'Euler*," with additions by himself, and the citizen Lacroix: the reputation of Euler well merited the care taken of it, on this occasion, by Condorcet. He proposed to add another volume, and actually printed one hundred and twelve pages; these consist of the elements of the calculation of probabilities, in which he explains his calculations relative to the interest of money, and deduces important consequences respecting state loans. He also treats of the nature of those truths to which the calculation of probabilities might extend; of the motives of belief, by calculating the value of received opinions; whence he proposes to discover a *mean* value of the events which are not equally probable; and he moreover discusses a celebrated problem, known by the name of *Problême de Pétersbourg*, in which the rule generally adopted leads to an absurd conclusion; it however proves, that this law ought not to be employed without a due regard to the nature of the discussion; who can deny it? There are many of these paradoxes in geometry, which it is impossible to resolve without being possessed of metaphysical attainments, and a degree of sagacity, not always possessed by the greatest geometricians.

In the same work he started the idea of a dictionary, in which objects are to be discovered by their qualities or properties, instead of being searched for under their respective names; he also intimated a scheme for constructing tables by which ten *milliards* of objects might be classed together, by means of only ten different modifications. This hint, which is entirely new, is to be found, as I have already observed, in the work begun in order to form a fourth volume, in addition to Euler's letters; and, like the original itself, it demonstrates the genius of a geometrician.

At the meeting of the academy, on the 4th of May 1791,

* Euler's Letters to a German Princess.

the ſecretary pronounced the eloge of Fourcroy, a celebrated engineer.

On the 1ſt of October, 1791, the national aſſembly having been conſtituted, Condorçet, who was a member of it, could not repair to the academy as formerly; on this account he requeſted to act by deputy, and the ſociety, being anxious to retain him in a ſtation for which he was ſo admirably calculated, appointed different members to ſupply his place in turn, each doing the duties of it for three months.

The laſt public function performed by him as an academician, occurred on the 25th of November 1792, when he aſſiſted as one of the deputies of the academy who preſented the numerous books of the ſociety to the convention; on this occaſion I delivered the addreſs as vice-ſecretary, but it was his noble and philoſophical manner of ſpeaking that I attempted to imitate.

We expected to have demonſtrated to the repreſentatives of France, that the academy was a noble, important, and ought to be conſidered as a ſacred inſtitution. But nothing was held ſacred during the blind Vandaliſm of that unfortunate year. On the 17th of July, 1793, Sergeant cauſed it to be decreed, that the committee of public ſafety ſhould immediately deliver in a report relative to the ſuppreſſion of the academies, "becauſe," ſaid he, "the French, reunited on the approaching 10th of Auguſt, ought not to behold thoſe monſtrous bodies, prodigal of their incenſe to kings, and diſguſt to men of genius." This allegation, notwithſtanding its falſehood and abſurdity, ſerved as a pretext for the decree of ſuppreſſion on the 8th of Auguſt; but the academy of ſciences was in ſome meaſure excepted, for it ſtill remained *proviſionally* charged with the different labours impoſed upon it by the national convention, and the members continued to receive their annual appointments as uſual. Lakanal, deputy for Pamiers, even procured a decree on the 14th of Auguſt, in conſequence of which, the learned men to whom different objects of inquiry had been referred, were enjoined to perſevere in their labours (he meant on this occaſion to include all the academy), and the arrears due to them were ordered to be paid up.

In the mean time we ſtill conſidered it as allowable to aſſemble; but terror ſoon diſperſed the academicians, and that diſperſion continued during nearly two years. At length Daunou delivered in his report relative to the *national inſtitute*, which was read to the convention on the 23d *Vendemaire*, of the fourth year, in the name of the commiſſion of eleven, and the committee of public ſafety. The conſequence was, that the reſtoration of the academies was decreed on the 27th, under the title of a NATIONAL INSTITUTE, the firſt claſs of which contained the whole of the academy of ſciences. This aſſembly was inſtalled on the 15th *Frimaire*; it was Condorcet who furniſhed the plan.

The political labours of Condorcet entirely occupied the laſt years of his exiſtence: theſe undoubtedly reflect honour on him; but I only undertake to render homage to his memory as a *learned man*; I have, therefore, but little to ſay reſpecting the reſt of his life. His work, "Sur les aſſemblées provinciales" (On the provincial aſſemblies), had already announced his knowledge of politics, and his "Reflexions ſur le commerce des blés" (Reflexions on the corn trade), contained principles that ought never to have been abandoned.

In 1788, Roucher undertook to give a new tranſlation of an excellent Engliſh work by Smith, entitled "The Wealth of Nations," and it was announced, with notes by Condorcet. True it is, that the latter had but little concern with it, but it was thought that his name would give additional credit to the enterprize, and he ſometimes was led to exhibit ſimilar inſtances of complaiſance, more eſpecially in 1790. Chapelier and Peiſſonel announced a periodical collection, entitled "Bibliotheque de l'homme Public, &c." (The ſtateſman's library, or the analyſis of the beſt political works.) This indeed was one way of enabling the deputies of the aſſembly to learn what it was important for them to become acquainted with; it was ſuppoſed that the name of Condorcet might be uſeful on this occaſion alſo, and it was accordingly made uſe of. The work itſelf contained one of his compoſitions which had been tranſmitted to the academy at Berlin. The ſubject diſcuſſed was the following queſtion: "Eſt il permis de tromper le peuple?" (Ought the people to be deceived?)

The *Journal de Paris*, and the *Chronique*, were for ſome time the depoſitaries of his ideas and political reflections, and he gave uncommon celebrity to the latter by thoſe articles, replete with wit and philoſophy, which he often tranſmitted to it.

Lacroix the publiciſt reproached him bitterly on account of certain paſſages inſerted in the "Chronique," (ſee *Journal de Paris*, March 12, 1793,) and he affirmed, that although theſe were publiſhed under his name, he was not the author of them. It appeared, indeed, that he was not ſufficiently jealous of his reputation, for he was infinitely ſuperior to thoſe little uneaſineſſes produced by ſelf-love, and complaiſant to a faulty degree; in ſhort, he did not even read what was *fathered* on him in the "Chronique," and elſewhere; but a little before his death, he undertook a journal on ſocial inſtruction, in conjunction with Sieyes; the firſt number, which appeared on June 1, 1793, is entirely compoſed by Condorcet.

In it will be found his reflections on the word *(revolutionaire)*, revolutionary; *(ſur l'impôt progreſſif)*, on progreſſive taxation; *(ſur la theorie des elections)*, and on the theory of elections; one hundred and ninety-two pages only of this work were publiſhed. This is a great loſs to politics, philoſophy, and humanity.

Condorcet had written in favour of the republican government, and nothing, therefore, could be more natural than that he ſhould be nominated to the legiſlative aſſembly, which commenced its ſittings on the 1ſt of October 1791.

In the month of December he was appointed to draw up the manifeſto on the ſubject of the war with which we were then menaced; and in the month of February he wrote an addreſs, in order to make the people acquainted with what the aſſembly was achieving for them. In April he delivered in a voluminous report on public inſtruction, whence, in the courſe of that ſame year, was extracted part of the plan ſanctioned by a ſubſequent decree. In the month of March he ſeceded from the Jacobins, by whoſe means Robeſpierre had begun to prepare the deſpotiſm that afterwards enſued, while La Fayette denounced them, and all thoſe who poſſeſſed any ſagacity ſtrove to diminiſh their credit, the danger of which was already anticipated.

On

On the 13th Auguſt, 1792, when the king was conducted to the Temple, the aſſembly wiſhed to notify to France, and to all Europe, the motives by which they had been influenced ſince the 10th, and it was Condorcet who preſented the report of this important ſtate paper, of which the impreſſion, the placarding, and the tranſmiſſion to the municipalities of France, and all our ambaſſadors at foreign courts, was decreed.

After the convention had met on the 21ſt of September, 1792, Condorcet appeared to be the greateſt orator and philoſopher in that famous aſſembly, which was ſelected from all parts of the empire at the moſt critical period. He was ſpecially charged with the important office of forming a conſtitution; and the legiſlature was occupied in diſcuſſing and decreeing it, when the 31ſt of May, 1793, changed the face of the country, and baniſhed the moſt diſtinguiſhed men from the legiſlature, in order to deliver it up to the ambition of tyrants.

Another conſtitution was now called for; Hérault de Sechelles had the principal ſhare in this work, but he was not at liberty to make it ſuch as he wiſhed. It was at length decreed by means of poniards, and accepted under pain of death; from the whole tenor it was evident, that they were deſirous to form a conſtitution democratical indeed in appearance, but dictatorial in reality; in which they inſiſted, with much emphaſis, on the rights of the people, on condition, however, that the people ſhould never exerciſe them; in which all the powers were concentrated in the executive power, on purpoſe to leave the legiſlature in a ſtate of inertneſs; in which it appears that they avoided preciſion and definition, that they might, according to circumſtances, vary the ſenſe and the conſequences of a law.

On the 2d of June, 1793, the faction of Robeſpierre, which had obtained the aſcendency on the 31ſt of May, cauſed a decree to be paſſed for the arreſt of the moſt conſiderable men appertaining to the oppoſite party, ſuch as Buzot, Barbaroux, Guadet, Pétion, and on the 8th of July the ſame law was extended, ſo as to comprehend Condorcet. On this occaſion they recurred for crimination to the letter addreſſed by him to his conſtituents relative to the new conſtitution, in which he preſented them with

a plan of one he had drawn up, but which had been rejected by the convention.

On the 28th of July, all thoſe who had withdrawn after their arreſt were proclaimed traitors to their country, and declared to be out of the protection of the law. On the 31ſt of October twenty-one were butchered; this operated as a warning to the reſt.

Condorcet was concealed ſome months at Paris, in the houſe of a generous woman, who was at firſt unacquainted with, but had conceived a great affection for him.

At length, in the month of March 1794, the deputies being menaced with an inquiſition into their conduct, and domiciliary viſits, he quitted his aſylum for ſome days. He ſpent the firſt night in the plain of Montrouge. On the ſucceeding day he repaired to the houſe of an old friend * at Fontenai, but in conſequence of a deplorable fatality, he had gone to ſpend a couple of days at Paris. Condorcet tarried that night in a quarry, and remained during the ſucceeding one under a tree in the open fields. On the third day he returned, and found his friend. He had not taken any ſuſtenance during the laſt twenty-four hours; he was weak, languid, and in pain; in addition to this, his feet were bliſtered. After refreſhing himſelf, it was reſolved that he ſhould then depart, leſt the domeſtics might ſuſpect any thing, and return in the courſe of the night, when his friend would be alone, and better able to conceal him.

He was accordingly obliged to wander about the environs of Clamar, near Meudon. On the 7th *Germinal* † he entered a little inn and demanded ſome eggs. His long beard and diſordered clothes, having rendered him ſuſpected by a member of the revolutionary committee of Clamar, who demanded his paſſport, he was obliged to repair to the committee of the diſtrict of Bourg-la-Reine. Arriving too late to be examined that night, he was confined in the priſon, by the name of Peter Simon, until he could be conveyed to Paris. He was found dead on the 9th Germinal (28th March, 1794).

* There is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that this was Garat, formerly miniſter of juſtice, and who is at preſent employed in writing his life. *Edit.*

† March 26.

Thus

Thus finiſhed the career of one of the greateſt of our contemporaries, at the age of fifty-one, and that too at a period when he might have proved ſo uſeful to France.

His laſt work, intitled "*Eſquiſſe d'un tableau hiſtorique des progrès de l'eſprit humain*" (An hiſtorical ſketch of the progreſs of the human mind), appeared in the month of March 1795. It contains merely the outlines of a greater work, for he drew it up during the laſt months of his miſerable exiſtence, while a fugitive and in concealment. His ardent imagination, his active philoſophy, were not palſied by fear, by danger, or by the uncertainty of his fate. He thought and wrote as before; he wiſhed to be uſeful, and he was ſo until the laſt moment of his life. In this work he exhibits the poſſibility, and the hope, of beholding the duration of human life, and the qualities, both moral and phyſical, augmented, and he concludes with theſe conſolatory ideas, the reſult of his meditations:

"How admirably calculated," ſays he, "is this picture of the human race—emancipated from its chains, releaſed alike from the dominion of chance, as well as that of the enemies of its progreſs, and advancing with a firm and undeviating ſtep in the road to truth, to virtue, and happineſs—to conſole the philoſopher for the errors, the injuſtice, and the crimes with which the earth is ſtill ſullied, and of which he himſelf is not unfrequently the victim! It is the contemplation of this proſpect that rewards him for his efforts to aſſiſt the progreſs of reaſon, and the eſtabliſhment of liberty. He dares to connect them to the eternal chain of human deſtiny. It is in this perſuaſion that he finds the true recompenſe of virtue, reſulting from the pleaſure of having achieved a durable ſervice, which fatality will no longer deſtroy, by the reſtoration of prejudice and ſlavery.

"This contemplation affords him an aſylum, into which the remembrance of his perſecutors cannot follow him; in this ſituation he unites himſelf in idea with man reſtored to the rights as well as the dignity of nature; he forgets the operations of avidity, and the torments of fear and of envy; he then, indeed, lives along with his equals in an elyſium created by his own rea-

ſon, and which his love for humanity embelliſhes with the moſt charming enjoyments."

It is thus that the citizen Rederer expreſſes himſelf while giving an account of this work:

"O laſt monument of the genius and talents of a great man! ſacred book, written in the boſom of miſery, and on the extreme verge of life; laſt legacy of a friend to his friends, of a father to a beloved child, of a huſband to an honoured and adored wife; laſt legacy of a virtuous citizen to his country: thoſe poſſeſſed of ſenſibility have only to open thee, and run over thy pages, in order to pay their tribute of veneration and reſpect."

"Ah!" exclaimed the citizen Chenier at the *tribune* (on the 18th *Ventoſe*), "why did not ſome cavern, ſufficiently profound, preſent itſelf, to preſerve the meditations of Condorcet to his country!"

At the end of the year 1786 Condorcet married Louiſa-Sophia De Grouchy, whoſe wit and beauty made leſs impreſſion on his heart than the tender care beſtowed by her on the ſon of the preſident Du Paty, who was ſuppoſed to have been bitten by a mad dog. The excruciating agonies of this boy had excited the compaſſion of the young canoneſs; ſhe conſtituted his ſole conſolation, and acted as his nurſe: love is never more likely to overcome a philoſopher, than when he preſents himſelf in a form like this.

The marriage in queſtion was, however, the rock on which his philoſophy ſplit, by making him think of ſituations which his reputation afforded him a proſpect of obtaining, and which he would have formerly diſdained. It alſo ſubjected him to wants before unknown. When once he had a daughter, he deemed it neceſſary to diſplay an ambition for her ſake, which he had never done for his own, and he became commiſſioner of the national treaſury in France, in the ſame manner as Newton was placed at the head of the mint in England.

Condorcet, however, did not wholly abandon the ſciences; I have been aſſured that, during a very momentous revolutionary criſis, he read over the memoirs of Euler, and employed himſelf on (les integrales définies) definite integrals. He poſſeſſed as much humanity

humanity as courage; he therefore did not incline towards the death of Louis XVI, although there was great danger in oppoſing the opinion of a party at that time all powerful.

The citizen Suard, who lived beneath the ſame roof with him for ſeveral years, deſcribes him as a man of a moſt amiable character; but he eaſily permitted himſelf to be influenced. Sometimes, indeed, he diſplayed the moſt ſingular weakneſs:—he had been in love to deſperation; and, during ſome of the events of the revolution, I know that he was induced to act a part in oppoſition to his inclinations.

Neither his vivacity nor genius diſplayed themſelves in his perſon or converſation: D'Alembert was, accordingly, accuſtomed to obſerve of him, that he reſembled a volcano covered with ſnow, becauſe he was good, ſimple, tranquil, and complaiſant. As geometry had not withered his imagination, he diſplayed none of that roughneſs, taciturnity, and indifference, with which geometricians, abſorbed in a round of ſtudies, are ſometimes reproached.

It appears then that, in this point of view, Condorcet was infinitely ſuperior to his fellow labourers, being devoid of the abſtraction generally attendant on a ſcience with which he was ſo intimately acquainted.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND LABOURS OF

LAVOISIER.

BY JEROME LALANDE *.

ANTOINE-LAURENT LAVOISIER was born in Paris, Auguſt 26, 1743. His father, who was very opulent, paid an ex-

* This article is tranſlated from the "Mag. Encycloped. ou Journal des Sciences, des Lettres, & des Arts," Tome V. p. 174.

traordinary

traordinary degree of attention to his education, and the young man profited greatly by the inſtructions beſtowed upon him. After having ſtudied the claſſics, and entered on juriſprudence, he cultivated the ſciences merely from his love of them, and without any fixed object.

In 1764 the government propoſed, as the ſubject of an extraordinary prize, the ſolution of the queſtion relative to the beſt mode of lighting the ſtreets of a great city during the night, and combining together the ſeveral properties of economy, diſtinctneſs of viſion, and facility of operation. The ſum of 2000 livres (about 83l. ſterling), proffered as a reward upon this occaſion, was diſtributed among three artiſts, who had expended ſome money in experiments: the perſon who had treated this ſubject ſcientifically was diſtinguiſhed in a different manner; for the academy ordered the memoir of Lavoiſier to be printed, and he received a gold medal from the king, which was preſented to him by the preſident, in a public aſſembly, on the 9th of April 1766. The diſſertation in queſtion, which is replete with mathematical and philoſophical reſearch, already announced that the author had commenced the career of the ſciences; and, indeed, he never ceaſed to diſtinguiſh himſelf from that epoch.

On the 10th of May, 1768, he was elected by the academy to ſupply the place of Baron; he happened to be a candidate at the ſame time with Jars, an able mineralogiſt, enjoying the protection of the great, and in whoſe behalf both Buffon and Trudaine intereſted themſelves; the miniſter alſo declared in his favour, for he placed Jars firſt on the liſt, although he was only ſecond in reſpect to votes. I myſelf contributed to the election of Lavoiſier, although younger and leſs celebrated than his rival, from the conſideration that one at his time of life, who poſſeſſed ſuch knowledge, talents, and activity, and whoſe fortune rendered it unneceſſary for him to exerciſe any profeſſion, would become exceedingly uſeful to the ſciences: it accordingly happened that his wealth was always devoted to the advancement of knowledge.

About the ſame time he publiſhed various diſſertations in the

journals, relative to the project of Yvette*, thunder, the aurora borealis, and the process of congelation in the passage from water to ice.

He also travelled along with Guetard, who devoted his time to the study of the natural history of his native country; whence resulted a manuscript mineralogical chart of France, which is nearly completed; and also a dissertation on the revolutions that have taken place in the terrestrial globe, and the strata which compose it. Part of this appeared in the memoirs of the academy, and the Journal de Physique of 1772.

The memoirs of the year 1778 contain many inquiries relative to the nature of water, and the experiments in consequence of which the possibility of converting it into earth had been inferred. Lavoisier demonstrated that the earth found, while distilling water, was nothing more than a part of the vase decomposed during the process; on this occasion he continued the experiment for 101 days. At the end of that period the result was, that the total weight of the vase and the water remained the same, but on examining the particulars, it was discovered that the alembic had diminished, and the water augmented in exactly the same proportion.

He demonstrated, in 1774, that the augmentation of the metallic calces (chaux metalliques) arose from the air confined in the vessels; and this question, so long agitated by naturalists, was at length solved by means of experiments, which were at once nice, expensive, and replete with sagacity: this served as the foundation of the new chemical theory, and it was by these means that he began to attack the doctrine of phlogiston, to which, until then, every thing had been referred.

In 1774 he published several short physical and chemical dissertations. Priestley, in 1772, had printed his experiments relative to fixed air; but Lavoisier had traced the history of it as far back as Paracelsus, born in 1493, and Vanhelmont his

* *Le Projet de l'Yvette.* Orig. This was a scheme for supplying Paris with water, from the neighbourhood of the village of Yvette, a few miles distant from the capital, in the same manner as London is supplied by means of the New River. *Edit.*

disciple,

diſciple, born in 1488 *. After theſe come Paliſſy, John Ray, Boyle, Hales, Venel, and Macbride, who had conceived an idea of this ſubject; but Black, in particular, ſolicited the attention of naturaliſts to ſo important a branch of chemiſtry, in the eſſays and obſervations, phyſical and literary, of the ſociety of Edinburgh, publiſhed in 1756; and it is to him we are indebted for the diſcoveries which have produced ſo many others during the laſt twenty years: indeed thoſe in queſtion are ſerviceable to the cauſe of humanity; for the mephitic alkaline water, according to both Dolbern and Ingenhouz, is an acknowledged ſpecific for the ſtone.

Lavoiſier demonſtrated, by various experiments, that there exiſts in calcareous earth a fixed elaſtic fluid, a ſpecies of air under a fixed form †; he proved that this reſides in alkalis; he rendered it evident in the calcination of metals, and the combuſtion of phoſphorus; he applied to chemiſtry not only the proceſſes and methods made uſe of in experimental philoſophy, but alſo exhibited a degree of exactneſs and calculation until then unknown: the union thus formed between theſe two branches conſtitutes a brilliant epoch in the progreſs of both; and Lavoiſier is the man who contributed the moſt towards this fortunate event.

Prieſtley had found that a pure air was produced by the combination of nitrous acid with earth; and he concluded that the atmoſpheric air is a compoſition of earth and nitrous acid. Lavoiſier, on the contrary, made it evident, in 1776, that nitrous acid is compoſed of air. This ſole remark ſerves to explain a great number of experiments, and it is a diſcovery which has produced many others.

In 1788 he was enabled to prove that the pureſt air, the air eminently calculated for reſpiration, the dephlogiſticated air of Prieſtley, was the conſtituting principle of

* This is the date in the original, but it muſt be an error of the preſs; as it makes Van Helmont only five years younger than Paracelſus. John Baptiſt Van Helmont, a phyſician of conſiderable celebrity, was born at Bruſſels, in 1577. *Edit.*

† *Lavoiſier prouva par ſes experiences, qu'il exiſte dans la terre calcaire, un fluide, élaſtique fixé, une eſpece d'air ſous forme fixe, &c.*" Orig.

acidity,

acidity *, and that it is common to all acids. He gave the appellation of oxygene to that portion of vital air; which enters into the compoſition of all acids that unite with metals, reduces them to the ſtate of a calx, and produces vital air when it combines with the principle of heat. This was the ſecond marked and deciſive ſtep taken by him in the chemical theory of which he is undoubtedly the author.

This new theory of Lavoiſier's was ſoon received in Germany, a country in which chemiſtry is aſſiduouſly cultivated. Gitarner, at Gottingen, and Hermbſtadt, at Berlin, were the firſt to adopt it; the latter, indeed, tranſlated the elements of Lavoiſier's work into German. Klaproth, Mayer, Lichtenborg, and Gottling, afterwards ranged themſelves on the ſame ſide. Weſtrum, Crell, and Green, at Halle, ſtill ſupported the ancient doctrine of phlogiſton; but they did not poſſeſs the plurality of ſuffrages, and, at length, they all adopted the theory of our author. Bertholet remained for ſome time in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe, but he was ſoon enabled, in conſequence of his own experiments, to decide in favour of a theory which had enabled him to make intereſting diſcoveries.

In the month of June, 1783, Lavoiſier, who, in purſuance of the principles founded on a theory already confirmed by ſo many experiments, had prepared an apparatus on purpoſe to communicate a high degree of ignition in cloſe veſſels to inflammable and vital air, diſcovered that there reſulted from this combuſtion a liquid, which proved to be water in an extremely pure ſtate, the weight of which was exactly equal to that of the two airs employed. Having learned that Cavendiſh and Monge had already effected the ſame reſult, he formed another apparatus for the decompoſition of water, ſeparating the inflammable from the vital air, by means of pipes compoſed of *reddened iron* †; and

* "*En* 1778, *il fut en etat de prouver que l'air le plus pur, l'air eminement reſpirable, l'air dephlogiſtique de Prieſtley, étoit le principe conſtituſif de l'acidité; qu'il etoit commun à tous les acides, & il donna le nom de principe oxygène, a cette partie de l'air vital, laquelle entre dans la compoſition de tous les acides qui s'uniſſent aux métaux, les reduits à l'état de chaux, & produit l'air vital lorſqueelle ſe combine avec le principe de la chaleur.*" Orig.

† *Par le moyen de tuyaux de fer rougé.* Orig.

it

it is this mode that has been adopted, during our late campaigns, to fill the balloons, globes, or montgolfiers, in order to obſerve the motions of the enemy's armies, and contribute to our own victories.

He thus rendered it evident, that air conſiſted of two fluids, one reſpirable, the other mephitic; that the reſpirable part was itſelf compoſed of an oxygene principle, ſuſceptible of being fixed in bodies, and that this principle combined with metals during their calcination, as well as with combuſtible bodies during their combuſtion; that, in the firſt place, the compoſition thus formed was a metallic calx, or an oxyde; that, in the ſecond, it was an acid, differing according to the nature of the body that had been burnt. From this has ariſen all the theories of combuſtion, of acidification, and that diſtinction of bodies of this nature into combuſtible and incombuſtible. Thence alſo has been attained the knowledge of fixed air, at preſent diſtinguiſhed by the name of carbonic acid, becauſe it reſults from the combuſtion of carbon, and is compoſed of carbon and oxygen.

Lavoiſier was alſo the firſt to announce that theſe airs, or gaſes, were fluids in expanſion, and that they proceeded from the diſſolution of a certain ſubſtance by means of an ignited fluid: this led him to conclude, that the heat and light, diſengaged from combuſtible bodies while burning, does not ſpring from the combuſtible bodies themſelves, but from the air that ſurrounds them, and in which the combuſtion operates.

To this claſs of experiments appertain thoſe made by Lavoiſier on detonations, which are only rapid combuſtions, the reſults of which are diſengaged in the form of gas.

Turgot, in 1776, was deſirous of employing him to ſuperintend the manufacture of gunpowder, that he might be thus enabled to contribute to its perfection; and it ſoon attained ſuch a degree of ſuperiority, that the ſame charge was enabled to reach a diſtance of 120 toiſes, which, before his time, only carried 90. The conſequence was, that whereas the Engliſh ſhot, during the war of 1756, reached us before we could touch them, in that of 1778, they complained that they were aſſailed by our bullets

bullets before theirs could do us any damage *. He alſo occaſioned the ſearch formerly made in private houſes for ſaltpetre to be diſcontinued, by quintupling the quantum produced, and thus delivering us from the tribute paid to England for the ſaltpetre of Aſia.

Some new experiments had nearly coſt him his life, in conſequence of a terrible exploſion that took place at Eſſone, by which many perſons periſhed. Theſe experiments enabled him to make a complete analyſis of the nitrous acid; an acid ſo eaſily deſtroyed, ſo difficult in its formation, but which, however, is of the utmoſt importance, ſince it conſtitutes one of the elements of ſaltpetre and gunpowder.

I ſhall not undertake to follow Lavoiſier in the detail of the reſearches made by him relative to the different metallic oxydes, and the quantity of oxygene contained in them; the formation of acids by the humid mode; the affinities of oxygene; the paſſage of this principle from one ſubſtance to another; the cold combuſtions, and the inverſe operations of the combuſtion; the ſalubrity of the air, and the circumſtances that alter its reſpirability; the means of correcting, re-eſtabliſhing, ameliorating it, &c. Such were the immenſe objects of his inquiries relative to the moſt important branches of the new chemiſtry.

In 1789 Lavoiſier attempted to arrange the reſults of his experiments in a methodical order, and thence to form his work, entitled, "Des Elémens de Chemie," (Elements of Chemiſtry). Two editions of this publication were already ſold, and he was preparing a third, much more extenſive than the former, which would have given a new form to the ſcience.

It is impoſſible to determine what has, or what might have been the influence of the labours of Lavoiſier in manufactures,

* Soon after Louis XVI. had declared openly for the Americans, a captain of an Engliſh man of war, while going down channel, encountered a French ſhip of equal ſize, and an indeciſive engagement enſuing, he informed the lords of the admiralty, that this circumſtance was owing to the badneſs of the powder furniſhed by the contractors, as the Frenchman's ſhot all told, while his fell ſhort of the object. *Edit.*

&c.

&c. But one may judge from this circumſtance, that chemiſtry has entirely changed the proceſs of dyeing; nearly all the phenomena, at preſent preſented by this art, are now reduced to the principles of combuſtion and decombuſtion; more eſpecially ſince the important work of citizen Bertholet, "Sur la Teinture," (On Dyeing). This, which was formerly, in a great meaſure, empirical, is now conducted by means of a theory equally ſimple and luminous.

The proceſs of extracting metals from their mines, of melting and manufacturing them, of converting iron into ſteel, of bleaching linen, wax, &c. in ſhort, nearly all the chemical arts, have approached rapidly towards perfection under the guidance of the new chemiſtry.

By applying theſe diſcoveries to the phenomena of reſpiration, Lavoiſier has ſhewn that this vital function is a real combuſtion of carbon and hydrogene, and that it proceeds from the formation of carbonic acid and water. Animal heat is the reſult of this combuſtion, and he was, at length, enabled to determine the quantity of it. In ſhort, the experiments before alluded to conducted him to the intimate connexion ſubſiſting between the acceleration of reſpiration, and that of circulation and tranſpiration, and alſo between their different forces, and the employment of theſe forces by the animal; we alſo know, that he had long meditated an extenſive work on digeſtion.

The laſt, and perhaps the moſt important labours of Lavoiſier, were directed to the tranſpiration of animals; the papers on this ſubject were read by him, before the academy, on the 4th of May 1791. Part are printed in our volume of 1790, which will ſoon appear. Lavoiſier begins by obſerving, that the animal * machine is kept together by reſpiration, tranſpiration,

* "Il obſerve d'abord que la machine animale eſt entretenue par la reſpiration, la tranſpiration, & la digeſtion. Lavoiſier examine chimiquement l'effet de chacune, la nature de la tranſpiration cutanée, & celle de la tranſpiration pulmonaire. Il en ſepare les effets, & il interroge, pour ainſi dire, la nature ſur les trois cauſes qui les produiſent. Il avoit imaginé un appareil où tout ce qui appartenoit á la tranſpiration ſe paſſoit en dehors, & tout ce qui appartenoit a la reſpiration ſe paſſoit en dedans." *Orig.*

and

and digeſtion. He enters into a chemical analyſis of the effect of each, and the nature of cutaneous and pulmonary tranſpiration. He then ſeparates theſe from their effects, and interrogates nature, as it were, relative to the three cauſes which produce them.

He had conceived the idea of a machine, in which all that appertained to tranſpiration paſſed outwards, and all belonging to reſpiration inwards; and, in conjunction with citizen Seguin, he accordingly undertook ſome very difficult and laborious experiments, by which he diſcovered, that the loſs of weight to a man, in conſequence of tranſpiration, amounts to 2 lb. 13 oz. that he conſumes 33 ounces of vital air in 24 hours; that he diſengages from his lungs 8 cubical feet of acid carbonic gas, of which one-third conſiſts of carbon, and two-thirds of oxygene; that the weight of water, which evolves itſelf in the lungs, amounts to 1 lb. 7 oz. of which 2 ounces are hydrogene, and 3 oxygene; and that 6 ounces of water, entirely formed by pulmonary tranſpiration, is diſengaged in the ſame ſpace of time.

He had conſtructed balances, by means of which a demi-gros, added to 125 lb. was perceptible; and inſtruments the moſt precious, and expenſive, were eagerly ſupplied by his zeal.

In conſequence of theſe curious and difficult experiments, he had already acquired much information relative to the cauſes of different maladies, and the means of ſeconding the efforts of nature in their cure; nay, he was preparing to attack the ancient and revered coloſſus of medical errors. Nothing could have been more important than this undertaking; and it may be fairly ſaid, that if the ſciences have ſuffered an irreparable loſs, humanity alſo ought to bemoan the death of Lavoiſier.

The reputation acquired by the labours we have juſt mentioned, cauſed him to be ſelected by the academy of ſciences, in execution of the decree of the 27th of September, 1791, as one of the members of the bureau de conſultation, (committee of conſultation). He aſſiſted at their ſittings with his uſual aſſiduity; he contributed greatly to enlighten the members on the merits of the diſcoveries laid before them, and in the claims of the various artiſts to recompence. He was alſo entruſted

with other important functions, viz. that of ſuperintending the experiments, and inquiries decreed by the national convention, in order to contribute to the means of perfecting *aſſignats*, and alſo that of rendering the forgery of them more difficult.

Political arithmetic, or, in other words, the details of population, conſumption, productions, and argriculture, occupied much of the attention of this excellent citizen. Between 1778 and 1785, he himſelf cauſed two hundred and forty French acres *(méſure des eaux et forêts)* to be cultivated under his own immediate direction in the *Vendemois*, on purpoſe to exhibit uſeful examples to the inhabitants of the country. He produced three ſeptiers * on the ſame quantity of land that had before yielded but two. At the end of nine years he had doubled the produce; but, as he could not procure a profit of five per cent. on the money advanced, he concluded that it would be proper to authorize the diminution of the intereſt of money, and grant leaſes of twenty-ſeven years.†

In 1791 his aſſiſtance was ſolicited by the committee of contributions, and he helped greatly to perfect a plan which ſimplified the receipt of the taxes. It was in conſequence of this that he drew up the ſummary of a grand project relative to produce and conſumption, the materials of which had been long in his poſſeſſion. The aſſembly ordered it to be printed under the title of "*Richeſſe territoriales de la France*" (The territorial riches of France): it contains the moſt luminous account ever publiſhed on this ſubject; for no learned man, anterior to him, had ever united in his own perſon ſo much experience, added to ſuch a genius for calculation, and indeed every branch of adminiſtration.

In 1791 he was nominated a commiſſioner of the national treaſury: this was a loſs to the ſciences; but no perſon was better adapted than himſelf to fulfil the difficult and important functions of his new office, on account of his extenſive knowledge.

* A ſeptier is about twelve buſhels Engliſh meaſure. *Edit.*

† Au bout de neuf ans exploitation, il avoit doublé les produits; mais comme on ne peut pas retirer cinq pour cent de ſes avances, il en concluoit qu'il falloit diminuer l'interet de l'argent, et autoriſer des baux de 27 ans." *Orig.*

Without

Without ceaſing to purſue his former ſtudies, he eſtabliſhed ſuch order and regularity in the public accounts, that the receipts and expenditure of all the national offices during the day, might have been known in the courſe of the ſame evening.

The grand and important labour relative to the new *meaſures* about to be eſtabliſhed throughout the republic had occupied the academy ever ſince 1790; but no one had taken more pains, or been more uſeful on this occaſion, than Lavoiſier.

The dilatation of metals by heat was an important ſubject not ſufficiently attended to. He therefore cauſed an *apparatus* to be conſtructed in the garden of the arſenal, by means of which metal rules plunged into water, and ſubjected to different degrees of heat, gave motion to a glaſs, that marked on a diſtant object the different degrees of dilatation; and when, in 1793, it was intended to meaſure a baſe for a new meridian, with a preciſion until then unknown, he placed graduated rules of platina and braſs in his own garden: theſe formed ſo many metallic thermometers, by means of which the immediate effect of each degree of heat was inſtantly diſcernible, without having recourſe to a ſeperate thermometer. He alſo determined the affinities, and they are to be employed in the admeaſurement of the baſe from Lieuſaint to Melun, which will give the length of the meridian between Dunkirk and Barcelona, and become the foundation of republican meaſures.

Lavoiſier ſucceeded Buffon and Tillet as treaſurer of the academy, and he was not only ſerviceable to it, but alſo to the academicians, by his activity and credit. He introduced new regulations into the accounts, and alſo into the inventory of the cabinets; and he converted the unemployed funds poſſeſſed by the academy, without its knowledge, to the advantage of the ſciences. In ſhort, Lavoiſier was preſent every where; he was the man whoſe countenance was deemed neceſſary on all occaſions, and he was adapted to every thing, on account of his activity and his zeal, which were alike admirable.

A man ſo rare and ſo extraordinary ought to have enjoyed the reſpect of the moſt ignorant, and even the moſt wicked. To reduce the contrary, it was neceſſary that power ſhould fall

into the hands of a ferocious monſter, who did not reſpect any one, and whoſe blind and ſanguinary ambition ſacrificed every thing to the deſire of pleaſing the people. It was undoubtedly ſuppoſed, that the immolation of the farmers-general would give them ſatisfaction. Pretexts were accordingly ſought for in order to cut them off. It was on the 19th *Floreal* (8th May, 1794) that twenty-eight farmers-general were aſſaſſinated by a tribunal of executioners, whoſe deciſions had nothing of juſtice in them but the name.

In the perſon of Lavoiſier the ſciences experienced a loſs felt by all nations, and this alone is ſufficient to render the memory of the tyrant for ever execrable, whoſe ravages continued during eighty days longer. One, however, is not aſtoniſhed to find this crime added to thoſe which have bereaved us of Maleſherbes, La Rochefaucault, Saron, D'Eſtaing, Angran, Condorcet, and ſo many others, who did honour to France.

Lavoiſier obſerved to me, a few days before his death, that he foreſaw they would deſpoil him of all his property, but that he would earn a livelihood by his labours; and it appeared to me, that the ſtation of an apothecary* was that which he would have preferred, as being moſt analogous to his attainments and reputation.

For his own juſtification, and that of his colleagues, he had drawn up ſuch a ſatisfactory memorial, that it was impoſſible to foreſee that crime itſelf could go beyond the invaſion of their fortune. The commiſſioners of accounts have accordingly allowed that the inculpations were falſe, and that ſo far from owing any thing to the nation, the farmers-general were actually in advance. The convention indeed began, on the 22d *Thermidor*, to render juſtice to their memory, having ordered Dupin,

* Lavoiſier me diſait peu de jours auparavant, qu'il prévoyoit qu'on le dépouilleroit de tous leurs biens, mais qu'il travailleroit pour vivre; et il me ſembloit que l'état de pharmacien étoit celui qu'il eût préféré comme plus analogue à ſes connoiſſances et à la grande réputation dont il jouiſſoit.

It is not a little remarkable that Frederick the Great, at a period when he perceived the probability of his being ſtripped of his dominions, had alſo determined to have recourſe to medicine for his ſupport, having actually reſolved, in caſe of extremity, to practice as a phyſician at Venice. *Edit.*

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the repreſentative entruſted with the report on that ſubject, to be arreſted.

At the moment they were occupied about this pretended judgment, a paper drawn up by citizen Hallé, of the office of conſultation, was preſented to the tribunal, and in this there was a deſcription of the works, and a recapitulation of the merits, of Lavoiſier, capable of making an impreſſion on the moſt hardened of mortals; but it was not even read by thoſe men, who were the blind, ſtupid, and ferocious inſtruments of cruelty and death.

Lavoiſier was tall, and poſſeſſed a benignant countenance, which beſpoke genius. His character was mild, humane, ſociable, obliging, and he evinced an incredible degree of activity. His credit, his fortune, his reputation, and his office in the treaſury, gave him great preponderance, but the only uſe he made of it was to do good; this, however, did not prevent jealouſy on the part of others.

I wiſh to believe that this did not contribute to his melancholy end.

In order to explain the inactivity that took place on this occaſion, it is only ſufficient to recollect the univerſal terror that paralyzed all France, and which, while it ſtifled genius, blunted ſentiment.

In 1771 he eſpouſed Marie-Anne-Pierrette Paulze, daughter of a farmer-general, whoſe good nature and accompliſhments formed the delight of his life, who ſeconded him in his labours, and who even engraved the figures in his laſt work.

This woman, ſo worthy of exciting intereſt, beheld her father, huſband, and moſt intimate friends, aſſaſſinated in the courſe of the ſame day. Impriſoned herſelf, and even menaced with a ſimilar fate, her courage roſe ſuperior to all the horrors of her ſituation; but ſhe was only deſerving of more pity on this very account, becauſe ſhe was calculated by nature to receive a deeper impreſſion from the atrocity of the crimes with which ſhe was aſſailed and ſurrounded.

LIFE OF GODFRED-AUGUSTUS BÜRGER.

THE poet, ſays Bürger, in one of his prefaces, lays no claim in the ſcale of being to the rank of a ſun; he is content with the humbler, harmleſs, welcome offices of the zephyr. What, though he neither move the mills of manufacture, nor the ſhips of commerce, he may unfold the petals of the ſweeteſt flowers, and kindle the fluſh of ripeneſs on the moſt delicious fruits; he may fan the brow of weary toil, or lap in Elyſian airs the ſtrolling enthuſiaſt of nature. Well may he expect then at his tomb the ſigh of regret, the cypreſs-wreath of elegy, and the biographic memorial of poſthumous admiration.

Godfred-Auguſtus was the ſecond child and only ſon of the Lutheran miniſter John-Godfred Bürger, by his wife Gertrude-Elizabeth, whoſe maiden name was Baner. He was born in 1748, on new year's day, at Wolmerſwende, in the German principality of Halberſtadt, and inherited with the indolence of his father the talents of his mother. His early progreſs was inconſiderable. At ten years of age he could barely read and write. But he had a good memory: he learned by heart, and repeated with eaſe, many of Luther's hymns, and other pious fragments. He read the bible with delight: the hiſtorical books, the prophets, and pſalms, and eſpecially the apocalypſe, were turned over by him daily with renewed pleaſure.

To theſe hymns of Luther he aſcribed, in after-life, the hint of that impreſſive popularity which characteriſed his ballads. He had always an ear for rhythm, and, while a boy, would indicate and blame the lines which had a half foot too much, or which were ſo conſtructed as to throw on diſtinct ſyllables the *ictus* of the ſcanner and emphaſis of the reader. By a kind of inſtinct he knew already what interfered with effect. He loved to ſtroll alone about a wild uninclоſed heath near his father's home. He was ordered to carry a Latin grammar in his pocket, and to learn his declenſions. The firſt rudiments his mother attempted to teach him.

He was next entruſted to the care of a neighbouring preacher; but

but ſo averſe was he to this kind of application, that after two years he did not know his grammar, and was forced to withdraw as a dunce incapable of literary culture.

In 1760 his grandfather put him to a boarding-ſchool at Aſcherſleben, under the rector Auerbach. Here young Bürger learned ſomething, and exerted his talent for verſification in a poem on the fire that happened in the ſpring of 1764 at Aſcherſleben, which advantageouſly diſplays both his metrical and pious turn of mind. An epigram on the uſher's bag-wig, which the poet's ſchool-fellows repeated with troubleſome and ſeditious complacency, ſoon after occaſioned his expulſion as a ringleader in this petty inſurrection againſt authority.

He was next ſent to the univerſity of Hallé, to ſtudy theology. This was not the profeſſion of his choice, but his choice of this profeſſion was the condition of his grandfather's bounty. He according went through the routine of inſtruction, and once preached in a village near Hallé.

But his acquaintance while at this college with a counſellor Klotze, a man of literary attainments and free manners, brought on Bürger a reputation for libertiniſm, which, in the then ſtate of Proteſtant Germany, was ſuppoſed incompatible with the paſtoral office. Even his grandfather thought it neceſſary he ſhould relinquiſh the holy profeſſion for the ſtudy of the law, and accordingly conſented to his removal to Göttingen for that purpoſe, in the Eaſter term of 1768. To juriſprudence he applied with aſſiduity, and became well verſed in the Pandects; but experience had taught him no diſcretion in reſpect to his perſonal conduct. The lodgings which Klotze recommended he took at Göttingen, and again made a noiſe by his diſſoluteneſs, which provoked his grandfather to withdraw his patronage. Poor, and a rake, it was difficult not to incur a ſtyle of living repulſive to mere acquaintance, and diſguſting even to the tolerance of friendſhip. Bieſter, Sprengel, and Boie, were among thoſe friends who valued in Bürger the good qualities which ſtill remained to him, and who conferred on his adverſity what it admitted of conſolation. For Bieſter he was conceived to feel; to Boie he was thought to owe predilection.

A humorous poetical epiſtle to Sprengel, requiring back a

great coat left at his rooms, and the drinking ſong *Herr Bacchus iſt ein braver Mann*, were then conſidered as indicating the natural line of purſuit for his literary talents. Pecuniary diſtreſs had made him ſenſible of the neceſſity of exertion; for the fear of want is a ſtronger ſtimulus than the hope of remote advancement.

It was now that he firſt read with ardour the ancient claſſics, and that he applied to the modern languages with aſſiduity. Engliſh, French, Italian, Spaniſh, all yielded to his efforts. With Bürger and his companions Shakeſpeare became ſo favourite an author, that they agreed, one April night, to have a frolic in honour of his birth-day, at which all the converſation ſhould be conducted in quotations from the Engliſh dramatiſt. Baron Rielmanſegge was their hoſt, and ſo glibly would his gueſts repeat with Sir Toby, "Art any thing but a ſteward? Doſt thou think there ſhall be no more cakes and ale?" that by the hour of ſeparation their turbulence drew the attention of the police, and they had to "rub their chain with crumbs." [Daſs ſie ihren Rauſch auf dem Career auſſchlafen müſsten.] Bürger delighted alſo in Spaniſh literature, and compoſed in that language an original ſtory, which Boie ſtill poſſeſſes.

Gotter, a young man, formed by the ſtudy of French models to a love of correct and poliſhed verſification, came to Göttingen in 1769, and aſſociated with Bürger and his friends. He had brought with him a Pariſian almanack of the muſes, and took pleaſure in exhibiting theſe pencil-geraniums, with which the Greſſets, the Dorats, and the Pezais, had ſtocked this annual anthology. To Gotter Bürger attached himſelf greatly, and in his ſociety certainly acquired conſiderable taſte: in ſhort, his natural tendency to the exorbitant, the extravagant, the eccentric, was ſomewhat pruned away. They formed in concert a German almanack of the muſes. Räſtner, the epigrammatiſt, promiſed them his aſſiſtance; Boie was alert in his ſolicitations for contributions, and obtained, in a trip to Berlin, the avowed patronage of the German Horace, Ramler, a friend the more important, as he had acceſs to the directories of periodical criticiſm. Under ſuch auſpices the almanack of the muſes was

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not only likely to merit, but to obtain ſpeedy popularity. It accordingly ſucceeded to admiration, and continued from 1770 to 1775, under the ſame management, with annually increaſing reputation.

Bürger envied, as he ſays in ſome of his letters, the correctneſs and eaſe of his friend Gotter's verſification: to him all he produced was carried for criticiſm, and was at firſt ſturdily defended againſt objections, but much was always altered eventually in deference to the judgment of the cenſor. Fluſhed with the glow of animation, Bürger would often preſent his verſes with the comic entreaty, for this once not to find any fault; yet he was beſt pleaſed with a captious commentary, which put every epithet to the torture. Thus he gradually accompliſhed himſelf in the fine art *de faire difficilement des vers*.

Throughout life he maintained that his reputation as a poet was far leſs a reſult of any unuſual talent in him, than of the perpetual uſe of the file, meaning by that, the extraordinary pains he beſtowed on all his compoſitions: his beſt poems, he ſaid, were preciſely thoſe which had coſt him moſt labour. He would alter not merely words and lines, but left ſcarcely one veſtige of his firſt compoſition. A tranſlation of the *Hameau* of *Bernard*, and another moſt maſterly one of the *Pervigilium Veneris*, were among the exercitations which Bürger chronicled in the German muſes' almanack. The comic ballad Europa is alſo his, although the looſe turn of the ſtory occaſioned him to ſuppreſs his uſual ſignature.

In Germany it is not uncommon for poliſhed families to beſpeak a birth-day ode, an epithalamium, or an elegy on thoſe occaſions which form a ſort of epocha in the hiſtory of their exiſtence. To the poet a pecuniary recompence is ſent, and a ſplendid edition of his work is diſtributed among the friends of the houſe. The notice which Bürger began to obtain occaſioned many applications of this kind: and to him it was convenient, by means like theſe, to repair his ſhattered finances. Several heirs of fortune, ſeveral happy mothers, have now the pleaſure of boaſting, "my birth-day was ſung," or "my wedding was celebrated, by Bürger."

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In 1771 Hölty, the elegiac, and Voſs, the bucolick poet, Miller, author of Siegwart and Mariamne, a writer of great ſenſibility, and the two counts Stolberg, of whom Frederick Leopold is moſt known by poems, travels, and a romance called "The Iſland," came to Göttingen, as yet "youths unknown to fame." They were ſoon attracted by the natural magnetiſm of genius within the circle which had aſſembled round Bürger; and after his removal from Göttingen, in the following year, they continued to viſit his ruſtic retreat. It was the influence of Boie which obtained for Bürger, in 1772, a ſort of ſtewardſhip of the manor of Alten Gleichen, under the noble family of Uſlar. The acceptance of the place occaſioned a reconciliation between the poet and his grandfather, who was willing to encourage this ſymptom of economic care and returning prudence, by paying off the debts incurred at Göttingen by his grandſon.

Boie was abſent. A leſs faithful friend undertook the liquidation; nearly ſeven hundred dollars of this advance paſſed into the hands, not of Bürger's creditors, but of a ſpendthrift aſſociate. The ſtudent could not refund; the grandfather was inexorable; and Bürger migrated to his new reſidence, ſtill encumbered with college debts, which for years diſturbed his repoſe, but which his ſloth could never ſummon the means of diſcharging.

Here it was that Bürger firſt met with Herder's diſſertation on the ſongs of rude nations, which drew his attention to the ballads of England, and with Percy's Reliques, which immediately became his manual. Theſe books decided for ever the character of his excellence. From a free tranſlation of "The Friar of Orders Gray" *(Bruder Graurock)*, and "The Child of Elle" *(Die Entführung)*, and from an imitation of Dryden's Guiſcardo and Sigiſmunda *(Lenardo and Blandine)*, he rapidly paſſed on to the production of "The Wild Huntſman," "The Parſon's Daughter," and "Lenore." The two latter are probably the fineſt ballads extant. No other minſtrel communicates to the reader an equal degree of intereſt and agitation; it is difficult to peruſe them in the cloſet without breaking looſe into pantomime. Nor is he leſs maſter of the more difficultly arouſable, rapid, and

and impetuous movements of the ſoul, than of the tenderer feelings of the heart. His extraordinary powers of language are founded on a rejection of the conventional phraſeology of regular poetry, in favour of popular forms of expreſſion, caught by the liſtening artiſt from the voice of agitated nature. Imitative harmony he purſues almoſt to exceſs: the *onomatopœia* is his prevailing figure; the interjection his favourite part of ſpeech: arrangement, rhyme, ſound, time, are always with him an echo to the ſenſe. The hurrying vigour of his diction is unrivalled; yet is ſo natural, even in its ſublimity, that his poetry is ſingularly fitted to become a national and popular ſong. The Lenore was firſt communicated to Boie, who eagerly induced ſeveral of the Göttingen party to ride with him to Alten Gleichen, and hear it. The effect was peculiarly great on the younger count Stolberg, at the ſtanza,

> "Anon an iron-grated door
> "Faſt biggens on their view t
> "He crack'd his whip, and ſmaſh! in twain
> "Bolt, bar, and portal flew."

Frederic Leopold, on hearing theſe lines, ſtarted from his ſeat in an agony of rapturous terror.

Near two years were paſſed loneſomely by Bürger in his rural ſtation, but they were the two years of his life the moſt valuable to the public. He married, in September 1774, a farmer's daughter of the neighbourhood, by name Niedeck, whoſe devoted, whoſe heroic attachment to him was never more conſpicuous than in moments of the moſt untoward adverſity. In the village Wollmerſhauſen he hired the ſnug cottage to which he conducted his bride. An old ſchoolfellow, Gockingk, went to viſit him there on his marriage, and renewed an intimacy which ſuffered no ſubſequent interruption.

Financial difficulties were probably the cauſe which, in 1776, arouſed Bürger to publiſh in the German Muſeum, then a magazine of ſome celebrity, propoſals for an Iambic verſion of the Iliad. The annexed ſpecimens were diſtinguiſhed for a more than Homeric rapidity of diction, and for an abſence of ſtatelineſs, leſs unfaithful than the euphemiſm of Pope, and more attaching

attaching than the ſolemnity of Cowper. But as the younger count Stolberg had alſo made ſome progreſs in the ſame enterpriſe; as his ſpecimens, more dexterouſly choſen, divided at leaſt the ſuffrage of critics, and poſſeſſed the advantage of copying the hexametrical lines of the original; as his induſtry ſpeedily outſtripped the ſhort fits of Bürger's application, and ſoon completed the publication of the Iliad; this enterpriſe was abandoned without advantage to his fortune or his fame, after having extended beyond ſix books. The Epiſtle of Defiance, addreſſed on the occaſion to Stolberg, is one of the moſt ſpirited of Bürger's ſmaller poems.

His next literary undertaking was a tranſlation of Macbeth, brought out at Hamburgh for the benefit of Schroder, an artiſt-actor who excelled in perſonating the heroes of Shakſpeare. This tranſlation, although too much abridged, and in the witch ſcenes too low, is in ſome reſpects ſuperior to the original. The character of Banquo has acquired more conſequence, by the introduction of a good ſoliloquy at the beginning of the ſecond act. Of the third act the third ſcene is omitted; the murder of Banquo being made known from the narration of the murderer in the next. In like manner the ſecond ſcene of the fourth act is curtailed; the diſguſting butchery of Macduff's child being far more pathetically ſtated by Roſſe afterwards. The fourth ſcene of the fifth act is alſo with propriety omitted; as the removal of Birnam wood is ſufficiently explained by the narrative of the ſcout.

The father-in-law of Bürger died in 1777. In conſequence of this event, an intricate and inconvenient executorſhip devolved on the poet. A law-ſuit, which it obliged him to conduct, diſplayed, indeed, his profeſſional qualifications, but abſorbed his leiſure in vexatious frivolities. The inheritance, to which he acceded, did not much improve his circumſtances; which an increaſing family rendered daily more inſufficient.

In 1778 he undertook the excluſive compilation of the Göttingen almanack of the muſes (while Goeckingk and Voſs eſtabliſhed a new one at Hamburgh), and aſſiſted alſo in other periodical publications. The wages of authorſhip no where

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form an adequate reſource, if a liberal maintenance be the object. There is, however, a pleaſure in compoſition, there is a pleaſure in praiſe, there is a pleaſure, even when unknown, in contributing to tincture the general flow of opinion; theſe conſtitute the chief rewards, for, as a neceſſary diviſion of human labour, it is certainly underpaid. Bürger found it ſo; and, in 1780, forſook the Muſes for Pan, and applied to the rural gods for a maintenance refuſed him by the Nine. The farm he hired was ſituate in Appenrode. An additional motive to this determination was, perhaps, that the accounts of his ſtewardſhip were negligently managed; and that ſomething, very like a formal charge of peculation, had been made againſt him to the lords of Uflar. This accuſation, indeed, Bürger repelled; but his careleſſneſs made his reſignation a duty, and it was accepted with readineſs.

In 1784 his wife died. His farm appeared unproductive, probably becauſe it was abandoned to the management of ſervants; and he once more removed, with his children, to Göttingen, where he ſubſiſted partly by writing, and partly by private tuition. He read lectures there on the German ſtyle and the theory of taſte; and after five years reſidence obtained a profeſſorſhip.

As ſoon, or, perhaps, rather ſooner than his circumſtances properly permitted, he became united to his former wife's younger ſiſter, the ſo often celebrated "Molly" of his love-ſongs. During her ſhort ſtay with him ſhe was the darling of his affections; but ſhe died in child-bed of her firſt daughter, the very year in which ſhe married. His children, after this cataſtrophe, were diſperſed among different relatives.

Bürger undertook, in 1787, to lecture on the critical philoſophy of Kant, and his courſe was much attended. In this year the jubilee of the foundation of the Göttingen univerſity was celebrated: two poems were dedicated by him to the occaſion, and the grateful college conferred, in return, a doctor's degree. In November 1789 he became profeſſor of philoſophy.

About

About this time an anonymous poem arrived from Stutgard, in which the author, who was a female, profeſſed to have attached herſelf to Bürger, from the peruſal of his heart-felt poems; and with a liberal zeal, by way of recompence, offered him her hand in marriage. The verſes were well turned, and highly complimentary; and there was an intereſting ſingularity in their heroic caſt of ſentiment. Bürger drew up a very gallant reply, and printed both the poems in the almanack of the muſes. Intimations now came in whiſpers, that the lines were intended for the individual, not for the public. Bürger ſet off for Stutgard. The ſyren pleaſed not only when ſhe ſang; and Bürger married her immediately.

It is melancholy to relate, that this truly poetical union afforded no ſource of happineſs to the huſband; and that, in 1792, after little more than three years cohabitation, a ſeparation was accompliſhed by application to a court of juſtice. During this unfortunate connexion Bürger was aſſailed with a deep hoarſeneſs, which he never overcame, and which unfitted him for lecturing. This reduced him once more to dependence on the bookſellers for ſubſiſtence. A pulmonary diſeaſe was, in the mean time, making a rapid progreſs; it affected his ſpirits leſs than his health; but it ſnatched him, in June 1794, from a country which he had illuſtrated, at the age of forty-ſix years and five months.

His phyſician Dr. Jäger, and his friend the benevolent Reinhard, the attendants of his laſt moments, accepted the care of his four ſurviving children. His property was found inſufficient for the payment of his debts. A monument has been erected to his memory, by voluntary ſubſcription, in a garden at Göttingen where he commonly walked.

His works conſiſt of

Anthia and Abrokomas, tranſlated from Xenophon of Epheſus.

Poems. Vol. I. 1778. Vol. II. 1789.

Macbeth, altered from Shakſpeare.

Munchauſen's Travels.

Miſcellaneous

Miſcellaneous works, two volumes, containing the ſix firſt books of the Iliad, ſome proſe verſions from Oſſian, and the papers inſerted in various magazines, of which the philological (Hübnerus redivivus), and the political (Die Republic England), are calculated to excite ſome curioſity.

LIFE OF THE LATE

JAMES BRUCE, ESQ.

OF KINNAIRD.

JAMES BRUCE was born about the year 1733. The family, of which he was to become the repreſentative, deſcended, moſt probably, from one of the brothers, or other collateral relations, of the heroic Robert Bruce, king of Scotland. Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, an eminent and very turbulent preſbyterian miniſter in the reign of James the Sixth, was one of his immediate anceſtors. His parents held a reſpectable rank among the gentry of Stirlingſhire.

He received a very excellent education, as the author of this memoir was informed by himſelf, at ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſeminaries in England. The languages of Greece and Rome; mathematics, and the ſciences dependent upon it; the arts of deſign; the more poliſhed of the modern European tongues; and the gymnaſtic exerciſes; were comprehended among the accompliſhments which he was deſtined to acquire. The uſual courſe of travel on the continent followed ſoon after.

About the year 1760, young Bruce, then in poſſeſſion of his paternal eſtate, was looked upon as one of the moſt promiſing young Scotſmen of the age. The late earl of Chatham, whoſe patronage he courted, was about to have brought him into ſome employment in the public ſervice, at the very time he himſelf was ſuddenly driven from power.

A new adminiſtration wanted not among its members ſome who were willing to patronize the talents of Mr. Bruce; and he was accordingly appointed to the office of Britiſh conſul at Algiers As he diſcovered much of the adventurous ſpirit, and the paſſionate curioſity of a traveller, fitted to explore barbarous regions; it was recommended to him, by the miniſters to whom he owed his appointment, to inveſtigate thoſe remains of ancient Roman magnificence, of which Africa was believed to contain many ſpecimens, either unknown, or but imperfectly known to the curious in Europe. The genius of the late earl of Bute, who muſt be allowed to have poſſeſſed conſiderable taſte and ſcience, then predominated at court: and there ſeemed to be a deſire to illuſtrate the reign of George the Third with the literary ſplendour of the ages of Auguſtus and Louis the Fourteenth. The proſpect of civil promotion was, therefore, held out to Mr. Bruce, to encourage him to undertake, from Algiers, ſome bold enterpriſe favourable to the advancement of the fine arts.

Such an enterpriſe gratified the fondeſt wiſhes of Bruce's heart. His imagination was then warm with thoſe delightful viſions which the peruſal of the claſſics naturally excites in every ingenuous mind. To diſcover thoſe remains of Roman art and of Grecian colonization, which had hitherto eluded the reſearches of the moderns; to penetrate to the ſources of the Nile, which Julius Cæſar had in vain deſired to detect; ſeemed to him objects of purſuit not unworthy of the moſt ardent literary enthuſiaſm, and the moſt generous ambition.

Throughout Europe, diſcoveries like theſe were, at that time, paſſionately deſired, in order to fill up the chaſms in the ſyſtem of natural and civil hiſtory, and to facilitate the improvement of the fine arts. Sweden had juſt ſent out, from among the pupils of the great Linnæus, a Haſſelquiſt, a Kalm, and other ſcientific miſſionaries, to explore the moſt diſtant regions of the earth. The king of Denmark, alſo, had lately employed a company, conſiſting of an engineer, a draughtſman, a linguiſt, a botaniſt, and a phyſician, to inveſtigate the hiſ-

tory of the ancient and preſent ſtate of Arabia, and the other moſt famous countries of the Eaſt. The iſlands ſcattered throughout the wide expanſe of the ſouthern ſeas were beginning to be numbered. France and Spain were ſending out philoſophers to Siberia and to Peru, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining, by means of an aſtronomical proceſs, the preciſe figure of the earth. The love of ſcience, and the beneficent deſire to promote the civilization of mankind, had every where inſpired a deſire to proſecute diſcoveries, which had been hitherto only obtained in conſequence of the accidental communications ariſing from military conqueſt, mercantile avarice, or religious enthuſiaſm. It was not merely a pedantic fancy, or a quixotic dream, that impelled Bruce to enter on thoſe bold enterpriſes which he was deſtined to accompliſh. He was to contend with a number of the moſt enlightened of his contemporaries, for the attainment of objects whoſe importance the whole world was ready to acknowledge.

Many of the moſt eminent philoſophers in Europe earneſtly offered him their advice for the direction of his enterpriſe. From Italy and from England he was ſupplied with the beſt inſtruments for every purpoſe of the draughtſman and the aſtronomer. Some neceſſary aſſiſtants were engaged to follow him. He accordingly departed from Europe, and ſoon arrived in ſafety at Algiers.

Some time was neceſſarily ſpent in the ſtudy of the language of the Mooriſh Arabians, and in fulfilling the functions of his official character, before he could proceed upon his reſearches.

But, within no long period after his arrival, he boldly committed himſelf to the dangerous faith of ſome tribes of wandering Arabs, and advanced, in ſearch of ancient ruins, into regions which no viſitant from modern Europe had as yet ſucceſsfully explored. Aſſociating with his Arabian hoſts and guides, and diſplaying a ſkilful uſe of their language and manners, which left him ſcarcely under the diſadvantages of a ſtranger, he was thus enabled to diſcriminate the peculiarities of their reſpective characters with an accuracy of obſervation perhaps unequalled by any former traveller.

Being, perhaps, more a maſter of the pencil than of the art of literary compoſition, he executed many drawings of the various ruins now diſcovered by him; of which the ſingular excellence was afterwards doomed to excite the falſe and invidious cavil, that they could not be his own. While he ſhared the hoſpitality of the Arabs in theſe deſerts, he had occaſion to live with them on the fleſh of lions; a ſpecies of animal food ſo very different from roaſt-beef, and ſo much leſs eaſy than hare or veniſon to be procured by the chaſe, that ſome untravelled Engliſhmen may, perhaps, be inclined to deny that it can ever have been uſed as food.

From Africa he paſſed, in proſecution of greater deſigns, to the Grecian iſles, and the coaſt of Syria. An unfortunate ſhipwreck damaged his valuable collection of inſtruments for aſtronomical obſervations, but could not deter his reſolute mind from its adventurous purſuits. In Syria he ſurveyed the ruins of Tadmor and Balbeck, and executed many valuable drawings of thoſe noble, though mutilated, monuments of ancient art which they diſplay. In the hoſpitable ſociety of European friends, whom he found in the commercial cities, he paſſed the time neceſſary for him to await the arrival of various articles from Europe, without which he could not adventure upon his grander enterpriſe. During this period of leiſure he diligently ſtudied medicine, in order to recommend him to the barbarous inhabitants of the regions which he purpoſed to explore.

From Syria he repaired to Egypt. Its great towns, its pyramids; the ſites and remains of its ancient cities; the phænomena of the overflowings of its mighty river, the Nile; the formation of its lower territory, which advances to bound the Mediterranean ſea; the compariſon of its preſent local circumſtances with its ancient hiſtory, joined to the character of its government and inhabitants, all excited and engaged Mr. Bruce's attention. His ſcience, the manly dignity and firmneſs of his perſonal character, the advantages ariſing from the recommendations with which he travelled, and ſome lucky concurring accidents, introduced him to the friendſhip and protection of the famous Ali-Bey, who was then all-powerful in Egypt, and

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by this means procured him facilities for obſervation and inquiry, which have rarely been poſſeſſed by Europeans in that land. He was accordingly enabled to viſit, without perſonal danger, various remote and intereſting ſcenes, in the courſe of which almoſt any other traveller would have been inevitably robbed, and probably murdered. The ſacred code of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religions was in his hands, as well as the Grecian records of Homer and Herodotus: and, comparing what theſe books relate concerning ancient Egypt, with the ſcenes and the ſtate of ſociety before him, he was enabled to underſtand a number of hitherto unexplained particulars, in the hints which thoſe eldeſt of books preſent reſpecting the early annals of a country that was almoſt the primæval ſeat of civilized ſociety; and to confirm the truth of the Chriſtian revelation, by diſcovering various new proofs of the ſcrupulous fidelity of the Moſaic hiſtory.

From Egypt Mr. Bruce ſailed ſouthward, on the Red ſea, to Jidda in the Happy Arabia.

He had the good fortune to find at Jidda a number of his own countrymen from India, ſhip-captains, and merchants, in the ſervice of the Engliſh India company. They welcomed him among them with kind hoſpitality; heard with pleaſure and admiration of his bold purpoſe of penetrating into Abyſſinia, and exploring the ſources of the Nile; procured whatever directions were there to be obtained for his conduct during his journey; introduced him to the powerful protection of the prime miniſter to the ſherriffe, or religious prince of Mecca; offered him the free uſe of their purſes and credit; and, in fine, eſpouſed all his intereſts ſo openly, ſo earneſtly, and with ſuch a ſhew of deference and reſpect, that the whole influence of the Engliſh name and greatneſs in the Eaſt appeared to be interpoſed for his ſecurity among thoſe barbarians to whoſe doubtful faith he was now haſtening to commit himſelf.

With every generous wiſh on the part of theſe kind Engliſhmen for his welfare and ſucceſs, he ſailed for Maſuah, the maritime key of the entrance into Abyſſinia, on the weſtern coaſt of the Red ſea. That ſea he, on this occaſion and during

the previous navigation from Suez to Jidda, ſurveyed and ſounded with hydrographical care and ſkill, by which he was enabled to form a better naval chart of it than the world had hitherto been in poſſeſſion of. At Maſuah the benevolent exerciſe of his medical ſkill, the influence of the Britiſh name, the firmneſs, vigilance, and boldneſs of his perſonal character, could, with great difficulty, ſave him from being robbed by the Naybe; a knaviſh and rapacious chieftain who was ready to violate, without ſcruple, the univerſally acknowledged principles of the law of nations, and to trample upon the generous uſages of even barbarian hoſpitality.

After many perils from the fierceneſs, the deceit, and the thieviſh rapacity of the inhabitants, on this eaſtern frontier of the Abyſſian empire, our traveller happily made his way to a conſiderable mercantile town within its confines. The name of Ras Michael, to whom he had been recommended, and who was, at this time, maſter of both the king and his kingdom, began here to afford him as much ſecurity as a ſtranger could expect to find among a barbarous people, and amid the horrors of civil war. His intrepid boldneſs and vigilance, well adapted to contend with, to defeat, and to overawe, the fierceneſs and the cunning of ſavages; his noble liberality, in the diſtribution of preſents fitted to ſtrike and pleaſe the fancy of a rude nation; his gallantry, which ſlighted not the proffered favours of the Abyſſinian damſels; ſome lucky but unexpected incidents; and the admiration which his dexterity in ſhooting and horſemanſhip excited, did all the reſt. He accordingly arrived ſafe at Gondar, the Abyſſinian capital.

To penetrate to the ſources of the Nile, and to diſcover, with certainty, the cauſes of its periodical overflowings, formed the primary object of his journey. But he was deſtined to accompliſh others, which, although of a ſecondary nature, were to prove more uſeful and intereſting to the world.

Abyſſinia, a country comprehending ſeveral extenſive provinces at the eaſtern extremity of the great peninſular continent of Africa, probably received its firſt inhabitants from Egypt or Yemen. The imperfect remains of the hiſtory of ancien

ancient Egypt beſpeak a not unfrequent intercourſe, at leaſt of warfare and reciprocal conqueſt, to have taken place, in times the moſt remote, between the Egyptians and the people of Habeſh. Colonies appear to have migrated, in turns, between the eaſtern and the weſtern coaſts of the Red ſea, from Abyſſinia to Yemen, and from Yemen to Abyſſinia. Commercial adventure carried the Phœnicians and the Jews into Abyſſinia, at the time when they were maſters of the navigation of the Red ſea. It is alſo poſſible that the Jews, at the time when they were by the conqueſts of Nebuchadnezzar diſperſed abroad as captives or as fugitives from their native land, might flee in part into Abyſſinia, as well as into Egypt. By whatever means it may have occurred, certain it is that the religion and literature of the Jews had been very anciently introduced into Abyſſinia; and that the Abyſſinians had been taught to reſpect the race of their kings, as deſcendants from the famous Solomon. Miſſionaries from Arabia and Egypt converted this people from Judaiſm to a ſort of impure Chriſtianity. Their empire was, in the mean while, a territory of varrying extent; including, on the north ſide, the ſandy deſarts contiguous to the Mediterranean ſea, and towards the ſouth low and unhealthy regions, as well as many lofty mountains both inſulated and in continuous ranges, deep and wide-ſpreading foreſts, expanſive lakes, ſwelling and majeſtic rivers, broad plains, and flat ſullen moraſſes; expoſed for one part of the year to a climate of a dry and warm temperature, for another part of it regularly ſubject to heavy and inceſſant rains; at its weſtern confines meeting thoſe unknown interior parts of Africa, concerning which European curioſity has only ſuſpected that they are inhabited by ſavages and barbarians unacquainted with the virtues and the bleſſings of civilized life.

In theſe circumſtances, local diſadvantages, the character of the ſurrounding tribes and nations, and the want of a religion friendly to mild and benign, yet active virtue, concurred with an ill-compacted government, to retain the people of Abyſſinia in a ſtate of perpetual barbariſm, ſtill unmitigated and unenlightened. Chriſtianity could not improve the manners of the

converts whom it here gained, in a proportion equal to that in which it was obliged to debaſe its own reaſonableneſs and morality, for the purpoſe of winning their favour. The feudal form of government, under ſome modifications peculiar to Aſia and Africa, but in all that barbarous diſorder in which it ſubſiſted in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in modern Europe, was the ſpecies of political combination under which the Abyſſinians had lived almoſt from the earlieſt times of their known exiſtence as a nation. While the Portugueze, to whom Europe owes ſo much for their diſcovery of the great maritime route to the Eaſt, were in their higheſt commercial and naval greatneſs; they introduced themſelves, the Jeſuits, and the Romiſh form of Chriſtianity, into Abyſſinia; and, under the moſt ſpecious pretexts, ſtrove, in vain, to ſubject Abyſſinia to the dominion of Portugal and Rome. The attempt, and the miſeries and diſſenſions which enſued from it, ſerved but to perpetuate the almoſt unſocial diſorder of the Abyſſinian government, and to enhance the barbariſm of the manners of the people. The Abyſſinians found that they were likely to derive nothing but miſchiefs from their connexion with the Chriſtians of Europe; and Rome and Portugal were diſappointed of thoſe advantages which they had expected to obtain in achieving the temporal and ſpiritual conqueſt of Abyſſinia. The immediate intercourſe between Europe and Abyſſinia was accordingly broken off, before the Abyſſinians could derive any material improvement from the arts of the Europeans, or from the refinement of their manners. From this period the empire remained unchanged, faithful to the Coptic Chriſtianity of Egypt, and, though afflicted with continual revolutions, yet without experiencing any fundamental alteration of its mode of government.

Mr. Bruce arrived at the Abyſſinian capital in the midſt of one of the fierceſt and moſt afflicting civil wars by which this country had ever been waſted. But even in theſe circumſtances, and among a race ſo barbarous, the felicity of his genius preſerved him ſafe. The ſmall-pox, one of thoſe terrible diſeaſes, whoſe inextinguiſhable infection has conſpired with the ignorance and imprudence of mankind to ſubject every human life to be once endangered

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by its malignity, was at that very time outrivalling the havoc of war by its terrible devaſtations throughout all Abyſſinia. Bruce's medical pretenſions introduced him to the women and children of the houſehold of the dreaded Ras Michael, at a moment when charms and prayers had proved equally vain; when the fondled infant, the beauteous maid, ſcarcely yet nubile, and the gallant youth, amid his firſt untried ardour, after the perils and the glory of war, were, in ſpite of every effort, cut off together by this baleful diſtemper. Our traveller was ſufficiently acquainted with the Turkiſh and the Engliſh methods of treating the ſmall-pox; and his art reſcued from the brink of the grave ſeveral lives of which the preſervation had been deemed hopeleſs. The beautiful Ozoro Eſther, the beloved wife of Michael; her mother, the Iteghé, whoſe ſtate, as queen-dowager, remained inviolate, amid the diſtractions of civil war; ſome gallant youths, the ſons and grandſons of theſe ladies, grateful for Bruce's medical aſſiſtance, and charmed with the mingled boldneſs and gentleneſs of his character, quickly became his zealous friends and protectors.

When Michael, and with him the young king whom he ſuſtained on the throne, returned from a ſucceſsful campaign to Gondar, the ſtranger was preſented to them with recommendations which ſecured a very flattering reception. His own perſonal qualities ſoon did the reſt. Eminently expert in the horſemanſhip of Britain, and of the Arabs; bold, daring, intrepid, poſſeſſing true greatneſs of ſoul, and having ſoftened his native roughneſs with ſomething of uncouth refinement; able to drink with the Abyſſinians, without getting drunk with them; qualified to aſtoniſh them with the powers of a double-barrelled gun, and with a markſman's ſkill in ſhooting, which they could not imitate; exhibiting a lofty diſintereſtedneſs of ſpirit, which, though it did not reject their pecuniary favours with inſolence, yet refuſed them with an air of dignity, ſuch as might well beſpeak a man incapable of receiving the bribe of the courtier, the hire of the mechanic, or the ſordid gains of the merchant;—the Scottiſh traveller thus ſucceſsfully attracted to himſelf the admiration and favour of all that was great in rank or magnani-

mous in ſentiment about the Abyſſinian court. The Alexandrian patriarch had, by a paſtoral letter, enjoined the Coptic and Greek Chriſtians then in Gondar to make atonement for their ſins of vanity and preſumption, by doing public homage to Mr. Bruce. The beauties of the capital, never coy in the diſtribution of their favours, contended to beſtow them with laviſh fondneſs on a youth in whom the graces of Europe were combined with the robuſt vigour of an Abyſſinian warrior. The king, the miniſter, conceived a warm partiality for him. He endeared himſelf to the moſt eminent among the young nobility, by inſtructing them in ſome of the moſt notable military exerciſes of Arabia and of Europe. High offices in the court were offered for his acceptance. To obtain the protection neceſſary to enable him to accompliſh the purpoſes of his journey, he was obliged to accept the government of a ſmall province, and even to enrol himſelf among the lords of the bed-chamber to the Abyſſinian monarch.

He aſſociated with the nobility, in the amuſements of the court; eat with them raw fleſh, while it ſtill trembled with life and ſenſation; drank deep of their bouza, mead, and wine; and is not ſaid to have ſullenly refuſed thoſe favours which their nobleſt and faireſt dames were willing, even amid ſcenes of public feſtivity, to laviſh on ſo accompliſhed a ſtranger. Affecting a much more dignified character than that of the Greek Chriſtians, whom he found in high eſtimation among theſe barbarians, he lived at a great expence, drawn from his own ſupplies, not from their bounty; maintained the character of a phyſician, even after finding that the cuſtom of the country required of the phyſician rather to give fees to his patients, than to enrich himſelf by receiving them; and uniformly evinced by his conduct, that all he deſired to gain from his kind hoſts, was ſimply freedom and ſecurity, while he ſhould make thoſe obſervations and inquiries, for the ſake of which he had come into their country.

Religion, and the ſubjection of the Abyſſinian church to the eccleſiaſtical authority of the Roman pontiff, had been the grand concerns of the Portugueze Jeſuits, the laſt Europeans by whom theſe regions had been viſited. To obtain their ends they had excited terrible miſchiefs among a people who were but too prone

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to civil war; and the Abyſſinian clergy, therefore, could not now behold another European amongſt them, without being alarmed with the fears of jealous orthodoxy, and inflamed by the furor of religious perſecution. But prudence, a philoſophical indifference to religious diſputes, his gentlemanlike manners, remote from thoſe of the prieſt, and the high eſteem with which he was regarded by the monarch, and the Ras, his miniſter, effectually ſcreened Bruce from that thunder which prieſtly bigotry and malevolence ſtrove to hurl with fatal efficacy upon his head.

It was his fortune to witneſs ſome terrible ſcenes of civil war and political vengeance. He ſaw a king, the property of the ableſt, the moſt powerful, and the moſt wicked of his nobles, obliged to obey the dictates of the miniſter's cruelty and revenge; catching the infection of his crimes, and ready to exaſperate againſt himſelf thoſe whoſe hatred was originally directed againſt the Ras alone. He beheld ambition, reſentment, fickle turbulence, dæmoniac craft, and a ferocious delight in continual bloodſhed—all the fierce paſſions, and all the dark vices of barbarians, excite rival chiefs in endleſs rebellion againſt a king whom they were led to oppoſe, partly from the wiſh to deſtroy his miniſter, and partly from the habit of eternal contention. He witneſſed a wantonneſs of cruelty and carnage which could have place only where native barbariſm was infuriated by the mutual reſentments of political diſcord. Amidſt general cruelty, inhumanity, groſſneſs of manners, and meanneſs of intellects, he diſcovered ſome of the moſt amiable feminine virtues, and ſome of the moſt generous and dignified maſculine ones, joined to talents, of which the force and the comprehenſion have rarely been excelled among mankind.

To penetrate to the ſources of the Nile, and to examine every thing relative to the natural hiſtory of the country, had been the firſt objects of his inquiry when he made his way into Abyſſinia.

Obtaining, at length, a feudal grant of the very territory in which the fountains of the Nile had been ſo long hidden from the European world, he ſet out to viſit them; arrived after many perils,

perils, and drank libations of water more grateful and intoxicating to a romantic traveller than the Falernian of old.

After remaining there for a few days, highly gratified with the company of his male, and ſtill more with his female vaſſals, who were worſhippers of the deity of the Nile, he took his way back to Gondar, proud of having actually achieved what Julius Cæſar had only wiſhed for, and what the Jeſuits had lyingly pretended to have accompliſhed, in narratives of which the very tenour ſufficiently betrayed their falſity.

Having now accompliſhed the chief purpoſes of his journey into Abyſſinia, he was excited, by every conſideration, to haſten his return. With great difficulty he obtained that permiſſion to depart, which the cuſtom of the Abyſſinian court made them extremely unwilling to grant to a ſtranger from whom much might be learned, and from whoſe ſervices there were many advantages to be derived.

Perſuaded, that if he ſhould again put himſelf within the power of the Naybe of Maſuah, he would hardly be able to eſcape alive out of the hands of that robber, who was ſtill angry for his former diſappointment; Bruce dared not now attempt to leave Abyſſinia by the ſame route by which he had entered it. His only alternative was, to take a journey through thoſe deſarts, hitherto unexplored by the travellers of modern Europe, in which the armies of the Perſian Cambyſes had periſhed in ancient times. He accordingly ſet out from the Abyſſinian capital accompanied by many friends, at whoſe departure he ſhed tears. That province, of which he himſelf had been ſolicited to accept the government, was the laſt within the limits of the Abyſſinian empire, through which he had to paſs. A Moor, named Yaſine, having accidentally been the companion of his journey in his firſt entrance into Abyſſinia, had merited his kindneſs, and been advanced by him to its ſubordinate command. Yaſine took this laſt opportunity of teſtifying his gratitude to his benefactor, by entertaining him with reſpectful hoſpitality, negociating for his friendly treatment by the Arabs, through whoſe territories he was next to travel, and eſcorting him with a company of horſemen to a conſiderable diſtance.

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He was at laſt obliged to bid farewell to every Abyſſinian, and to commit himſelf to the faith of the Arabs of the deſart. In his company were ſome travellers who had put themſelves under his protection; he was attended by guides and ſervants; and they had with them horſes, camels, and their baggage. Through hardſhips, which, though conſiderable, were petty in compariſon with thoſe which he was to encounter, he made his way, in a few days, to Teawa. Carrying powerful recommendations to the Arab Schiech of this place, and being ready to gratify him with moderate preſents, Bruce had hopes of being hoſpitably received here, and of obtaining, without difficulty or delay, freſh camels, water, and guides, for his journey onwards to the next inſulated ſettlement, amid the ſandy waſte. The Schiech of Teawa was, however, one of the moſt faithleſs, rapacious, and needy, of all the Arabians of the deſart. He fancied that Mr. Bruce carried with him immenſe treaſures, and he reſolved, either by craft or violence, to make thoſe treaſures his own; for theſe Arabs, upon the ſame principle on which European governments demand cuſtom, tolls, and taxes upon poſt-horſes, ſhut up the navigation of rivers, and regulate preferences in commercial intercourſe, think that they have a right to levy exactions upon all ſtrangers coming within their territories; and ſince the meaſure of theſe exactions is not fixed by laws or treaties, it can be modified only by the power of him who demands, and the opulence or penury of thoſe who are compelled to pay them.

Bruce not only refuſed to comply with his requiſitions, but ſignified a reſolute determination to reſiſt force by force, and ſecretly diſpatched meſſengers to ſolicit interpoſition from Abyſſinia and Sennaar, for his deliverance. While, on the one hand, the Arab, hoping to overcome by delay the obſtinacy of his gueſt, heſitated to have recourſe to violence, and meditated new wiles; on the other, Bruce impatiently awaited that ſuccour which he had ſo earneſtly craved. A lodging and entertainment were ſtill ſupplied to the traveller; the Schiech's own wives cooked his meals; he was called, in his medical capacity, to adminiſter remedies of powerful efficacy to the Arab chief, and all his family; and he was captivated by the charms, and won the favour, of his hoſt's lovely daughter, the beautiful Aiſcach of Teawa.

When

When the Schiech, having his courage fortified by drunkenneſs, tried at one time to reduce Bruce to compliance with his demands by menaces of inſtant death, our traveller, always prepared by means of ſecret arms, and replete with intrepidity, quickly overpowered the treacherous and cowardly Arab with the dread of that violence which he had dared to threaten. The women, too, were on Bruce's ſide; and, warned from time to time by them, he kept himſelf ſufficiently on his guard againſt all the ſecret ſnares which the wily and rapacious Schiech continued to ſpread for him.

At laſt ſufficient protection arrived for our traveller; and the Arab was obliged, reluctantly, to diſmiſs out of his hands, without injury, that prey which he had, in imagination, already devoured. An aſtronomical prediction which Bruce was enabled to make, with an affectation of preternatural ſagacity, being quickly accompliſhed in an eclipſe, completed the mortification and terror of the petty tyrant, and procured to the wanderer a triumphant departure from Teawa. Camels, guides, water, and the other neceſſaries, were now readily ſupplied, and, at parting, Bruce ſurpriſed his unkind hoſt by beſtowing a remuneration which had been ill deſerved at his hands.

A dreary deſart was now to be paſſed before the travellers could reach another cultivated ſpot. Rapacious Arabs roved around, of whom, if one or two tribes were friendly, others were, on this very account, ſo much the more ready to treat them as foes. Their camels became weary: their water and other proviſions began to be exhauſted. They arrived, however, at length, after many perils, and with infinite fatigue, at the capital of the kingdom of Sennaar. Here the ſelfiſh knavery of a banker, on whom our traveller had an order for a ſupply of money, which he declined to pay, reduced Bruce to the neceſſity of diſpoſing of the greater part of a golden chain of an hundred and eighty links, which had been beſtowed upon him by the monarch of Abyſſinia, as an honourable reward for his gallant behaviour in a pitched battle. After various delays, difficulties, and lucky eſcapes from robbery and aſſaſſination, having the good fortune to be protected by the authority of the chief miniſter, Bruce was,

at

at length, enabled to take his departure from Sennaar, with a due ſupply of camels, water, and meal of millet ſeed, for the continuation of his journey through the deſart.

He had ſtill greater difficulties to encounter before he could reach the confines of Egypt. They travelled in conſtant dread of being ſuddenly intercepted or overtaken by ſome wandering Arabs, who would rob and then leave them to periſh in the deſolate wilderneſs. Their water alſo began to be exhauſted, their camels to turn lame, and their own ſtrength to diminiſh. Their feet were excruciatingly lacerated and ſwollen; and ſtill they were far, far diſtant from the cheering comforts of hoſpitality. One evening had almoſt completed their misfortunes. They had halted by a well, which they were inexpreſſibly glad to have reached; an Arab family, unſeen by them, paſſed the night near the ſame ſpot; and had it not been for the lucky vigilance of Bruce, their camels would have been ſtolen, and they themſelves left to inevitable death. Diſcovering the miſchief ſoon enough to prevent it, they compelled the thief to return with them as a guide.

As they proceeded, the terrors of nature were continually renewed before them, in forms more menacing and more awfully ſublime. The direful Simoon, whoſe blaſt is death, repeatedly overtook them; and had they not, though with infinite difficulty, avoided inhaling its poiſonous breath, they muſt have inſtantly periſhed by the inſpiration. Gigantic columns of ſand, blazing with the colours of flame, were ſeen to ſtart ſuddenly up in ranks before or behind, and to approach with rapid and tremendous movements, as if to overwhelm them. Even their camels, animals which ſeem to have been ſpecially deſtined by Divine Providence to enable men to traverſe thoſe vaſt and barren deſarts, without them inacceſſible; even theſe patient and hardy creatures, being at laſt overcome with the fatigue of ſo long a journey, ſunk under their burdens, groaned, and expired. Their baggage was now deſtined to be left behind them; and Bruce, when he ſaw himſelf obliged to relinquiſh his journals, his drawings, his collection of ſpecimens, his precious Æthiopic manuſcripts,

ſcripts, every memorial that could demonſtrate to the European world that he had, indeed, travelled into Abyſſinia, and penetrated to the ſources of the Nile, doubted whether, after theſe had been caſt away, even life itſelf were worthy of a further ſtruggle to preſerve it.

With difficulty they crept on yet a little further; and ſtill the way ſeemed to lengthen before them, while deſire was, every moment, at once anticipating its end, and extending the paces, as they paſſed, into miles. At laſt various indications began to prove that they had reached the verge of the deſart. A Turkiſh village at length appeared in view. This they reached; were there hoſpitably received; procured perſons to go into the wilderneſs in ſearch of their baggage; recovered it; and then refreſhed and ſolaced themſelves at their eaſe.

Mr. Bruce, having thus accompliſhed the object of his adventurous journey into Abyſſinia, and happily ſurmounted the tremendous perils of a return through the deſart of Sennaar, now proceeded gaily down the Nile to Cairo. Wherever he came, the dignified prudence and intrepidity of his character, overawing the rapacious and diſhoneſt, inclined the humble and the good to apply to him, as a potent and beneficent protector. An act of kindneſs to one of the officers of Mohammed-Bey, who had by this time ſupplanted Ali-Bey in the adminiſtration of the Egyptian government, proved the occaſion of introducing Bruce to that ruler with advantages which made the bey willing to gratify him with almoſt any favour. On this occaſion he was not unmindful of the commercial intereſts of his country. Grateful for the favours he had received from the ſervants of the Britiſh Eaſt India company at Jidda, he procured from Mohammed-Bey a firman, or letters patent, authorizing the Engliſh to tranſmit their merchandize thither on the payment of more moderate duties than had ever before been exacted from them in any port of the Red ſea.

This was Bruce's laſt remarkable tranſaction with the great men of the Eaſt. He ſoon after ſailed from Alexandria, and arrived ſafe in Europe.

His countrymen, thoſe in particular who had hoped to do honour

nour to themſelves and their ſovereign's reign, by encouraging this expedition; men of learned curioſity throughout all Europe; received Bruce, at his return from thoſe regions till now unexplored, with an eager admiration and applauſe, by which, to a mind like his, all his toils and perils ſeemed to be well repaid. Schoolboys and the vulgar might wonder to hear of the diſcovery of the ſources of the Nile; but philoſophers were much more gratified by the information, that in approaching them he had made obſervations which would enlarge and correct our knowledge of the character of barbarous life. None of the congratulations which awaited his return were more grateful to his heart than that of the great French naturaliſt the count De Buffon, whoſe ſtudies qualified him to judge of the importance and authenticity of Bruce's diſcoveries; who conſulted him with the veneration of a diſciple, and became the glad harbinger of his fame.

At the Britiſh court the African traveller's firſt reception was ſufficiently flattering. His drawings were accepted to enrich the collection of his ſovereign; and he was in return preſented with the ſum of two thouſand pounds. Proud of his adventures and diſcoveries, and pleaſed with the reſpect and admiration which they attracted, Bruce, for a time, abandoned himſelf to exultation; and hoped that a character, tried in an enterprize ſo perilous and ſplendid, would not fail to be employed by a diſcerning king and miniſtry in ſome of the moſt honourable offices his country could beſtow.

But he was ſoon to experience the moſt bitter diſappointment. Suſpicions were invidiouſly ſuggeſted that his drawings were too exquiſitely fine to have been executed, as he pretended, by his own pencil. He was alſo unfortunate in not knowing to make due conceſſions, in his accounts of what he had ſeen and achieved, to the incredulity of ignorance * * * * * *

This ſpirit of invidious detraction from merit, which, though not free from an alloy of human imperfections, was, however, eminently excellent, failed not to impreſs the mind of Bruce with a number of thoſe indignant ſenſations which it is natural for genius and virtue to feel whenever their hopes and

efforts are disappointed by the opposition of unworthy arts. He disdained to contend with the incredulity of prejudice and ignorance. He would not meanly solicit that official employment to which he thought that his distinguished abilities and experience might, without other aid, sufficiently recommend him.

He now retired from public life, to a residence on his patrimonial estate. A lovely woman, perhaps not without something of the partiality of a Desdemona, listened to his vows, and became the wife of his affections. Children blessed their marriage-bed. The duties and amusements of a country gentleman; the philosophical inspection of nature and of rustic life; the invaluable resources of a well furnished library; the recollection of all that he had observed, and meditated, and suffered, in his travels; were sufficient to hinder even his vigorous and active mind from languishing in retirement.

But unfortunately his domestic happiness was soon interrupted by the premature decease of his wife in the very bloom of youth and beauty. His fortitude was almost overpowered by the loss. He mourned her death, for a while, in that deep unutterable anguish which refuses consolation; honoured her memory by the erection of a noble funeral monument; then summoned up the energies of his mind, returned to the duties of life, and endeavoured to soothe his sorrow by the education of her children.

In the mean time the public was greatly dissatisfied with his delay to produce a complete narrative of his travels. His friends dreaded lest he should procrastinate a publication, which they anxiously longed to obtain, till, perhaps, his death might for ever frustrate his uncertain intentions of giving it to the world. His enemies maliciously attributed the delay to his consciousness of the imposture and falsehood of his pretensions. The lively De Tott, returning into Europe from Turkey and Tartary, pretended to have received, from the very servant who had attended Mr. Bruce into Abyssinia, an account of the Scottish traveller's adventures in that country, which was directly contradictory of that which Bruce himself had given out. Although the honourable Daines Barrington, in a very ingenious

paper, refuted the calumny of De Tott; and though all the friends of Bruce were ready to riſe up, with indignation, againſt this impeachment of his veracity; yet nothing leſs than the publication of the long-expected narrative, by the traveller himſelf, would now ſatisfy the ſuſpicions and demands of the public. Other French adventurers beſide De Tott, in particular Savary, more remarkable for glowing ardour of imagination, and enthuſiaſtic ſenſibility, than profundity and accuracy of erudition, or for philoſophical penetration and comprehenſion of mind; and Volney, bold, ardent, ſcientific, combining, in the character of his genius, a keen inventive energy of judgment, with rare ſublimity of imagination; preſented to the world books of their travels into ſome of thoſe very countries which Bruce had viſited; excited, throughout Europe, an aſtoniſhing degree of eagerneſs about every thing relative to the Eaſt; anticipated the Britiſh traveller in the communication of not a few of the moſt intereſting facts which he had to relate; and, by the ſucceſs of their labours, partly encouraged his hopes, partly provoked his emulation; ſo that he was, at length, induced to prepare his journals for immediate publication.

The taſk was, after all that he had formerly done, ſtill a difficult one. His aſtronomical obſervations were to be reviſed and verified. It was neceſſary for him once more to ranſack the depths of Grecian and Oriental erudition, in order to diſcover the diſagreement or coincidence between what the Jews, Arabs, and Greeks, had recorded, and that which he himſelf had obſerved, concerning Abyſſinia and the other countries of the Eaſt. His journals were to be wrought into a regular continuous narrative. His obſervations on ſubjects of natural hiſtory were to be carefully compared with the ſcientific elements of this branch of knowledge; and were, if poſſible, to be accommodated, in his account, to the technical phraſeology of naturaliſts. The beauty of arrangement, the propriety and the graces of ſtyle, with all thoſe delicacies of compoſition which, without long practice, even taſte and genius are rarely able to diſplay, were to be attempted by a man who, though no mean judge of ele-

gance, had long been more attentive to the matter than to the manner of whatever he wrote or read.

A conſiderable period therefore was neceſſarily ſpent in reviſing his journals, and improving their form. A young man of the name of Fennell, then an actor on the Edinburgh ſtage, and who has ſince acquired ſome diſtinction as a reader of lectures on elocution in Philadelphia, was employed as his amanuenſis; perhaps not without being allowed to ſuggeſt ſome occaſional corrections of the ſtyle. When ready for the preſs, the work was carried to Edinburgh; and, at the author's own expence, beautifully and correctly printed in the houſe of Sibbald, a man of eminence in his profeſſion.

The king willingly permitted ſuch of Mr. Bruce's drawings as had been placed in the royal collection to be copied on this occaſion; and it is ſaid, that the engravings were executed at his majeſty's expence.

I have heard Mr. Bruce himſelf relate, that the queen condeſcended to expreſs a ſolicitude about the time of the publication of his work; that his details of the Abyſſinian manners might be written with ſuch delicacy of thought and expreſſion, as to render a book, that promiſed ſo much inſtructive amuſement, not improper to be peruſed by the princeſſes. When it was ready for publication, Meſſrs. Robinſons, of Paternoſter-row, became the purchaſers; not of the copy-right, but of the whole firſt edition.

Although the work conſiſted of five volumes in quarto, yet it experienced a very rapid ſale; and in France a tranſlation of it was executed with a degree of haſte which almoſt anticipated the circulation of the original. Mr. Bruce himſelf, favouring the undertaking of the French tranſlator, was pleaſed to enrich his book by the communication of ſome facts, which reſpect for the delicacy of the Britiſh fair had withheld him from publiſhing in Engliſh, but concerning which he believed that the literary ladies of France would not be ſo ſcrupulous.

Magazines, reviews, and periodical publications of all kinds, in Britain, in Ireland, in America, in the Britiſh dominions in

India, and among the enlightened nations on the continent of Europe, were filled for a time with abſtracts from this narrative.

All owned that they found in the works of Bruce much to warm the imagination, much that deeply touched the dearèſt ſenſibilities of the heart. If his erudition were often more oſtentatious than correct; if his philoſophy were ſometimes ſlippant and ſuperficial; if his aſtronomical facts occaſionally excited againſt him the ſuſpicion of both ignorance and impoſture; yet the whole train of his narrative carried with it an intrinſic evidence incapable of being counterfeited, and, like the writings of the holy evangeliſts, appeared to demonſtrate that, in ſpite of every inferior matter of objection, its general tenor could not poſſibly be falſe. His ſtyle might be, on meaner occaſions, rugged and ungraceful; but, whenever he was to relate the dangers through which he had paſſed, to deſcribe the impreſſions with which new and extraordinary appearances had affected his feelings, to paint the characters of the barbarians with whom he had converſed, or to repeat, with dramatic effect, the impaſſioned dialogues in which he had borne a part, the ideas, the images, the emotions, with which his mind was big, ſeemed then to create a language for themſelves; and his ſtyle was perceived to aſſume, without effort, all the expreſſive energies, and all the endleſsly changing colours of a Shakſpeare's.

The beauty and apparent accuracy of the engravings, whether maps, charts, or figures, by which the narrative was illuſtrated, could not but add a conſiderable recommendation to the general merits of the work. The whole, taken together, afforded indubitable proofs, that Bruce was, aſſuredly, not unendowed with thoſe powers which he pretended to have exerciſed in the courſe of his travels.

His laſt viſit to London occurred during the publication of his travels. He returned ſoon after to Scotland; and the few remaining years of his life were ſpent either at Edinburgh, or at one of his ſeats in the country. He at length reſolved to publiſh a new edition of his travels in octavo; and, in order to have it printed under his own immediate inſpection, he intended

to furniſh a printer in Falkirk with the neceſſary implements, and to have the whole executed there at his own expence.

To every criticiſm that was thrown out he had carefully attended; and, notwithſtanding a doughty arrogance, which ſeemed to enter deeply into his character, yet was he preparing to make every alteration and amendment of which the propriety appeared to have been at all evinced.

He anxiouſly conſulted the Reverend Dr. Blair, at an interview at which I had accidentally the honour to be preſent, concerning thoſe alterations which the Doctor's exquiſite taſte as a critic, and his judgment as a man of ſagacity and diſcretion, might ſuggeſt as fit to be made for the improvement of the work. That reviſion of his aſtronomical facts; that correction and poliſhing anew of the ſtyle; that eraſure of indelicacies, whether of vanity or obſcenity; that amended arrangement; that more complete and ſatisfactory detail of Abyſſinian manners; which Blair, with friendly criticiſm recommended, Mr. Bruce reſpectfully conſented to execute.

It was within a very few months after this interview, that, as he had juſt riſen from entertaining a company of friends in his houſe of Kinnaird, and while he was turning round to conduct ſome of the ladies from his drawing-room to their carriage, he was ſuddenly attacked with an apoplectic fit, and expired almoſt immediately.

It has been endeavoured to mark whatever was peculiar in the character of Mr. Bruce, in the particulars of his life. A robuſt conſtitution of body, great energy and acuteneſs of mind, added to a Scotſman's ſpirit of adventure, appear to have been among his moſt diſtinguiſhing qualities at the time he ſet out upon his African travels.

It was, perhaps, a ſchoolboy fancy, that Cæſar was the greateſt hero of antiquity; and that whoſoever ſhould explore the ſources of the Nile would be greater than Cæſar; which firſt inſpired him with the paſſion for his journey into Abyſſinia.

During his long intercourſe with barbarians and ſavages, it was exceedingly natural that he ſhould contract an arrogance, an overweening notion of the ſuperiority of his own knowledge and perſonal qualities, and, perhaps, alſo a tincture of the iraſcible

cible paſſions, which might prove ſomewhat offenſive when he returned to the ſcenes of poliſhed life. His lofty diſdain of thoſe who dared to throw out ſuſpicions againſt his veracity, kept him, for a number of years, in a ſort of ſullen retirement from all but a ſelect ſociety of friends.

Among thoſe friends, whenever he choſe to throw aſide the *bear-ſkin*, no man could be more courteous and polite than he. In his gallantry towards the female ſex, there was a delicacy, a devotedneſs, an inceſſant yet not troubleſomely officious vigilance of attention, which could not but prove exceedingly flattering. To compare, on ſuch occaſions, his courteous manners, and elegance of converſation, with his tall, muſcular, athletic form, it might ſeem that the frame of the *Tyrrel* of the philoſophical noveliſt was here animated by the ſpirit of his *Falkland*.

He was very fortunate in the defenders whom he found to protect his fame. To be vindicated by ſuch men as Sir William Jones, the honourable Daines Barrington, and Buffon, one would almoſt wiſh to be accuſed by thoſe by whom the veracity of Bruce had been impeached. He was a kind, nay doting, huſband; a prudent and affectionate father; and a friend who knew how to attach his friends to himſelf. In ſhort, his mind was greatly above any thing like that falſehood of which he had been accuſed; for the veracity of Pſalmanazar was not more inviolably ſacred, in his old age, than that of Mr. Bruce ſeems to have been at all times of his life.

R. H.

ANECDOTES OF THE LATE

DANIEL DANCER,

COMMONLY CALLED,

"THE MISER OF HARROW WEAL COMMON."

An inſatiable thirſt after wealth, ſo juſtly denominated "*amor ſceleratus habendi*," by a poet of the Auguſtan age, is only known in what is termed a *high ſtate of civilization*. In the infancy of ſociety man is content with what nature freely ſupplies:—

"*Ipſa quoque immunis raſtroque intacta, nec ullis*
"*Saucia vomeribus, per ſe dabat omnia tellus.*
"*Contentique cibis nullo cogente creatis,*
"*Arbuteos fœtus,*" *&c.* MET. 13. l.

"The teeming earth, yet guiltleſs of the plough,
"And unprovok'd, did fruitful ſtores allow:
"Content with food, which nature freely bred,
"On wildings, and on ſtrawberries they fed;
"Cornels and bramble-berries gave the reſt,
"And falling acorns furniſh'd out a feaſt.
"The flow'rs unſown," &c. DRYDEN's Tranſ.

But it is not only during the ideal "golden age," that this paſſion is extinct; we find little or no veſtige of it even among the unpoliſhed tribes contemporary with ourſelves. True it is, that a property exiſts in the carcaſes and ſkins of the wild beaſts deſtroyed for ſubſiſtence, and the arms made uſe of for defence; theſe, indeed, conſtitute all their wealth. But who ever heard of a Laplander hoarding his ſuperfluous train oil? of a native of Kamſchatka burying the furs of the ſea otter? or a Cherokee

kee chief contemplating with ſullen delight thoſe dreadful, but to him uſeful, weapons, his tomahawk and his ſcalping knife?

Avarice, that whimſical and capricious ſtimulus; that only paſſion which gathers ſtrength with age, and ſtill perſecutes when all others have ceaſed to torment us; is the vice, then, of man not in a ſavage but a civilized ſtate.

A luxurious Roman, in the times of the emperors, pined after the wealth he had ſpent in inglorious debauchery, and actually put an end to his exiſtence, becauſe he had no more than fifteen or twenty thouſand pounds, of our money, remaining out of his immenſe fortune. In our own days, a knight * of the ſhire in a late parliament, who poſſeſſed property worth near half a million, was accuſtomed to puſh his horſe acroſs ploughed fields, and dine upon hard eggs, to eſcape the ruinous expence incidental to turnpikes and taverns; and this ſame legiſlator, who would play a rubber at whiſt for a couple of hundred guineas, walked home on foot every night from the gaming houſe, to ſave a ſhilling for a hackney coach!

We have had many other ſingular examples of this *mania* (for ſo it may be juſtly termed) in ſtill more recent times. Scheven, a rich banker of Hamburgh, who died in the courſe of the laſt year†, is ſaid to have denied himſelf not only the comforts, but even the neceſſaries of life; and, among other inſtances of penurioufneſs, we learn, that, after a faithful ſervice of ſeventeen years, he called in the aid of a German tailor, for the purpoſe of attempting to *turn his coat!* In our own country, and in the immediate vicinage of the metropolis ‡, a bachelor § of more than eighty years of age, liſtening at length to the perhaps *gratuitous* advice of a phyſician, determined to treat himſelf with a bottle of his own wine; but this firſt fit of extravagance actually proved mortal, for, as he never truſted any body with a key, in conſequence of removing from a warm bed to a damp cellar, he brought on a

* Mr. Elwes. † In January 1798. ‡ At Kentiſh Town.

§ Miſers are generally bachelors. This circumſtance undoubtedly originates in a peculiar ſpecies of *economy*; for, poſſeſſing the faculty of retention in an eminent degree, they ſeem averſe to the idea of even ſquandering away their *affections!*

ſhivering fit, which being ſuddenly followed by an apoplexy, the miſer is ſaid to have expired on the ſpot!

Daniel Dancer was born in 1716, in the hamlet of Weal, in the neighbourhood of Harrow. He was deſcended from a reſpectable yeoman's family in the county of Hertford, and his grandfather appears to have been ſettled at Buſhy, near Watford, where he followed the profitable occupations of mealman and maltſter. His father, who reſided at Stone Cauſeway, on Harrow Weal common, poſſeſſed conſiderable property in land, which he farmed himſelf: he had four children, three ſons and a daughter; and on his death, in 1736, his eldeſt ſon Daniel ſucceeded to the eſtate.

It has ſomewhere been aſſerted, that there never yet were three ſucceſſive generations of miſers; the Dancers, however, form a ſpecial exception to this rule, for it is an undoubted fact, that the grandfather, the father, and all the children, were ſtrictly entitled to this appellation! Their characters, however, were of a peculiar caſt; for it was the ambition and the occupation of their lives, not to accumulate for the ſake of their offspring, or relatives, or poſterity, or themſelves, but from the ſame principle that the magpie is ſaid to ſteal gold—merely for the pleaſure of *hiding* it!

The contemporaries of the grandfather are now no more, and but few traditional anecdotes have been handed down concerning him. But Daniel was ſatisfied that his father had concealed money to the amount of more than one thouſand five hundred pounds in the premiſes occupied by him, and this occaſioned no little uneaſineſs; but it did not proceed from the fear of its not being diſcovered, but from the dread leſt his brothers might find it, and not deliver it to him. This rendered him cautious of mentioning his ſuſpicions; and it was full two years before any part of it was found. At length, on removing an old gate, about two hundred pounds in gold and bank notes, which had been concealed between two pewter diſhes under one of the poſts, were fortunately diſenterred. The reſt was never heard of.

It was in the paternal manſion at Aſtmiſs, at Cauſeway-gate, on

on Harrow Weal common, that Daniel was doomed by the fates to ſpend the whole of his life, which ſeems to have been one uninterrupted dreary blank. His wretched * habitation was ſurrounded by about eighty acres of his own rich meadow land, with ſome of the fineſt oak timber in the kingdom upon it; and he poſſeſſed an adjoining farm, called Waldos, the whole of the annual value of about two hundred and fifty pounds per annum, if properly cultivated. But *cultivation* was expenſive, and ſo Daniel permitted graſs only to grow there; indeed, in ſo neglected a ſtate was the place for many years, that the houſe was entirely ſurrounded by trees, the fields choaked up with underwood, and the hedges of ſuch an amazing height as wholly to exclude the proſpect of mankind, and create a dreary gloom all around.

* I have been long deſirous to ſee the houſe poſſeſſed by Daniel Dancer, but never could gratify my curioſity. I have, however, been aſſured, that it exhibited a complete picture of miſery and deſolation. Among other odd circumſtances, I was told, that a tree had actually puſhed its top through the roof, and contributed not a little, by means of its branches, to ſhelter the wretched inhabitants from the inclemency of the weather.

The following lines, by Pope, are, I am well aſſured, equally characteriſtic of this old man and his habitation:

"What tho' (the uſe of barb'rous ſpits forgot),
"His kitchen vy'd in coolneſs with his grot?
"His court with nettles, moats with creſſes ſtor'd,
"With ſoups unbought, and ſallads, bleſs'd his board?

"If Cotta liv'd on pulſe, it was no more
"Than Brahmins, ſaints, and ſages, did before:
"To cram the rich was prodigal expence,
"And who would take the poor from Providence?

"Like ſome old Chartreux ſtands the good old hall,
"Silence without, and faſts within the wall;
"No raptur'd roofs with dance and tabor ſound,
"No noontide bell invites the country round;
"Tenants with ſighs the ſmokeleſs tow'rs ſurvey,
"And turn th' unwilling ſteeds another way;
"Benighted wanderers the foreſt o'er
"Curſe the ſav'd candle and unop'ning door;
"While the gaunt maſtiff, growling at the gate,
"Affrights the beggar, whom he longs to eat."

This

This was exactly what was wanted by the ſolitary poſſeſſor, for he appears to have led the life of a hermit during more than half a century, and to have been as much unacquainted with, and unknown to, the world, although reſiding within eight or nine miles of the capital, as if he had been the inhabitant of a deſert. His principal, and, indeed, only dealing with mankind, aroſe from the ſale of his hay; and he was ſeldom accoſted by any body, except when he wandered about the common to pick up a ſtray lock of wool, collect the dung of ſheep under the hedges, or trudged along the road in ſearch of paper, old iron, or caſt horſe-ſhoes.

His wealth was thus productive of no other enjoyment than the ſordid and unavailing one ariſing from the contemplation of riches which he did not dare to enjoy. On the contrary, it ſeemed to carry a curſe along with it, and to engender a variety of calamities to the wretched poſſeſſor. As he lived entirely alone, after the death of his ſiſter, for he could never prevail upon himſelf to be at the *expence* of a wife, the temptation to rob the *old miſer* proved irreſiſtible to thoſe who lived by rapine; indeed, there is ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe that they contemplated the plunder of a man of his penurious diſpoſition with but little compunction or remorſe: his avarice, if not an excuſe for, at leaſt ſeemed an alleviation of, the crime. He was accordingly robbed frequently, and, if report be true—for this was a ſubject on which he did not chooſe to enlarge—to a very conſiderable amount. He, however, once confeſſed, with tears in his eyes, to his niece, who had ſeen whole and half-pecks of halfpence on his ſtaircaſe, that "all—all was gone!"

On theſe occaſions it was cuſtomary with the houſebreakers to terrify him into a diſcovery of his more valuable property; and they are ſaid to have actually ſuſpended him by the neck ſeveral times before they could extort a confeſſion where it was depoſited.

At length Daniel bethought himſelf of a mode of preventing their viſits, and puniſhing their temerity. After faſtening his rotten door on the inſide, in the beſt manner poſſible, he determined never to enter the houſe again through that aperture.

Accord-

Accordingly, he procured a ſhort ladder, always aſcended by its means, and, pulling it in after him, took refuge in his miſerable apartment, where he literally reſembled Robinſon Cruſoe ſhut up in his little garriſon.

But not deeming this ſufficient, he actually dug a hole, or what military men term a *trou de loup*, before the entrance, which he covered over with looſe ſtraw in ſuch a manner as to ſecure the *principal approach* towards his caſtle, and entrap any incautious aſſailant, who might have the temerity to invade his darling property. After exhibiting this ſpecimen of his talents as an engineer, the modern Midas ſeems to have ſlept in ſafety amidſt his gold*.

His ſiſter, who lived along with him for many years, at length died, and left a conſiderable ſum of money behind her, which went towards the increaſe of his wealth, and ſerved rather to ſtimulate than diminiſh his avarice. About this time commenced his acquaintance with the Tempeſt family, which, while it ſoothed his pride, alleviated the ſufferings and ſorrows of his declining age. Lady Tempeſt†, who happened to live in his neighbourhood, compaſſionating the ſituation of Miſs Dancer, took her into her houſe during her laſt illneſs, and treated her with uncommon kindneſs. But the diſeaſe, which, dreadful to relate, is ſuppoſed to have proceeded originally from *inanition*, proved mortal, and rendered all the good old lady's care ineffectual.

Although Daniel never evinced any affection for his ſiſter, he determined to bury her in ſuch a manner as ſhould not *diſgrace the family*. He accordingly contracted with an undertaker, who agreed to take timber in return for a coffin, as Mr. Dancer had no idea of uſing the *precious metals* as a vehicle of exchange: he, however, could not be prevailed upon to purchaſe proper mourn-

* When hard puſhed, he is ſaid to have taken refuge in a well in the yard.

† The dowager lady Tempeſt, widow of Sir Henry Tempeſt, of Tong, in the county of York, baronet, and mother to Sir H. Tempeſt, bart. the preſent high ſheriff for the county of Hereford, died in February 1795. Her maiden name was Holmes: ſhe was deſcended from the family of Holmes in the iſle of Wight, celebrated during the civil wars, and exhibited uncommon abilities, and a ſteady fortitude, on various trying occaſions.

ing

ing for himſelf; yet, in conſequence of the entreaty of his neighbours, he unbound the hay-bands with which his legs were uſually covered, and drew on a ſecond-hand pair of black worſted ſtockings. His coat was of a whitiſh-brown colour; his waiſt-coat had been black about the middle of the preſent century; and the immediate covering to his head, which ſeemed to have been taken from Mr. Elwes's *wiggery*, and to have deſcended to Daniel as an *heir loom*, gave a groteſque appearance to the perſon of a chief mourner, but too well calculated to provoke mirth. This, indeed, was increaſed by the ſlipping of his horſe's girth at the place of burial; in conſequence of which the rider, to the great diverſion of ſome of the Harrow boys who attended, was precipitated into the grave!

The latter part of Daniel's life was, however, meliorated by the humanity and goodnature of his worthy and reſpectable neighbour.

Lady Tempeſt preſented him with a bed, and at length actually prevailed upon him to throw away the ſack in which he had ſlept for years. Being a ſworn enemy to extravagance, he was careful to exceſs of the property of another. He could ſcarcely be prevailed upon, it is ſaid, to touch a joint. He delighted in fragments and cruſts; and, while indulging himſelf in theſe *luxuries*, muttered execrations againſt the devouring gluttony of modern times. He alſo evinced, on this occaſion, a conſiderable portion of that low cunning ſo common in illiterate perſons; for he pretended to pay his addreſſes to the cook, in an *honourable way*, with a view of keeping in favour with her; and, when it was evident that ſhe had diſcovered his intentions to proceed from what is termed *cupboard love*, he endeavoured to impoſe on her a ſecond time, by promiſing to remember her in his will!

To a brother, ſtill alive, who keeps ſheep on the ſame common, and rivals the late Daniel in penury and almoſt in wealth, he always manifeſted the utmoſt averſion; to his niece, however, he once preſented a guinea on the birth of a daughter: but even here he made a hard bargain, for the gift was conditional—ſhe was either to name the child Nancy, after his mother, or forfeit the *whole ſum*.

To the honour of Mr. Dancer, however, he poſſeſſed one virtue, and that too not a very common one in this world—gratitude. Accordingly, ſome time before his death, he made a will, and ſurrendered his copyhold eſtates to the diſpoſition he had made; the will and ſurrender were both in favour of his benefactreſs, Lady Tempeſt.

The evening before his death he diſpatched a meſſenger, in whom he could confide, requeſting to ſee her ladyſhip; and, on being gratified in this particular, he expreſſed great ſatisfaction. Finding himſelf a little better, his attachment to the only thing he reſpected, more than that lady, recurred, and that too with ſuch violence, that, although his hand was ſcarcely able to perform its functions, he took hold of his teſtament, which he had intended to have preſented to her, and replaced it once more in his boſom.

Next morning, however, perceiving his end to be faſt approaching, he actually confided this paper, according to his original determination; and having now reſigned, as it were, all title to that adored wealth, which he conſidered as his "heart's blood," he ſoon after gave up the ghoſt, and was buried in the church-yard of his pariſh (Harrow), by his own particular deſire.

Thus lived, and thus died, at the age of ſeventy-eight, on September 4, 1794, Daniel Dancer, a true diſciple of the Elwes ſchool, the rigours of which he practiſed to a far greater degree than even his maſter. In conſequence of a very common miſtake of the *means* for the *end*, he deprived himſelf not only of what are termed the pleaſures, but even of the neceſſaries of life. At times, however, he would lament that he did not make a better uſe of his riches, and was once heard to regret that he had not, according to his original intention, ſet up a *whiſkey*, which in his opinion was the *ne plus ultra* of gentility. On another occaſion, upon receiving twopence for a pint of beer from a deputy commiſſary, who was about to pay him five hundred pounds for hay during the laſt war, and had miſtaken him for one of 'Squire Dancer's ſervants, he bridled up, and ſaid that he intended ſoon to become a gentleman himſelf!"

In his miſerable habitation were found ſome hundred weight of

of waſte paper, the collection of half a century, and two or three tons of old iron, conſiſting of nails, horſeſhoes, &c. which he had picked up.

On the ground floor ſeveral pieces of foreign gold and ſilver were dug up, and ſome coins, among which were a crown and a ſhilling of the Engliſh commonwealth, both of which, by the generoſity of a friend, are now in the poſſeſſion of the writer of this article.

Had it not been for the perpetual exerciſe of his *maſter-paſſion*, Daniel Dancer might have been a credit to his family, and an ornament to ſociety. He poſſeſſed the ſeeds of many admirable qualities, and exhibited frequent marks of ſtrong, nervous, good ſenſe, unpoliſhed indeed by commerce with the world, but at the ſame time unſophiſticated by its vices, or its follies.

Both he and his father, during a ſeries of more than ſixty years, had allowed themſelves two jubilee days in the year: theſe were their feſtivals, and they enjoyed them, for there was good cheer to be had without expence. The periods alluded to occurred in April and October, at Sir John Ruſhout's court baron for the manor of Harrow. As head tenants they conſtantly attended; and it was obſerved by all the ſuitors, that if the Dancers ſtarved at home, they eat moſt voraciouſly abroad. On theſe occaſions Daniel diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his droll ſayings; and, whenever any attempt was made to ridicule, burleſque, or paſs a joke upon him (which was invariably the caſe), the wit and eccentricity of his replies ſoon put his antagoniſts to ſilence.

No man had more of the true Engliſhman about him, at leaſt ſo far as concerned the defence of his rights and privileges, than Mr. Dancer. He was a ſecond Hampden in this reſpect; for, during the whole of his life, he would never permit any infringements on Harrow Weal common. Whenever an encroachment took place, without any reſpect to rank or fortune, Daniel inſtantly headed the villagers, and abated the nuiſance. This made him extremely popular.

During a period of fifty years he never kept any female ſervant, or indeed any ſervant at all. At length, after the loſs of his ſiſter, and within a few years of his own death, he took a man called

called Griffiths into his ſervice; but he was never known to have a domeſtic animal of any kind within his walls.

Miſerable and wretched as his diſpoſition was, he was not accuſed of having ever committed any act of injuſtice; on the contrary, he was ſometimes known to have aſſiſted thoſe whoſe ſtyle of living and appearance was infinitely ſuperior to his own.

He had no farming buſineſs but during the time of mowing his meadows. That of his hay harveſt, then, ſeems to have been the only period of the year in which his mind was occupied by buſineſs: and this too was the ſole time in which jollity appeared to be familiar to his manſion; for he ſeemed then to have entirely diveſted himſelf of his natural character. No gentleman in the neighbourhood gave his mowers better beer, or greater quantity, than Daniel did on this occaſion. It was brought from a neighbouring brewhouſe; for at this time only was the beverage of our Saxon forefathers to be found within his walls.

On his demiſe, the houſe in which he died, and in which he was alſo born, exhibited a ſpectacle of miſery and of terror; for it poſſeſſed ſo ſqualid an aſpect, that no other perſon would have ſlept in it; and was actually ſo ruinous, that neither bricklayer nor carpenter would have ventured to repair it.

Some time before his death he left this ancient tenement*, which,

* Notwithſtanding the miſerable aſpect of the houſe and its inhabitants, both brother and ſiſter, the former eſpecially, who was nearly naked, yet on Daniel's death, not only plate, table linen, and twenty-four pair of good ſheets, but clothes of every deſcription, were found locked up in cheſts. The female attire, of which there was a correct inventory, in the brother's own hand-writing, was valued at ſeventeen pounds. He alſo, among other apparel, had ſome excellent boots; but he preferred to *caſe* his legs with the ſtill warmer covering of hay-bands!

Although he poſſeſſed two ancient but tolerably good bedſteads, with the proper furniture, originally belonging, as well as the houſe, to the Edlins, a family of ſome property, yet they were carefully ſecluded from the light of heaven, and both he and his ſiſter ſlept on ſacks ſtuffed with hay, and covered with a horſe rug.

Their uſual meal conſiſted of cold dumplins as hard as a ſtone, made of the coarſeſt meal; their only beverage was water; their ſole fire a few ſticks from the common: and it is not a little remarkable, that their own wood, which they poſſeſſed in plenty, was ſuffered to rot, that being eſteemed ſacred.

During

which, with the ſurrounding meadows, has been lately ſold by ſir Henry Tempeſt, to the marquis of Abercorn, on purpoſe to read his will to a perſon in the neighbourhood. An objection being made to it, on the ground that there was no proviſion bequeathed to his brothers, he replied,

"If I were of a great family, I would not diſinherit the heir of the paternal eſtate—in ſuch a caſe it would be wrong; but I have long had it in my mind to leave what I have away from mine. My brothers are both old men, and have much more than they can ſpend, or know how to make a proper uſe of; beſides they have no children. I am aſhamed of myſelf and them. I have not even improved my property; and, were I to live my time over again, I would not do as I have done."

Mr. Dancer, as has already been obſerved, kept neither cat nor dog; and yet rats and mice were ſtrangers to his dwelling: they had ſurely left it "inſtinctively," knowing they muſt ſtarve there.

He entertained a moſt ſingular idea of a neighbouring nation, although he entered but little into political diſcuſſions. He called the French republicans, the *Romans*, and was fully prepoſſeſſed with the belief, "that they would ultimately overrun the world, and come and claim his lands, becauſe they had once belonged to a monaſtery." So fully ſatisfied was he of this fact, that he was particularly careful never to utter a word againſt them.

The two following anecdotes of Daniel have been communicated by a gentleman who poſſeſſed the beſt means of obtaining information concerning him.

During the laſt twenty years Daniel's houſe is ſaid to have been entered at leaſt fourteen times by thieves, and the amount of his loſſes is calculated at two thouſand five hundred pounds. As the lower part was in ſuch a ruinous ſtate as to admit a perſon with eaſe, it was recommended to him to get it repaired; but he replied, "that this would be only throwing away more money, for then they would get in at the windows."

In order to employ the attention of the marauders, until he ſhould eſcape to his *hiding-place*, he was accuſtomed to ſtrew the ground floor with farthings and ſixpences wrapped up in paper.

About

About ſix years before his death, during a hot ſummer's day, he was obſerved by a neighbour very aſſiduouſly employed in throwing water from a pool, by means of a frying-pan, on the ſurrounding meadow, which happened to be burnt up. On being queſtioned as to the object of his labours, he obſerved, "that he wanted a bit of nice freſh graſs for his old horſe, for hay being then very dear, a poor body ought to be ſparing of it." The ſame perſon, returning in three or four hours afterwards, found the old man in tears, and, on inquiring the cauſe, was informed, "that he had worked with the frying-pan until he was tired, when falling aſleep on the graſs, ſome rogue had ſtolen a pocket-book from him containing three hundred and fifty pounds in bank notes, which he had received the day before for ſome ricks of hay that he had ſold."

Having been once reluctantly *bound over* by a magiſtrate to proſecute a horſe-ſtealer at Ayleſbury aſſizes, he ſet out with a reſpectable neighbour, who undertook to accompany him. Himſelf and his horſe, on this occaſion, exhibited a groteſque appearance, for the movements of the latter were regulated by a halter inſtead of a bridle, while a ſack faſtened round him ſerved inſtead of a ſaddle; as for ſhoes, this was a luxury that Daniel's Roſinante had never been accuſtomed to.

On their arrival at Ayleſbury, having ſtopped at an inn of decent appearance, Dancer addreſſed his companion in the following manner:

"Pray, ſir, do you go into the houſe, order what you pleaſe, and live like a gentleman, I will ſettle for it readily; but as for myſelf, I muſt go on in my old way."

He accordingly did ſo, for he bought a pennyworth of bread for himſelf, ſlept under his horſe's manger, and paid fifteen ſhillings, being the amount of his companion's bill, with the utmoſt cheerfulneſs.

Having ſaid ſo much of Daniel, it may not be amiſs to mention a few particulars about his immediate relations. Henry, his next brother, is an old man, and unmarried; he is ſuppoſed to be worth five thouſand pounds, which he conceals in the true Dancer manner. He lives on Harrow Weal common, tends ſheep at ſo

much per day, will hold a gentleman's horſe for twopence, and return him a thouſand thanks. He commonly hires his ſervices out to the farmers in any way he may be uſeful, and in conſequence of a law ſuit, occaſioned by his brother's will, he lately repaired to London in a new coat, of exactly the ſame cut and colour as that uſually beſtowed by the pariſh. In addition to other property, he poſſeſſes the farm of Waldos, worth about three thouſand two hundred pounds.

Hammon Dancer, the laſt of the race, is alſo an old man, and without children. He reſides in a wretched habitation near Lambeth, exhibits the ſame uniform degree of miſery as the other branches of his family, denies himſelf, like them, every comfort of life, and actually ſtarves with ſix or ſeven thouſand pounds in his poſſeſſion.

A little before the death of their ſiſter, Miſs Dancer, whoſe life had been prolonged by the care of Lady Tempeſt during ſix months, ſhe expreſſed a deſire to leave an acknowledgment to the dowager out of the one thouſand ſix hundred pounds ſhe had concealed in an old tattered black petticoat; but this was prevented by the eldeſt brother, who ſaid "it was needleſs to give that good lady a part, for ſhe would have the whole when he died."

No ſooner was ſhe interred, than Henry and Hammon applied for their ſhare of the *perſonality*; but this was ſturdily reſiſted by Daniel, who aſſerted that he would not part with a penny: obſerving, "that as ſhe had nothing originally, all her property muſt have been ſtolen from him: beſides, he had boarded her during forty years, and he could not really afford ſuch a heavy expence under thirty pounds per annum."

On being threatened with a law ſuit, he did not appear at all diſpleaſed at the idea; indeed, it ſeemed exactly to tally with his favourite maxims of concealment: he ſhrewdly obſerved, "that the money, in that caſe, would ſoon be HID ſo ſafe among the lawyers, that none of them would be able to find it."

He was, however, prevailed upon to give his brothers about four hundred and fifty pounds apiece, and releaſes were accordingly executed in the uſual form: but from that time he never

ſaw

ſaw them, and could not bear their names to be mentioned in his preſence.

The whole of his property, on his deceaſe, amounted to about ten thouſand pounds; a ſum which, by proper management, he might have doubled, and at the ſame time allowed himſelf all the comforts of life.

Thus, in his caſe, avarice was unaccompanied with that eagle-eyed keenneſs which is its uſual concomitant, and that ſpirit of calculation and finance, that Cocker-like knowledge of funds and figures, which generally occupies the daily labours, and flits around the pillow of the modern miſer.

ELOGE OF

DUPUY.

FROM THE FRENCH OF LALANDE.

Louis Dupuy, a member of the late academy of inſcriptions and belles lettres, and of that of Gottingen, cenſor and librarian of the library of the hotel De Soubize, and one of the writers in the journal Des Sçavans, was born at Chazey, in Bugey, November 23, 1709. His father reſided in that village, in an agreeable retreat bordered by the river Ain, and he lived in eaſy circumſtances with twelve children whom he brought up to labour and economy. He cultivated under his own eyes the eſtate of his anceſtors, and ſeemed to deſire nothing more than a ſeaſon favourable to his corn and his grapes.

He knew not from what claſs of citizens he derived his origin, whether nobles or plebeians, and gave himſelf little concern about it. All the titles, even thoſe to his patrimonial eſtate, had been burnt during the wars of Henry IV. with the exception of one dated in 1400, and which was acquired by an alliance contracted

with the marchioneſs De Saman. This was the right of nominating to a chapelry, the gift of which was in the eldeſt of the family; and the living was to be enjoyed by one of the relations only, without the viſitorial interference of the archbiſhop. This circumſtance determined the father of Louis Dupuy to give him an education that ſhould qualify him for the ſtation of an eccleſiaſtic. One of his brothers, a very learned man, and much reſpected as a curé or rector, accordingly took the charge of young Dupuy from the age of five to twelve. To connect the only advantage of public tuition, which is emulation, with the private education of his nephew, he ſent for two of the boy's couſins to ſtudy with him. Theſe were very ſoon diſtanced by Louis in the career of learning, being rather his ſcholars than fellow ſtudents; in field ſports and muſic, however, they continued his equals.

Louis afterwards ſtudied with brilliant ſucceſs at Lyons, where the Jeſuits had, at that time, a very famous college. He had formed a little academy of the ableſt ſcholars, who, in a chamber hired at their own expence, prepared honorary premiums, which were always borne away by himſelf. They ſtudied Greek and Hebrew: how happy would he have been if he had not loſt ſix years in the ſtudy of theology!

With letters of recommendation and a ſmall *peculium*, this young man, already celebrated at Lyons among the eccleſiaſtics, arrived at Paris in 1732. He was then twenty-two years of age, and was admitted, about two months afterwards, into the ſeminary of the thirty-three, where he was appointed to the charge of teaching philoſophy. There he remained ſix years; and proceeding thence to the Sorbonne, to take his degrees, he became what was called ſecond ſuperior there, although he was only a ſimple tonſuré. He inſpired his pupils with a reliſh for the ſtudy of Greek and Hebrew, following the leſſons of the college royal. The celebrated Fourmont conceived the greateſt regard for him, and had already formed the idea of introducing him into the academy of belles-lettres; Dupuy's modeſty, however, inſiſted that the time for this was not yet arrived.

A financier who loved him took him to his own houſe, that he

he might have more leiſure to purſue the profound and diverſified ſtudies to which he ſaw him devoted. But thinking that no bait could be more attractive than a rental of 25,000 livres, he ſaid to him—" I am diſpoſed to make your fortune; all I deſire of you, in return, is to copy and to comprehend the regiſters before you. In taking you as a partner into my concerns, I engage to procure you a property at leaſt equal to a quarter of my own. You ſeem to me to have renounced the church, and the eſtate of your father, which you are willing to reſign to your only brother now left alive. Science only regales the underſtanding. Do not neglect the offers I make you. You ſhall be my aſſiſtant and my friend. A rich daughter will, in a few years, augment the portion which I ſhall in the mean time obtain for you."

Dupuy, after thanking him with great ſenſibility, ſat down to the deſk; and now we ſee him as it were *ſedentem in telonis*. At the end, however, of three months, fatigued and exhauſted with poring over a tariff of duties, he takes up the regiſter, carries it back to the financier, and frankly tells him, that overpowered by his paſſion for the ſciences and literature, he had come to a reſolution of renouncing finance and all the advantages he might have expected from it.

Soon after this, the marquis De Mancini ſent to invite him to take a ſhare in his apartments and table in the Louvre. He repaired thither, and in that ſociety improved in the higheſt degree his taſte for muſic, the marquis furniſhing him with all the neceſſary means. Here he alſo mingled with the beſt company, and formed many faſhionable connexions: his hoſt himſelf introducing him to the greateſt families. Still, however, he coveted a more retired ſituation, where he might entirely devote himſelf to ſtudy. M. Paſquier, a counſellor of parliament, who had conceived a high opinion of his merit, demanded him of the marquis. The magiſtrate, who was himſelf a learned man, a widower, and kept but little company, had, moreover, an only ſon, whoſe infancy gave little promiſe of improvement, and was deſirous to have near him a man of merit, who, during his own abſence, might act as a ſuperintendant

over all who were concerned in the education of the boy. Employed in important affairs, both judiciary and political, he wiſhed to be replaced by a learned friend. In this connexion with the magiſtrate, Dupuy found the neceſſary and the agreeable, with ſufficient leiſure to purſue his ſtudies. His reſearches were now directed towards objects of erudition of every kind, ſacred and profane. The fruits of his firſt lucubrations were a variety of literary remarks, which appeared in the periodical publications of the day. In 1739 and 1740 he wrote a paper in the journal of Trevoux relative to the diſſertation of father Merlin on the letter of St. Chryſoſtom to Cezaire.

In 1752 he printed, in the journal De Verdun, ſome letters, containing Obſervations on an Introduction to the Underſtanding of the Scripture, publiſhed by Villefroy, a learned profeſſor of Hebrew. In 1755 appeared a volume of Critical Reflections on the Method of Villefroy; and in the Memoirs of the Academy, vol. xxxvi. a Diſſertation on the Vowels of the Oriental Languages. In 1760 he ſent to the journal Des Sçavans an Explanation of a Paſſage in the Firſt Book of Kings, &c.

His erudition ſoon procured him the acquaintance of many academicians, and in 1756 the count De Caylus prevailed upon him to offer himſelf to the academy: he was accepted, and from that epoch became one of the moſt aſſiduous co-operators; as appears from the volumes of that period. In 1773 he was choſen ſecretary in place of Lebeau, from which time to 1779 we find twelve eloges of his on Fometté, Bignon, Duclos, La Bleteïre, Cheſterfield, Lenauze, Caperonier, S. Aignan, La Vrillière, Debroſſes, Le Beau, and Foucher.

The ſtyle of his eloges is neither that of a poet, nor an orator: he does not aſtoniſh like Condorcet and Vicq-d'Azir; we recogniſe, however, the true ſpecies of hiſtoric eulogy, the talent of a man accuſtomed to weigh and appreciate every thing; reflections refined and deep, which ariſe without effort from the abundance of his learning. He appears rather to make the examen, than the panegyric of his aſſociates; he does not ſeek to baniſh ſhades from the picture, but conſiders truth as a merit eſſentially requiſite to his compoſition. His phraſes combine preciſion

preciſion and abundance, and his diction perſpicuity and the moſt rigid purity.

Theſe writings ſometimes involved him in diſputes. The abbé Rive was incenſed at his having called Bibliography the *ſcience of a ſkilful bookſeller*, and menaced a terrible vengeance; but, although he lived many years afterwards, he never thought fit to execute his project.

His employment of ſecretary, together with that of treaſurer of the academy, added to his other occupations, became, at length, too laborious for the age of Dupuy, and, in 1783, madam Dupuy prevailed upon him to give in his reſignation; he was ſucceeded by Dacier.

In 1758 he was choſen one of the writers in the journal Des Sçavans: this was another ſpecies of academy, in which he was exceedingly uſeful; and where, by uninterrupted labours, he contributed, during thirty-five years, to the progreſs of public inſtruction. His articles were often diſſertations more learned than the works which he analyſed—criticiſms, ſupplements, judgments; which all the learned of Europe attended to with reſpect. In ſhort, he was one of thoſe who contributed the moſt towards rendering the collection of the journal Des Sçavans a valuable and eſteemed depoſitary of literature.

In 1764 he gave the hiſtory of that journal in an hiſtorical memoir printed in the laſt volume of the index of that work. This memoir had been written more than eighteen years before, and was printed without his privity; of courſe he could have wiſhed to have ſeen ſome things in it altered.

One of the laſt reviews which we find of his (in the journal for Auguſt 1791) is that on the twelfth volume of the moral works of Plutarch. No one was more capable than Dupuy to pronounce on ſuch ſubjects a judgment which might ſerve as a rule to fix that of the readers; and a journal, wherein the opinions of ſo excellent a critic were to be found, could not but be very valuable.

The laſt of all the articles of Dupuy is to be met with in the review for May 1792; its object is to ſketch out a *tableau* of the works of the academy of inſcriptions. His health, how-

ever, at that time did not allow him to ſtir out, and he no longer aſſiſted at the meetings of the journaliſts. Deguignes, Ameilhon, and Dutheil, ſupplied the part which Dupuy had ſo well executed from his entrance into that learned aſſociation. Towards the end of 1792 the journal was diſcontinued, becauſe the revolution in France having turned the attention of all readers towards politics, and ſuſpended the foreign communications, the bookſellers were unable to bear the expences of the publication. In like manner the journal De Phyſique, the journal Encyclopedique, the annales De Chymie, were interrupted. It is only in the preſent year (the third of the republic), that ſome journals have been again ſet on foot with a view to ſupply their loſs.

The memoirs of the academy of inſcriptions are the depoſitary of the moſt important works of Dupuy; and there we trace the immenſe extent of his reſearches and learning.

In 1761 he publiſhed three diſſertations on the Roman money, and on the denier in the time of Charlemagne (ſee vol. xxviii.); this is the moſt important of all his works. To theſe he made additions in the journal Des Scavans (1763 and 1766). No one was better qualified to clear up an obſcure point where erudition was as much required as calculation. He ſhews that the *as* paſſed ſucceſſively from the weight of a pound to that of a quarter of an ounce; he eſtabliſhes the relation between the Attic drachma and the Roman denarius, or denier, leſs by one quarter in the time of Nero. He proves that Voltaire and Vely were miſtaken in computing the denier of Charlemagne to be worth thirty ſous of French money. The denier was the two hundred and fortieth part of the pound weight, or of twelve ounces: thus the twelve ounces being worth nearly ſeventy-two numerical pounds, the denier muſt be worth ſix ſous. Finally, he proves that twelve ounces of ſilver coined, were equivalent to twenty ſeptiers (a French meaſure containing twelve buſhels) of wheat; and theſe were worth more than fifty when Dupuy compoſed his memoir.

In

In the thirty-firſt volume he furniſhed ſome obſervations on the Egyptian hiſtory.

In 1762 he publiſhed a verſion of four pieces of Sophocles, which had never till then been tranſlated into French (one volume in quarto, or two volumes in twelves), with learned notes.

In 1765 he printed new obſervations on the Oedipus of Sophocles, and on tragedy (jour. Des Sçavans): and in the memoirs of the academy (vol. xxix. and xxxi.) Reflections on the Means of improving the French Tranſlations of ancient Authors; Remarks on the Text, and on the Tranſlations of the Iphigenia in Tauris; the Hypolita of Euripides; the Philoctetus of Sophocles; and finally, ſome remarks on the laſt tranſlations of Virgil (vol. xxxiv).

Dupuy, although ſo profound in reſpect to literature, was well verſed in mathematical learning. In 1740 he publiſhed in the journal De Desfontaines ſome reflections on the hiſtory of the heavens, by Pluche. In 1759 appeared in the journal Des Sçavans Obſervations on the infinitely ſmall Particles, and on the Metaphyſical Principles of the Abbé Foucher. In the twenty-ninth volume of the memoirs of the academy he gave a Diſſertation on a Paſſage in Herodotus which treats of the extraordinary riſings of the ſun as pretended by the Egyptians, entering very deeply into the merits of the queſtion. Explications of this paſſage had been given by Louville, Lanalize, Brequigny, Calmet, Goguet, and Gibert. Dupuy refutes them all in detail; and ſhews that, according to Herodotus, the Egyptians poſitively maintained that the ſun had riſen twice in the accuſtomed places of the horizon, without any change in his ordinary amplitude, and twice in the weſt. Probably Herodotus did not comprehend the meaning of the Egyptians, or elſe they had a mind to impoſe upon him.

We may further cite, as an inſtance of his taſte for mathetics, the memoir wherein he explains the manner in which the ſacred fire was kindled in vaſes which collected the ſolar beams (vol. xxxv). This gave him an opportunity of calculating the effects of different ſorts of mirrors; and laſtly, a problem in mechanics,

mechanics, the ſolution of which he printed in the Journal Des Sçavans for 1766.

He wrote alſo a memoir on the manner of tranſmitting to poſterity the knowledge of weights and meaſures (vol. xxix). He ſaw then the propriety of, and he propoſed to execute, what is now doing by means of a degree of the earth, the pendulum, &c. and he enjoyed, before his death, the pleaſure of ſeeing projects accompliſhed which his knowledge in calculation and phyſics had ſuggeſted to him a long time anterior.

Thus it uſed to be ſaid that Dupuy was a proportional medium between the academy of ſciences and that of belles lettres; he himſelf, however, regretted his not having ſufficiently cultivated mathematics, to enter into the former ſociety.

The Latin inſcription in the Place De Louis XV. had been compoſed by the academy; a volume appeared containing the critique of that inſcription. Dupuy anſwered it in the journal Des Sçavans, 1773; and we ſee, by a multitude of quotations from Cicero and from ancient inſcriptions, how completely Dupuy was maſter of the ſubject, and how well qualified he was to compoſe the inſcriptions entruſted to the academy; as alſo the mottoes and the legends furniſhed by it yearly for the monuments, feſtivals, medals, counters, &c. and every thing requiring that ſort of learning of which the academy of belles lettres had become the depoſitary.

In 1779 Dupuy publiſhed a Greek manuſcript which had never been printed: this was a fragment of Anthemius on wonderful machines; wherein he ſhews, among other things, that Archimedes, at the ſiege of Syracuſe, burnt the ſhips of Marcellus with plain mirrors. This work, printed at the *imprimerie royale*, contains the tranſlation with notes made on the manuſcripts, and a commentary critical and geometrical; it appeared alſo in the forty-ſecond volume of the academy. Anthemius, architect of the emperor Juſtinian, is cited in the hiſtory of mathematics by Montucla (vol. i. p. 327).

Although Dupuy was leſs converſant in the hiſtory of France than in other parts of learning, we find ſome memoirs of his on this ſubject in the volumes of the academy. The

firſt

firſt is on the abolition of ſervitude in France; wherein he ſhews that, under the tyranny of the barons before the twelfth century, the title of citizen, in its proper ſenſe, only belonged to the clergy and the nobleſſe. Liberty added, or at leaſt cauſed to ſpring up, a third order, which took the name of tiers-etat; and which appears to have made a part of the national aſſemblies, under Philip-le-Bel, about 1300.

He goes as far back as Louis le Gros, about 1108, to trace the foundations of eſtabliſhments uſeful to liberty; of charters of affranchiſement and of the commons. The ordinance of 1315 declared that ſervitude was contrary to nature, and ſince that time liberty has been continually gaining ground (vol. xxxviii). He wrote alſo ſome obſervations on the legitimation of the count De Dunois, baſtard of Orleans; and on the title of prince of the blood granted to him and his deſcendants.

The functions of cenſor, which he exerciſed during forty years, gave him an opportunity of being uſeful, by his counſels, to a number of men of letters; and he was often conſulted by tranſlators, hiſtorians, and metaphyſical writers, who repaired with confidence to the immenſity of his knowledge, blended with a complaiſance which indiſcretion itſelf could not weary.

His erudition extended even to books of alchymy; which are ſo obſcure, and ſo little known, that he has been the only man, perhaps, of our time who has poſſeſſed this ſort of knowledge.

He printed in the courſe of laſt year a pamphlet originating from temporary events; this conſiſts of philoſophical obſervations on celibacy, atheiſm, and the Roman church, in which he undertakes to prove that the toleration of modes of worſhip, compatible with the public good, is irreconcileable both with atheiſm and the Roman church. He had an abhorrence of atheiſm, as aiming to ſubvert the foundations of morality, and thought its principles were as much to be dreaded for intoleranee as thoſe of fanaticiſm.

Dupuy was rather a metaphyſician than a philoſopher; we collect this from a paper inſerted by him in the journal De Verdun,

Verdun, in 1754, entitled Remarks on the Opinion of modern Philoſophers, that all our ideas are generated from ſenſation.

The philoſophers accuſed him of being a Janſeniſt, perhaps on account of his intimacy with Paſquier, counſellor of parliament, who was a celebrated member of that party. His religion, however, was more philoſophical; he wiſhed for chriſtianity, but not its abuſes. He left a manuſcript on the condemnation of John Huſs at the council of Conſtance, which did not ſet off the Roman church to the beſt advantage: even the Janſeniſts did not approve of it; they attacked it in the Eccleſiaſtical publications for five years ſucceſſively. Madam Dupuy, however, who was afraid leſt age, diſeaſe, and the ardent temperament of her huſband, might render this diſpute dangerous to him, wrote ſecretly to the authors of thoſe works, which put an end to their aggreſſions.

In his political opinions, Dupuy was a republican from principle; being ſo before the revolution, from the train of his particular ſtudies and reflections. He had even written a diſſertation to prove that a body privileged by hereditary nobility, was a public diſtemper; he ſpoke of this with warmth to thoſe who frequented his houſe, and contended ſtrenuouſly againſt the ariſtocrats. He cried out in his laſt moments, "The reign of juſtice and of peace is arrived—I die a republican, content and glorious."

In 1767 he married Louiſe Menon, aged twenty-nine years, daughter to one of his friends to whom he was under obligations. The ſimilarity of their taſtes, ſtudies, and characters, formed this union; and madame Dupuy was well qualified to captivate a man of great merit. The death of her mother, during whoſe life ſhe refuſed to marry, having left her as it were by herſelf, ſhe gave the preference to M. Dupuy, almoſt againſt the will of her father, who valued fortune rather than a taſte for letters. She was determined, however, to marry the friend of her parents, whom ſhe had known from her tender infancy; and who, having advanced in years almoſt before her eyes, did not ſeem to her, at the age of fifty-eight, older than at forty. This union, which laſted twenty-ſeven years, was tranquil

tranquil and happy. Become the wife of a man of letters, madame Dupuy laboured ſome years, in concert with her huſband, both in compoſing extracts, and on the catalogue of the library De Soubiſe. But as M. Dupuy was averſe to all domeſtic buſineſs, ſhe found herſelf under the neceſſity of undertaking the entire management of the houſehold affairs and of mixing with ſociety, in order to render his life more agreeable. To theſe conſiderations ſhe ſacrificed her taſte for the Latin, Italian, Engliſh, and German languages; which ſhe had cultivated ſo far as to be thought the moſt learned woman in Paris. One of the two daughters who ſprang from this marriage, received from her an education of a particular kind; without any exertion of mind, as her conſtitution was infirm, and it required much addreſs to manage her, ſhe had muſtered a ſurpriſing ſtock of uſeful knowledge. This little prodigy died at the age of nine years and a half.

The laborious and honourable career of Dupuy was extended to a great length. At the age of ſeventy-ſeven, however, he was attacked with a ſtrangury and relaxation of the bladder, from which he ſuffered eight years ſucceſſively; during the three laſt he was unable to ſtir out, although he was always engaged at his ſtudies. At length he fell a victim to diſeaſe April 12, 1795, a day noted alſo for the death of Boſſuet and of Young.

Dupuy was good-natured and polite, yet intolerant to all ſuch as he had no eſteem for. He was averſe to diſputation; yet if he found himſelf in an error, he was ready inſtantly to acknowledge his miſtake, and never bore ill will to the perſon who had had the better in the argument.

He was by temperament free from cares; having few real wants, he was not diſquieted by imaginary ones: this, added to his abſtemiouſneſs, contributed, no doubt, to prolong his days.

He was a muſician; and in the concerts at which he attended, frequently aſſiſted at the violoncello. Sometimes he amuſed himſelf with compoſition; a taſte which ſeems to have reſulted from his knowledge of calculation. He was expert in

the chaſe, and at the billiard table; conſtantly following theſe exerciſes till his pains prevented him.

He was a ſtranger to ennui, whether in health or ſickneſs; devoting to labour or ſtudy the intervals which his diſeaſe allowed him.

The prolongation of his life may alſo be attributed to another cauſe, his never tormenting himſelf with the deſire of getting a name: he ſaid great celebrity was rather to be ſhunned than courted, and all the places which he held ſeemed to offer themſelves to him ſpontaneouſly; he never purchaſed any by ſolicitouſly canvaſſing for them. He was known to be one who never aſpired to the ſituations deſtined for men of letters; and if he poſſeſſed the friendſhip of any men in power, grandees, &c. it was without courting it, and without ſoliciting their favour.

In 1768 he was put at the head of the library De Soubize, a ſituation every way agreeable to his wiſhes; the collection being well compoſed, and analogous to his taſte. When the prince De Soubize was obliged to ſell it, this privation was a ſource of real chagrin to Dupuy.

With regard to his circumſtances, after his marriage he lived in a certain degree of opulence compared with the general condition of men of letters. During the laſt year of his life, however, by a ſudden reverſe, he loſt, all at once, his income as academician, cenſor, and journaliſt; a revenue which his literary labours ſeemed to have inſured to him. Theſe were the only fruits which he derived from ſixty years of toil. He was affected by theſe loſſes, and cited the example of Goldoni, who died in miſery while a decree was preparing to furniſh him ſuccours. He had an acute ſenſe of the flagrant injuſtice of government in ſuppreſſing academic penſions acquired by ſuch meritorious exertions, and rendered by reciprocal engagements a ſacred debt.

Thus he had only the fortune of his wife to ſubſiſt upon, who had herſelf ſuſtained loſſes under the miniſtry of Terray; and had alſo ſuffered recently ſince the revolution. His regrets ſeemed to increaſe in proportion to the care and tenderneſs which ſhe laviſhed upon him.

Dupuy left at Lagnieu, in Bugey, a brother, two nephews,

two

two neices, all of whom eſteemed it an honour to be related to him, as well as his learned widow, who ſurvived him with regret.

When his portrait was engraved in 1777, M. De Sacy cauſed the following verſes to be placed underneath, containing a merited encomium on his heart and underſtanding:

" *Des chefs-d'œuvres d'Athenes il enrichit la France,*
" *Et des vertus de Sparte il a rempli ſon cœur.*
" *La ſiecle de Voltaire admire ſa ſcience;*
" *Le ſiecle de Bayard eût cheri ſa candeur.*
" *Formé par la nature et pour l'un et pour l'autre,*
" *Ses moeurs ſont du vieux tems; ſon eſprit eſt du notre.*"

JOHN-WILLIAM-LEWIS MELLMANN,

LATE RECTOR OF THE GYMNASIUM, AND PROFESSOR OF THE GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MOSCOW.

J. W. L. MELLMANN was born at Klnetz, a village of Mecklenburg, in January, 1764. His father was a learned clergyman, who ſuperintended his ſtudies, which, as well as thoſe of his brother, were ſubmitted to the immediate direction of a tutor. For his moral character, he was certainly indebted to the example and inſtructions of his parents, who were exemplary in their lives.

In 1779 he was ſent to the *Gymnaſium* at Lubec, where he remained three years. Thence he repaired to Kiel, where his circumſtances rendering it deſirable for him to participate in the benefactions conferred on the ſcholars in this univerſity, he performed his exerciſes for that purpoſe with diſtinguiſhed applauſe. Here, as at Lubec, he was diligent in his ſtudies, and occaſionally paid his court to the muſe. He likewiſe made conſiderable progreſs in drawing and painting, for which he had an excellent talent.

From Kiel he went to Göttingen, in 1784, partly from a

deſire of purſuing a philological courſe under Heyne, partly that he might have the uſe of an ample library. When he had been about two years at Göttingen, where he took his degree as maſter of arts, profeſſor Heyne propoſed him as ſucceſſor to Matthiæi, in the place of rector of the Greek and Latin claſſes in the gymnaſium connected with the academy at Moſcow.

He accordingly entered into an engagement for ſix years, to inſtruct the youth in the higher claſſes, four days in a week, and four hours in the morning of each, in belles lettres, in Greek and Latin, and antiquities; and thus prepare them for the univerſity: to ſuperintend the other Greek and Latin claſſes, and direct the mode of inſtructing them; to compoſe ſuch ſchool-books as might be deemed neceſſary; and to inſtruct ſome apt pupils, ſo as to render them capable of ſucceeding him. For this he was to receive eight hundred rubles (one hundred and eighty pounds) a year, apartments in the univerſity, and firing. He was promiſed an addition of two hundred rubles (forty-five pounds) to his ſalary, after the third year, and to be made profeſſor of ancient literature in the univerſity: he was likewiſe to receive a hundred copies of every ſchool-book he ſhould compoſe, or their value; two hundred rubles to defray the expence of his journey to Moſcow; and the like ſum for his return to Germany, if he ſhould requeſt his diſmiſſal at the end of the ſix years.

Finding his exertions to be attended with ſucceſs, and alſo to give ſatisfaction, he did not wiſh to exchange a ſituation, in which he felt himſelf capable of being uſeful, for any other, which, though productive of higher honour and greater profit, might be leſs adapted to his talents and habits. Still he was ſenſible, that in time he muſt become unable to ſupport his preſent labours; and that he ought, therefore, to endeavour to ſecure himſelf a competency againſt that period when he ſhould be obliged to relinquiſh his occupation. Accordingly, when the ſix years for which he had engaged were expired, he was deſirous of an addition of three hundred rubles (ſixty-ſeven pounds ten ſhillings) a year to his ſalary; as he could lay by this ſum, which in ten years would produce a capital of three thouſand rubles (ſix hundred and ſeventy-five pounds), and with this he could end

his

his days in peace in his own country, if his ſtrength ſhould not allow him any longer to perform the functions of his office.

In December 1791, however, the profeſſor of eloquence in the univerſity of Moſcow died unexpectedly, and it was propoſed to Mr. Mellmann to undertake part of his office. To the lectures on Greek and Latin he had little objection, if the Ruſſian were conducted by ſome other hand, at the ſame time retaining his poſt in the ſchool, though his labours would thus be conſiderably increaſed.

A cold, which he caught about this time, left behind it a weakneſs in his eyes, which could not appear otherwiſe than a ſerious calamity to a perſon in his ſituation: yet on this occaſion, as on all others, he conſoled himſelf with the reflection, that in a world governed by an all-wiſe Providence, the event, to whatever it might tend, muſt be ultimately productive of good.

Unfortunately, Mellmann, though a man of ſtrict virtue and probity, was by no means a man of the world; hence, probably, ſome little bickerings enſued; and at length, in conſequence of a miſunderſtanding, he was provoked to behave with ſuch rudeneſs to the biſhop of Moſcow, that his diſmiſſal from his office was the conſequence. The particular circumſtances of this affair have never tranſpired; but it was followed by an order for a party of ſoldiers to conduct him beyond the frontiers, which was carried into execution in extremely cold weather, and no doubt with barbarous rigour, ſince it coſt him his life. The Ruſſian ſoldiers, having conveyed him through Wielna, delivered him into the charge of the Pruſſian lieutenant Von Derſchau, who had the command on the Poliſh frontier. This worthy man took him home; ſaw from his papers, that he was deſerving of compaſſion; gave him one of his own ſhirts, for all his linen was gone; and treated him with the utmoſt humanity. He offered him food and drink, but he could get nothing down but a cup of coffee. Derſchau, not having it in his power to leave his poſt, hired a carriage to convey Mellmann to the houſe of Mr. Jacobi, an eminent merchant at Konigſberg, and ſent with him his own ſervant and a ſoldier of his company, whom he

knew to be a very honeſt man, charging them to proceed with great caution, and to make very ſhort ſtages.

All this was accordingly done; but Mellmann took no nouriſhment; his ſtrength left him, and he died of hunger, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, at Georgenburg, near Inſterburg, half an hour after he arrived at that place, on the 12th of April 1795, and was buried there.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF

THE ABBÉ BARTHELEMY,

KEEPER OF THE ROYAL COLLECTION OF MEDALS, AN ASSOCIATE AND SECRETARY OF THE ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS, A MEMBER OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY, THE ACADEMIES OF MARSEILLES, MADRID, CORTONA, &c. AND ALSO A MEMBER OF THE ROYAL AND ANTIQUARY SOCIETIES OF LONDON; AUTHOR OF THE TRAVELS OF ANACHARSIS, &c.

WHATEVER reproaches the old government of France may have incurred, and however unworthy it might have been of the confidence of the people, it is but candid to confeſs, that it often protected letters, and beſtowed munificent rewards on men of genius. The academies eſtabliſhed in the reign of Louis XIV. were worthy of a great nation, and the knowledge diffuſed from theſe in ſome ſmall degree indemnified them for their chains: certain it is, that the encouragement given to learning inſenſibly prepared the minds of the people for the changes that enſued, and led to that revolution, many of the ſcenes of which all good men muſt deplore.

But the protection of the learned and illuſtrious was not confined to the court; the nobles throughout the whole extent of the empire either poſſeſſed or affected a taſte for ſcience, and their houſes

houſes and tables were ever open to thoſe men who contributed to extend the literature and arts, and with them the glory and renown of their country.

The ſubject of this memoir, after baſking for more than half a century under the protection of royalty, ſuddenly beheld himſelf ſtripped of his well-earned rewards, and confined within the walls of a priſon: but the reign of *Vandaliſm* happily was not of long duration; even, amidſt the turbulence of faction and torrents of innocent blood, a certain degree of veneration was ſtill attached to his perſon, and in the author of Anacharſis, France once more did homage to talents.

Jean Jacques Barthelemy, the Neſtor of French literature, was a native of Provence, having been born at Caſſis, a little ſea-port on the ſhores of the Mediterranean, January 20, 1716*. The family of his mother, whoſe maiden name was Magdeleine Raſtit, had been long engaged in commerce, and ſhe was delivered of her ſon, Jean Jacques, while on a viſit to it. As ſoon as ſhe was able to bear the fatigue of a journey, ſhe was removed to Aubagne, a handſome town ſituated between Marſeilles and Toulon, where her huſband, Joſeph Barthelemy, reſided.

The boy was only four years of age when he was bereaved of this tender and affectionate parent †. At that period he was inſenſible to ſo great a loſs, but as he grew up, he learned from his father to reſpect her memory, and bewail her death; for the diſconſolate widower was accuſtomed to place him upon his knee, and with tears ſtreaming from his eyes, he reminded him of their common misfortune. This produced ſuch an effect upon his memory, that the impreſſion was never effaced. It was thus, that at an early period of life the good father rendered the heart of his ſon ſuſceptible of ſympathy, and developed that exquiſite ſenſibility with which nature had endowed it.

Jean Jaques at twelve years of age was ſent to ſchool at Mar-

* Eſſai ſur la vie de J. J. Barthelemy, par Louis-Jules Barbon Mancini Nivernois (ci-devant duc de Nivernois), p. 1.

† She left another ſon and two daughters behind her, the brother and ſiſters of Barthelemy.

ſeilles. It was in this ancient city, originally a Greek colony, and which, at the commencement of the late memorable revolution, evinced that love of liberty for which Greece was ſo juſtly renowned, that he received his education. Being admitted into the college of the oratory, he was put under the care of father Renaud, a perſon of taſte and wit, who ſoon diſcovered ſimilar qualities in his pupil, and became uncommonly attentive to his progreſs. M. de Viſclede, a man of letters, and friend to the former, alſo concurred with him in his endeavours, and young Barthelemy's career ſoon became equally rapid and brilliant.

He had reſolved to dedicate himſelf to the church; but, in order to prepare for this, it became neceſſary to change his place of reſidence, for M. de Belzunce, then biſhop of Marſeilles, being actuated by a narrow jealouſy, refuſed to admit the ſtudents of the oratory to holy orders. Barthelemy, therefore, quitting his old maſters with regret, found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſtudying philoſophy and theology with the Jeſuits.

As he had not at firſt the good fortune to fall into able hands, he determined on following a private plan of education, independent of the profeſſors. He accordingly applied himſelf to the ancient languages, and was indefatigable in obtaining a knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, and Syriack. His paſſion for learning had, however, nearly coſt him his life, for he fell dangerouſly ill, and did not recover his ſtrength until he had entered the ſeminary where he received the *tonſure*.

In this retreat he dedicated his leiſure hours to the ſtudy of Arabic. A young Maronite, who had been educated at Rome, afforded him his aſſiſtance, and enabled him not only to read, but even to ſpeak it. On this, his new friend propoſed to him to render all the ſervices in his power to the Maronites, Armenians, and other catholic Arabians, who were but ſlightly acquainted with the language of the country in which they reſided; in other words, he wiſhed that he would announce *the word of God* to them in their native tongue, and accordingly preſented him with ſome Arabic ſermons, compoſed by a Jeſuit who belonged to the *propaganda*.

Barthelemy, who could refuſe nothing that religion or friend-

ſhip

ſhip demanded, got one or two of them by heart, and pronounced them with the moſt *edifying ſucceſs*, in a ſpacious hall appertaining to the ſeminary. His oriental auditors became ſo enchanted with their new paſtor, that they entreated him to be their confeſſor; but his complaiſance did not extend ſo far as this, and he replied jocularly, that he was unacquainted with that part of the Arabian vocabulary which related to *ſin*.

His reputation, notwithſtanding his exceſſive modeſty, had by this time ſpread abroad, and he began to be conſidered as a youth of uncommon promiſe, when a trifling incident occurred, and tended not a little to enhance his reputation. Ten or twelve of the principal merchants of Marſeilles one day introduced a perſon to him who had implored their charity on the exchange, obſerving that he was by birth a Jew, and had been raiſed, on account of his great learning, to the dignity of a *rabbin*; but having perceived, in conſequence of his ſtudies, that the Chriſtian was the true religion, he had become a convert. He at the ſame time added, that he was profoundly inſtructed in the oriental languages, and demanded to be put to the proof, by being confronted with ſome learned man.

Barthelemy, not then twenty-one years of age, was immediately pitched upon. It was in vain he aſſured them, that although he could read, he was unable to ſpeak the languages in queſtion; they preſſed him to enter into converſation with the native of the eaſt; and the ſtranger himſelf entreated that the conference might immediately commence.

The challenge was at length accepted, and the foreigner began the conteſt. Luckily for the reputation of the Abbé, who knew all the pſalms of David by heart, he inſtantly perceived that his antagoniſt was reciting the firſt; after allowing him, therefore, to repeat a verſe or two, he immediately ſtopped him, by an Arabic phraſe from one of the dialogues to be found in all the grammars. The Jew on this reſumed his Hebrew canticle, the Abbé replied in his Arabic dialogue, and the converſation ſoon became exceedingly *animated* and *intereſting* in the opinion of all the bye-ſtanders. At length the pſalm was ended, and with it the Jew's erudition; but Barthelemy, determining to have

the *laſt word*, uttered a few more phraſes from his Arabic grammar, in a ſolemn tone of voice, and concluded by aſſuring the merchants, that this intereſting ſtranger was highly deſerving of their care and attention; but the deſcendant of Abraham, determined not to be behindhand with the Chriſtian prieſt in generoſity, exclaimed, in *bad French*, that he had traverſed Spain, Italy, Germany, and Turkey, and had never before met with ſuch a prodigy as the young Abbé!

Barthelemy having now finiſhed his education at the ſeminary, retired to Aubagne, and ſpent ſome time in the boſom of his family, by all the members of which he was greatly beloved. He was accuſtomed, however, to repair frequently to Marſeilles, on purpoſe to viſit the academicians, and other learned men reſiding there. Among thoſe to whom he attached himſelf in a particular manner, was a M. Cary, the poſſeſſor of a fine cabinet of medals and a valuable collection of books, analogous to the darling ſubject of his ſtudies. They ſpent whole days together in converſing on literary ſubjects; after which, Barthelemy, as if inſatiable of knowledge, would retire to the *Minims*, where father Sigaloux, a correſpondent of the academy of ſciences, was employed in making aſtronomical obſervations. In theſe labours the young Abbé became his aſſociate, for he was ambitious of every ſpecies of knowledge.

But he began at length to perceive, that in order to render his ſtudies profitable, it would be neceſſary to circumſcribe them, as mediocrity of knowledge, the inevitable reſult of a diverſity of applications, was but little preferable to ignorance itſelf. Occupied with theſe ſentiments, he repaired to Paris in 1744, with a view to devote himſelf entirely to literature. He was furniſhed with a letter to M. de Boze, keeper of the medals, and perpetual ſecretary of inſcriptions and belles lettres. This learned man, ſo eſtimable in every point of view, received him with great politeneſs, and introduced him to the acquaintance of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members of the three academies, who dined twice a week at his apartments. Mixing with ſociety of this kind, Barthelemy became more deeply enamoured than ever with a love for letters, and a reſpect for thoſe who cultivated them.

M. De

M. De Boze, in the mean time, carefully ſtudied the character and diſpoſition of the young man, and at length favoured him with his friendſhip, and even with his confidence; at leaſt he conferred as much of theſe as it was poſſible for a man of ſo much circumſpection and reſerve.

As the increaſing age, and declining health, of M. De Boze would not permit him to apply any longer with the intenſe inveſtigation neceſſary for the completion of the cabinet of medals, he had entertained ſome thoughts of aſſociating M. De Baſtie, a learned antiquary belonging to the academy of inſcriptions, as a partner in his labours. That gentleman loſt the appointment, however, in conſequence of an unlucky expreſſion, and Barthelemy was ſelected a few months afterwards: this nomination was approved both by M. Bignon the librarian, and Maurepas the miniſter of the department.

From that moment the Abbé dedicated both his days and nights to the ſtudy of thoſe medals which his colleague had been prevented, by his infirmities, from arranging. This was a tedious proceſs; for the collections of the marſhal D'Eſtrées and the abbé De Rothelin, both of which were numerous and intereſting, had been piled up in boxes without order, and even without labels. It was neceſſary to examine all the medals with care; to compare them with thoſe appertaining to the ancient collection; to ſelect ſuch as were worthy of being preſerved; and then to inſcribe them in ſeries in a ſupplement to the catalogue. The difficulties attendant on ſuch a tedious operation may be eaſily conceived; the moſt indefatigable exactneſs and perſeverance were neceſſary on this occaſion, and theſe, which would have terrified others, became a new object of attraction to the aſſiſtant-medaliſt.

Amidſt his multiplied occupations, Barthelemy began to enjoy a mode of life ſo conformable to his taſte and his talents, when he beheld with affright a new career preſent itſelf. In the courſe of his journey to the capital he had ſeen M. De Bauſſet, then a canon, at Aix. They were friends and countrymen; for M. De B. was born at Aubagne, where his family had been long eſtabliſhed. As he was a young man of conſiderable expectations,

he had promiſed that Barthelemy ſhould become his vicar-general the moment he himſelf was decorated with the mitre. Such a flattering offer was not to be rejected; and as the canon was now nominated to the biſhopric of Bezieres, he did not fail to remind his old acquaintance of their mutual engagement. The ſorrow of the medaliſt on this occaſion was too great to be concealed; he was, however, too ſcrupulous an obſerver of his word to break his promiſe; but the prelate, who ſaw and felt for the embarraſſment of Barthelemy, immediately deſiſted from his importunities.

On the death of M. Burette, in May 1747, the aſſociate of the cabinet of medals was elected in his place an aſſociate of the academy of inſcriptions, M. Le Beau having, out of reſpect to him, generouſly deſiſted from all ſolicitations for himſelf. On the next vacancy that gentleman was unanimouſly elected; this became the prelude to a generous conteſt between theſe two learned and reſpectable men: for M. De Bougainville having reſigned the place of ſecretary to the academy, on account of his infirmities, he propoſed to M. d'Argenſon, who preſided over that department, that Barthelemy ſhould be his ſucceſſor. The miniſter conſented to the arrangement, but Barthelemy refuſed the appointment, and, in his turn, recommended M. Le Beau. On the reſignation of the latter, a few years afterwards, he wiſhed the Abbé to ſupply his place; ſaying, at the ſame time, "I owe it, and I reſtore it to you."

Barthelemy, now become the ſucceſſor of ſo many illuſtrious men who had ſupported the cauſe of literature ſince the eſtabliſhment of the academy in 1663, prepared to add to his daily avocations in the cabinet of medals the annual labours required by his new ſituation; and he acquitted himſelf of this double taſk with a degree of exactneſs which his vaſt erudition could alone enable him to attain. He explained the monuments left by the Hebrews, Perſians, Phenicians, Egyptians, and Arabians; all the nations and all the languages of antiquity became the ſubject of his reſearches, and the objects of his judicious criticiſms. In the courſe of his ſtudies he could not fail to diſcloſe the errors of many eſtimable and learned men who had preceded

ceded him; but, while he diſcovered their faults with his uſual ſagacity, he mentioned them with that modeſty and politeneſs which diſtinguiſhed him in a particular manner. This was eminently obſervable in his diſſertation on the inſcriptions found at Palmyra, by ſome Engliſh travellers, of which an explanation had often been attempted before: but this always proved unſatisfactory, while that given by him was rendered truly eſtimable on account of its ſimplicity and its preciſion. Nay he formed, on this occaſion, a Palmyrian alphabet; which afforded much ſatisfaction to the learned world, and may, perhaps, ſerve ſome day to reſuſcitate the memory of a people formerly celebrated on account of their power, their exploits, their commerce, their taſte for the arts, their magnificence,—the very memory of which has been nearly extinguiſhed by the vengeance of the Romans.

On the death of M. De Boze, keeper of the cabinet of medals, in 1753, Barthelemy, who had been his colleague during ſeven years, of courſe expected to ſucceed him in that honourable ſituation. One perſon, however, ſtarted as a candidate; but notwithſtanding the Abbé, relying on the juſtice of his pretenſions, took no ſtep whatever to obtain the appointment, yet the zeal of his friends rendered all ſolicitation on his part unneceſſary, for they were both numerous and powerful. M. De Maleſherbes, whoſe unfortunate and tragical death all worthy men deplore; M. De Stainville, afterwards a duke and miniſter; and M. De Gontaut, brother of the laſt marſhal De Biron, ſupported his pretenſions, and he was accordingly nominated ſucceſſor to his friend in 1753.

It may be eaſily ſuppoſed that his zeal experienced no abatement by this new favour. On the contrary, his mind was continually occupied in diſcovering, acquiring, and explaining the moſt precious works of antiquity; and his attention was of courſe principally directed, on this occaſion, towards the monuments of Greece and Rome. An opportunity ſoon preſented itſelf of gratifying his curioſity in reſpect to theſe ſubjects.

M. De Stainville, afterwards better known during his adminiſtration

niſtration by the title of duke De Choiſeul, in 1754 was appointed ambaſſador to Rome. Madame De Stainville*, a lady both young and beautiful, being paſſionately attached to learning and learned men, conceived a particular regard for the Abbé, and it was propoſed that he ſhould occupy a place in their carriage, on this occaſion, and make the tour of Italy along with them. Such a propoſition could not fail to be highly flattering; but he was obliged, from principles of duty, to refrain for a time from complying with their wiſhes. He ſet out ſoon after, however, with his friend M. De Cotte (in the month of Auguſt 1755), and arrived on the firſt of November at Rome, where he and his companion were received and treated in the kindeſt manner by the French plenipotentiary, who lived in a magnificent ſtyle in a capital deſtined, in conſequence of a moſt unprecedented coincidence of affairs, to appertain to his native country. Pope Benedict XIV. who then wore the tiara, being a learned† man himſelf, did not fail to diſtinguiſh Barthelemy by the moſt courteous reception. But his ſtay at Rome was not long, for he was deſirous of viſiting Naples, rendered particu-

* Mad. De S. was only ſeventeen years of age; her character is depicted by the grateful author of Anacharſis, under the name of PHEDIMA, while the ambaſſador is celebrated as ARASMUS. It is thus they are deſcribed by a nobleman (the late duke De Nivernois) who was long and intimately acquainted with them both:—

"M. De Stainville depuis miniſtre d'etat, &c. Connoiſſeur en hommes & en talens, il joignoit á ſa généroſité naturelle une vue que tous les hommes d'etat doivent avoir: celle de favoriſer, d'aider, de prévenir les ſujets diſtingués par un mérite reconnu.

"La jeune femme de l'ambaſſadeur ne ceſſoit d'avertir, d'exciter avec vigilance les diſpoſitions généreuſes d'un mari qui étoit l'unique objet de ſon adoration & de ſon culte, comme il eſt depuis dix année, celui de ſes regrets & de ſes larmes.

"Agée de 17 ans, mais formée par des lectures ſolides, par des réflexions toujours juſtes, & mieux encore par l'heureux inſtinct d'un caractere qui ne lui laiſſe dire, penſer & faire que ce qui eſt bien, elle juiſſoit déja dans Rome d'une haute conſideration; & elle y acquit bientôt cette veneration qui d'ordinaire ne s'accorde qu'à un long exerciſe des vertus. Il me ſeroit aujourd'hui plus aiſé qu'a perſonne de detailler ici les rares qualites de ſont cœur, & de ſon eſprit; mais je m'en abſtiens, par attachement pour elle. Je connois trop ſa modeſtie pour vouloir la faire rougir d'un portrait qu'elle regarderoit comme un éloge."

† Lambertini publiſhed no leſs than twelve volumes, relative to religion, before his elevation to the chair of St. Peter.

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hirly intereſting to an antiquary, at that period, by the recent diſcoveries made in its neighbourhood. He and his fellow-traveller were occupied during a whole month in admiring the curioſities of that capital, now alſo in poſſeſſion of their countrymen; after which they took a journey of thirty leagues, to behold the monuments of Grecian architecture, ſtill exiſting on the ſite of the ancient city of Pæſtum.

The ſpacious apartments of the palace of Portici, containing the antiquities of Herculaneum and Pompeia, were ſtill more intereſting, and excited a far greater degree of curioſity in the breaſts of the French philoſophers. There they beheld an immenſe quantity of paintings, ſtatues, buſts, vaſes, and utenſils of every kind; objects peculiarly calculated to engage their attention and excite their applauſe. It was not, however, without a certain mixture of grief and ſurpriſe that they noticed the four or five hundred manuſcripts, ſaved from the ruins of Herculaneum, lying in the ſame forlorn ſtate in which they were diſcovered. Two or three only had been unrolled, of which the learned Mazocchi has given an explanation: as theſe contained nothing important the operation was abandoned.

But Barthelemy was not ſo eaſily diſcouraged, for he unceaſingly ſolicited, he almoſt condeſcended to intrigue, with a view to engage the poſſeſſors of theſe treaſures to turn them to the beſt advantage. He, at length, perceived his labours about to be crowned with ſucceſs a few years afterwards, but he was finally diſappointed by the death of the marquis Caraccioli, the miniſter of Naples, who had entered moſt cordially into his views.

Another ſubject about this time alſo engaged the attention of the Abbé. He was exceedingly deſirous of preſenting the learned men of France with a ſpecimen of the ancient writing employed in the Greek manuſcripts. He accordingly addreſſed himſelf, on this ſubject, to his friend Mazocchi, and alſo to M. Paderno, who ſuperintended the treaſures of Portici: both, however, replied that they were expreſsly enjoined not to communicate any thing. On this he ſolicited permiſſion to look, for a few minutes only, on a page of a manuſcript which had been

been cut from top to bottom ſince its diſcovery. It contained twenty-eight lines, and Barthelemy read it over ſix different times with extreme attention; after this he retired to a corner and tranſcribed the precious fragment, on a piece of paper, from memory. He then returned, and having made a mental collation between the copy and the original, he corrected two or three trifling errors that had eſcaped his attention.

Having thus rendered himſelf maſter of a *fac-ſimile* of the MS. which related to the perſecution of the Greek philoſophers during the time of Pericles, he tranſmitted the literary plunder, in the courſe of that very day, to the academy of belles-lettres, ſtrictly enjoining ſecrecy, however, that Mazocchi and Paderno might eſcape all manner of blame.

The king of Naples, who happened to be at that time at Cazerta, cauſed Barthelemy to be preſented by M. d'Oſſun, the French miniſter. During dinner his majeſty converſed with him freely, relative to the diſcoveries lately made in his kingdom; and regretted exceedingly that he could not ſee the cabinet of medals, on account of the abſence of the keeper. He, however, cauſed the ſuperb columns of ancient marble, recently brought to his palace, to be ſhewn to the learned Frenchman, and gave orders that his name ſhould be inſcribed among thoſe who were to receive the volumes containing the antiquities of Herculaneum.

Throughout all the great towns of Italy, Barthelemy's reputation enſured him a welcome reception by all thoſe diſtinguiſhed either for birth or erudition. He chiefly reſided, however, at Rome; and it was there he explained, in a novel and ſatisfactory manner, the rich Moſaic of Paleſtrina. Several illuſtrious men, before this, had given very ingenious interpretations, but he was allowed to have ſubſtituted a more ſimple and true one. His predeceſſors had endeavoured to ſolve this grand enigma by recurring to the life of Sylla. They thought they could diſcover Alexander arriving in Egypt, and appearing, with victory by his ſide, under a tent, ſurrounded by his guards and generals. According to them it was the Romans, in the diſguiſe of the hero of Macedonia, who reminded the people in the

the temple of Fortune at Préneſte, now called Paleſtrina, of the oracles of that goddeſs, which juſtified the elevation of the dictator in the ſame manner the oracle of Ammon had legitimated the conqueſts of Alexander. Barthelemy, on the other hand, would not believe that this was either Sylla or the Grecian conqueror, but the emperor Adrian; and this diſcovery did infinite honour to the modeſt author, who conſidered it in no other light than a ſimple reſtitution of the text*.

M. De Stainville having been appointed ambaſſador to the court of Vienna, in 1757, the Abbé accompanied his lady thither. On his arrival he found that his friend and protector had made certain arrangements with the French miniſtry, on purpoſe to gratify his paſſion for antiquities. In conſequence of this he had leave to viſit Greece and the ſea-ports of the Mediterranean, at the king's expence, where he was to amaſs new treaſures, and return with them to his native country by Marſeilles. But, notwithſtanding all the attractions that this project preſented, his ſcrupulous attachment to his duty prevailed over his paſſion for knowledge; as he deemed it highly improper that the cabinet of medals ſhould be ſo long ſhut.

At length, towards the end of 1758, M. De Stainville, now become duke De Choiſeul, was nominated miniſter for foreign affairs in the room of the abbé De Bernis, who had retired with a cardinal's hat. No ſooner did this event take place, than both he and his lady determined to provide for their friend. They accordingly requeſted Barthelemy to ſtate the ſum that would make him eaſy for life, and he inſtantly mentioned ſix thouſand livres a year†; bluſhing, at the ſame time, at the largeneſs of the demand.

As the purſe of the nation was now open to the patron, he diſtributed his favours with a liberal hand; and it muſt be owned that, on this occaſion, an object worthy of remuneration preſented itſelf in the perſon of the learned Abbé. Accordingly,

* Barthelemy wrote a diſſertation on this ſubject, which is to be found in the thirtieth volume of the academy of inſcriptions.

† About 250l. ſterling.

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in 1759, he preſented him with a penſion on the archbiſhopric of Alby; in 1765 he conferred on him the treaſurerſhip of St. Martin De Tours, and in 1768 he made him ſecretary-general to the Swiſs guards. In addition to theſe the Abbé alſo enjoyed a penſion of 5000 livres on the Mercury*. His income was now very large, but he employed it nobly; for he diſtributed the ſurplus, which was conſiderable, among indigent men of letters.

In 1771 M. De Choiſeul was diſgraced, being ſucceeded in his office by his enemy the duke d'Aiguillon, and exiled to his eſtate at Chanteloupe. On this occaſion he was forſaken as uſual by the courtiers, who had baſked in the ſunſhine of his favour; but he was not deſerted by the grateful antiquary, who inſtantly repaired thither to pay his reſpects; nay, when the king demanded the duke's reſignation of the poſt of colonel-general of the Swiſs guards, the Abbé, with a ſpirit that does honour to his memory, inſiſted on ſending in his own reſignation of the ſecretaryſhip; but the ex-miniſter interfered, and prevailed upon him not to deliver it up without an indemnification, which ſhould be ſanctioned by the great ſeal, and authoriſed by letters patent enregiſtered in parliament. On his return to Paris an offer was made him to retain his place on the ſame footing as formerly, with the expreſs condition, however, that he *ſhould not renew his viſit to Chanteloupe:* but he refuſed to agree to ſuch degrading terms. At length he received a penſion of 6000 livres, ariſing out of the profits of his office, and the day after returned to the houſe of his benefactor.

Barthelemy was now in poſſeſſion of more than 1200l. ſterling *per annum*; of this he diſtributed between three and four hundred in the manner before related; the remainder was not diſſipated in pomp and oſtentation, but employed in ſuch a manner as to enable him to enjoy a philoſophic eaſe. He alſo educated and eſtabliſhed three nephews in life, one of whom has been ſucceſſively ambaſſador and director; he at the ſame time ſupported the reſt of his family in Provence, and ſelected a

* A celebrated journal publiſhed weekly in Paris.

noble

noble library, which he diſpoſed of ſome years before his death.

After having thus poſſeſſed an ample income during more than twenty years, the abbé Barthelemy found himſelf, towards the latter end of his exiſtence, reduced to live on a pittance calculated merely to furniſh the indiſpenſable neceſſaries of life, in conſequence of the ſuppreſſion of places and appointments that enſued immediately after the revolution. He was never heard, however, to complain; nay, he did not ſeem to perceive the change; and, while he was ſtill permitted by his age and infirmities to walk from one end of Paris to the other, to pay his reſpects to madame De Choiſeul, he ſeemed to the full as happy as before.

In 1788 appeared his celebrated work, entitled "Voyage du jeune Anacharſis en Grece, dans le milieu du quatrieme ſiecle avant l'ere Chretienne." He had begun it in 1757, and, during an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of thirty years, occupied his leiſure hours in bringing it to maturity. Some have expreſſed their aſtoniſhment that any man ſhould have been ſo employed for ſuch a ſeries of time; others, on the contrary, wonder how ſuch a marvellous fabric could have been raiſed within that period.

It may not be amiſs here to ſketch an outline of this work. His hero, a young Scythian, deſcended from the famous philoſopher Anacharſis, whoſe name he bears, is ſuppoſed to repair to Greece, for his inſtruction, in his early youth, and, after making a tour of her republics, her colonies, and her iſlands, he returns to his native country and writes this book, in his old age, after the hero of Macedon had overturned the Perſian empire. In the manner of modern travellers, he gives an account of the cuſtoms, government, and antiquities, of the country he has viſited; a copious introduction ſupplies whatever may be wanting in reſpect to hiſtorical details; while various diſſertations on the muſic of the Greeks, on the library of the Athenians, and on the œconomy, purſuits, ruling paſſions, manners and cuſtoms, of all the ſurrounding ſtates, afford ample gratification to the reader of taſte.

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It is to be obſerved, however, that Barthelemy, perhaps, pays but too little reſpect to Athens, and too much to Sparta; that he undervalues a city which was "the eye" of Greece, to praiſe a nation that lived in eternal hoſtility to the laws of human nature. His apology for *Helotiſm*, and his attempt to excuſe the barbarities of the cruel maſters of Leuconia, evince either a ſingular love of novelty, or an unbecoming partiality to tyranny. On the whole, however, it is one of the moſt learned works that has appeared in the preſent age; and did not fail at once to excite and juſtify the admiration of the public in behalf of the author.

In 1789 the author became a candidate for a chair in the French academy; and ſuch was the reputation he had obtained by his labours, that this learned body became particularly anxious to enrol him among its members; he was accordingly elected by acclamation. The ſpeech delivered by the Abbé on his inauguration has been equally celebrated for its ſimplicity and modeſty.

In 1790 M. De St. Prieſt, miniſter of the department of Paris, made him an offer of the place of librarian to the king, then vacant by the reſignation of M. Le Noir. This was, at that period, a very flattering propoſal, but it was not accepted; for the Abbé imagined that it might interfere with his literary occupations, and therefore, after expreſſing his gratitude, he declined the intended favour.

In the mean time, while Barthelemy was thus refuſing one of the moſt honourable offices that a man of letters could at that time aſpire to, he did not neglect the department which had ſo long been confided to his charge. His ardour, in reſpect to every thing that concerned the cabinet of medals, remained unabated and unaltered through life, and he now found means to have his nephew, Barthelemy Courcay, aſſociated with him in his labours. This grand collection had received a conſiderable increaſe, and been embelliſhed with a number of fine ſpecimens ſince it was confided to his care. To enrich it ſtill more he carried on a correſpondence, not only with the various provinces of France, but alſo with all parts of Europe. Sweden and Denmark, as well

well as Italy, contributed to its ſplendour, and helped to complete the aſſemblage of modern medals; the ſeries of which had been neglected after the death of Colbert, that great man, who forgot nothing that could contribute to the glory of his country.

But the works of latter times did not appear to Barthelemy to be ſo intereſting as thoſe of the ancients; it was therefore in ſearch of theſe that he was chiefly employed, and his ſucceſs was ſuch, that he actually doubled this ſpecies of treaſure, for he found only twenty, and left forty thouſand ancient medals. He was indefatigable in purſuit of them, and no leſs than four hundred thouſand are ſuppoſed to have paſſed through his hands in the courſe of his adminiſtration.

In addition to thoſe purchaſed ſeparately, he ſometimes procured complete collections belonging to learned and enlightened men, ſuch as thoſe of Cary, Pellerin, D'Ennery, and Cleves, the laſt of whom had obtained ſeveral precious ſpecimens, that tended not a little to embelliſh the ſeries of imperial medals in gold. That of Pellerin was the moſt complete which had ever been poſſeſſed by any individual: he enjoyed a place in the naval department, and carried on a correſpondence, during more than forty years, with all the French conſuls in the Levant, by which means he enriched his collection with an infinite number of Greek medals, until then unknown.

The cabinet was now ſo large, and had attained ſuch a high degree of reputation, that it was deemed neceſſary to communicate a liſt of its treaſures to all the learned men of Europe. A manuſcript catalogue, accompanied by an accurate deſcription, was intended to crown the labours of Barthelemy. This, however, was a coſtly operation, in conſequence of the number of the engravings. M. De Breteuil, at that time one of the miniſters, warmly patronized the plan; but ſuch was the miſerable ſtate of the finances towards the latter end of the monarchy, that money could not be ſpared to defray the expences!

In the mean time the health of the learned medalliſt declined daily, and, in 1792, his ſtrength began to fail him. Towards the beginning of the next year he became ſubject to fainting fits,

which deprived him of the exerciſe of his faculties for ſeveral hours together. Being naturally calm and courageous, he did not appear, however, to be in the leaſt affected by theſe accidents, but his friends conſidered them as ſymptoms of a ſpeedy diſſolution.

He was now ſeventy-eight years of age, ſixty of which had been ſpent in literary toils, when an event occurred, calculated to excite the moſt bitter indignation. On the 30th Auguſt, 1793, this feeble old man was denounced as an *ariſtocrat*, and his nephew and ſeveral other young men employed about the library were included in the ſuppoſed guilt. The accuſation proceeded from a perſon of the name of Duby, a clerk in the library, and was conveyed in a letter written by him to a perſon of the name of Chrétien, a paſtry-cook, who happened to be a member of the ſection, before which it was firſt read, and then tranſmitted to the municipality. It ought not to be omitted here that Duby did not know Chrétien, or Chrétien Duby, and that Barthelemy was not acquainted with either of them!

A warrant was immediately iſſued againſt the ſuppoſed culprits, and this was ſignified by the officers of juſtice to the Abbé, who happened to be at madame De Choiſeul's on the morning of the 2d of September. On this he inſtantly aroſe, and, without diſcovering any ſymptoms of fear, took his leave of that lady, and was conducted to the *Magdelonettes*, where he found his nephew Courçy. Such, however, was the reſpect paid to his virtues and his talents, even within the walls of a priſon, that, on entering the gate, he was received with every expreſſion of regard by the inhabitants of this dreary manſion, and the gaoler, whoſe name was Vanbertrand, paid the utmoſt attention to him. He was accordingly lodged in a little apartment along with his relation, and in the courſe of that evening he received a viſit from madame De Choiſeul, who had taken care to intimate the event to the government. No ſooner was the committee informed that the Abbé Barthelemy had been included in [redacted] order that was meant only to extend to ſome of the ſubalterns employed in the library, than orders were inſtantly iſſued for his releaſe, and we are aſſured by his friend the duke De Nivernois, that the clerks in the public offices diſplayed the utmoſt zeal in forwarding

forwarding the neceſſary papers for his liberation: accordingly at eleven o'clock at night he was aroufed from his ſleep (for it ſeemed to be reſolved, on the part of the committee, that the author of Anacharſis ſhould not be permitted to ſpend a night in priſon), and conducted to the houſe of his fair friend.

But the attention of the government did not ſtop here; for in a few weeks afterwards, the place of national librarian being vacant by the death of Carra, and the reſignation of Chamfort, who had held it jointly, it was offered to the Abbé, with the moſt flattering marks of attention. His age and infirmities, however, afforded but too good a pretext for his refuſal.

In 1794 his approaching diſſolution was apparent to every one but himſelf, for his fainting fits became longer and more frequent; however, as he did not retain any remembrance of them, he occupied his time as uſual; in other words, he devoted all his hours to friendſhip and literature.

He had now reached the eightieth year of a life which had been entirely ſpent in a laborious and inceſſant application to ſtudy, which had ſecretly weakened the ſprings of exiſtence. The rigour of the winter of 1795, againſt which he had adopted no precautions, is ſuppoſed to have haſtened the cataſtrophe; this did not occur, however, until the ſpring.

On the 25th of April he dined with madame De Choiſeul, although he had been ill for ſome days before, and his phyſician, M. Poiſonnier Deſperrières, is of opinion, that on his return he was affected by the coldneſs of the afternoon. The evening, however, was ſpent as uſual in converſation; but in the courſe of the night he became ſo weak that he was unable to ring his bell, for he never would permit any one to ſleep in the ſame apartment with himſelf. Comtois, his valet de chambre, being ſurpriſed that he had not been called, as the Abbé was accuſtomed to riſe early, entered the bedchamber of his own accord, at eight o'clock in the morning, and beheld his maſter with his feet in the bed and his head on the floor, entirely deprived of ſenſation. After being replaced, his recollection returned by degrees, but a fever accompanied by a cough enſued, expectoration

became difficult, and he was carried off without experiencing any pain, at three o'clock of the afternoon of April 30, 1795.

He retained full poſſeſſion of all his ſenſes until the very laſt moment. At one o'clock he read Horace as if nothing extraordinary had occurred; but his hands turning cold, in conſequence of the approach of death, became unable to ſupport the book, which fell to the ground. His head ſoon after was ſeen to incline on one ſide, he appeared to ſleep, and it was believed by his nephew and his attendants that this was really the caſe; but it was ſoon diſcovered that his reſpiration had ceaſed, and that this learned man was no more!

Thus died, without any of the uſual ſtruggles that accompany death, Jean Jaques Barthelemy, one of the greateſt ornaments of his age, regretted by all his relations as if he had been their common father, whoſe life preſented an example, and whoſe works form a model for literary men. In perſon he was above the middle ſize, and, if we are to give credit to his admirers, his countenance diſplayed an air of antiquity wonderfully correſpondent to his ſtudies. His buſt, carved by the chiſſel of Houdon, is allowed to be a maſterpiece of art, and that able ſculptor has contrived to infuſe into the phyſiognomy a mixture of the mildneſs, ſimplicity, good-nature, and grandeur, ſo viſible in the original.

The learned of all nations courted his acquaintance, and the academies of all poliſhed countries were proud to enrol his name on their records, for, beſides the French academy, the academy of inſcriptions, and the academy of Marſeilles, he belonged to thoſe of Madrid, Cortona, Pezaro, Heſſe Caſſel, &c. He was alſo a member of the royal ſociety, and of the ſociety of antiquaries of London.*

On

* The following is a liſt of his works.

1. Voyage du jeune Anacharſis en Grece, dans le milieu du quatriemes ſiecle avant l'ere Chrétine, 4 vols. 4to. 7 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1788.

N. B. There is a volume of maps to both theſe editions.

Memoirs

On the day after his demiſe, Dufaulx entered the national convention, and aſcending the tribune, paid the following tribute to his memory:

"Legiſlators! your liberality conferred honour on the latter days of the life of our reſpectable fellow citizen Barthelemy. Our ſucceſſors, I have no doubt, will conſecrate his memory as ſoon as the period fixed by the law ſhall permit. May his old friend, however, be permitted in a few words to point out the rare qualities of a perſon who did honour to French literature?

"It

Memoirs and Diſſertations, inſerted in the Collection of the Academy of Inſcriptions:

2. Recherches ſur le Pactole par extrait. Tome xxi. p. 19. Partie Hiſtorique.

3. Remarques ſur une Médaile de Xerxés. Ibid. p. 404.

4. ——— Inſcription D'Amyclæ. Tome xxiii. p. 394.

5. Eſſai d'une Palæographie Numiſmatique. Tome xxiv. p. 30.

6. Diſſertation ſur deux Médailles Samaritaines D'Antigonus, Roi de Judée. Ibid. p. 49.

7. Remarques ſur le quelques Médailles publiées par differens Auteurs. Tome xxvi. p. 532.

8. Diſſertation ſur les Médailles Arabes. Ibid. p. 557.

9. Reflexiones ſur l'Alphabet, et la Langue dont ou ſe ſervoit a Palmyre. Ibid. p. 577.

10. Memoirs ſur les Monumens de Rome. Tome xxiii. p. 579.

11. Reflexions ſur quelques Monumens Pheniciens. Tome xxx. p. 405.

12. Explication de la Moſaique de Paleſtrine. Ibid. p. 503.

13. Reflexions Généralés ſur les Rapport de Langues Egyptienne, Phepicienne, et Grecque. Tome xxxii. p. 212.

14. Remarques ſur quelques Médailles publiées par differens Auteurs. Tome xxxii. p. 671.

15. Explication d'un Bas-relief Egyptien, et de l'Inſcription Phenicienne qui l'accompagne. Ibid. p. 725.

16. Remarques ſur le nombre de pieces qu'on repreſentoit dans un meme jour ſur le Theatre d'Athenes. Tom. xxxix. p. 172.

17. Remarques ſur les Médailles de l'Empereur Antonin. Tom. xli. p. 501.

Lettres aux Auteur du Journal des Savans.

18. Vol. d'Aout, 1760, in 4to. p. 495.
19. —— de Dec. 1761, —— p. 871.
20. —— du Sept. ou Nov. 1763.
} Sur des Médailles et Inſcriptions Phéniciennes.

21. —— d'Avril, 1790, ſur des Médailles Samaritaines.

22. Lettre au Marquis Olivieri ſur les monumens Phéniciennes, 1764.

23. Diſſertation ſur une Ancienne Inſcription Grecque, dite le Marbre de Choiſeul, relative aux Finances d'Athéniens, 1772.

"It might perhaps be ſufficient to tell you, as Xenophon ſaid with ſo much ſimplicity of one of his moſt illuſtrious contemporaries, that Barthelemy was an excellent man in all reſpects. In fact, thoſe who knew him beſt, were at a loſs which to admire moſt—his immortal Anacharſis, or his own life.

"His policy conſiſted in goodneſs; his ſcience was an immenſe treaſure of every thing that could purify the morals, perfect the taſte, render man more dear to man, and contribute to the ſplendour of his country. A ſingle trait will convince you of the mildneſs of his philanthropic mind: "Why is it not permitted," he often aſked, "to a mortal to bequeath proſperity to his fellow creatures?"

"After having been overwhelmed with the favours of fortune, equally unexpected and unſought on his part, he became poor; yet his character, far from ſinking under the preſſure, acquired new reſpect; and he proved that poverty ſupported with dignity, is not leſs honourable than wealth accompanied by benevolence.

"Perſecuted as all virtuous citizens were, he carried with him to the dungeon of that tyranny which you have ſo glorioufly deſtroyed the conſtancy and ſerenity of Socrates. It was there that the venerable Barthelemy offered to his companions in misfortune the magnificent ſpectacle of a good man ſtruggling with adverſity.

"I have ſaid that he had been rich, but let it not be forgotten, that it was not at the expence of the unfortunate, and that he adopted all the branches of his numerous family. The republic

In addition to the above, M. Barthelemy tranſmitted ſeveral articles to M. De Caylus, which have appeared in "La Recueil des Antiquités."

He ſent many extracts from books of antiquities to the Journal de Savans, ſuch as thoſe relative to the ruins of Palmyra, in the numbers publiſhed April 1754, and June 1760.

He alſo preſented M. Bertin with a memoir on the Mexican paintings, a few fragments of which only remain, as the author did not keep a copy.

M. De Barthelemy intended to have collected all thoſe into a volume; he attached a particular value to what he had written concerning the monuments and languages of the Eaſt, and his *Paleographie Numiſmatique*.

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has gained by that family good citizens, who ſerve her in the moſt uſeful and brilliant manner.

" Barthelemy at length felt that the period of his diſſolution was approaching: yet, although exhauſted with fatigue, and bending beneath the weight of eighty years, his ſenſibility was ſtill vigorous, and your juſt decrees made the cloſing ſcene of his life happy.

" When he heard that you were endeavouring to repair the ills under which ſo many thouſands of innocent men laboured, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and exclaimed—" Glory to God—honour to the national convention—I have lived long enough!"

" In the preſent poſture of affairs, the country demands all your attention. I ſhall, therefore, confine myſelf to requeſt a favour due to the *manes* of Barthelemy. One of his nephews, I do not mean your reſpectable ambaſſador at Baſle, but the citizen Courçay, has for twenty-five years diſcharged the duties of a ſon to his uncle, and for a long time fulfilled all the functions of keeper of the medals and antiquities of the national cabinet. I move, therefore, that the citizen Courçay be appointed to that office, which he has already proved himſelf ſo able to fill!"

This motion was referred to the committee of public inſtruction, and a report ſoon after made, in conſequence of which Barthelemy Courçay was appointed ſucceſſor to his uncle.

ROBERT BAKEWELL.

ROBERT BAKEWELL, a yeoman of conſiderable property, and author of a new ſyſtem relative to the breed of domeſtic animals, was born, in 1726, at Diſhley, in Lieceſterſhire, on the paternal farm which afterwards became his conſtant reſidence, and the ſcene of all his improvements. His education was ſuch as is generally beſtowed on people of his rank in life, and extended

no further than to writing and arithmetic; but he enjoyed the advantage of an early profeſſional initiation in huſbandry, under the auſpices of a father, who was a man of a ſtrong and inquiſitive mind, and the orderly excellence of whoſe agricultural labours had long diſtinguiſhed him as the ableſt cultivator of his diſtrict. The elder Bakewell died in 1760, but the management of the farm was committed to the ſon many years before, and at his father's death he had witneſſed a ſeries of ſucceſsful experimental practice, both in ſtock-breeding and huſbandry.

That the younger Bakewell was actuated by that ſtrong mental *ſtimulus* which is the certain indication of original genius, is evinced by a conſtant eccentric activity, from which reſulted diſcoveries and improvements in his profeſſion, and a decided ſuperiority, both of plan and execution, over his contemporaries; who, indeed, far from aiming at rivalry and competition, implicitly ſubmitted to his deciſions. Eminently fitted as he was by natural diſpoſition, and even perſonal appearance, for the preciſe character in life in which he chanced to be placed, there is no doubt but he would have ſoared far above the common level, had fate allotted him a poſt of much higher diſtinction; and the writer of this memoir has been aſſured by a man of ſcience, in the habits of intimacy with him, that although illiterate, and appertaining to a claſs proverbially devoid of curioſity, he would liſten to a philoſophical problem with that eager curioſity and ardent deſire of information peculiar to original minds alone.

The grand principles adopted by Bakewell in ſtock-breeding and tillage, namely, that "Like will produce its like," and that "Animal manure is the main ſcience of huſbandry," are allowed to be juſt, but his application of theſe leading maxims was far from being incontrovertible. Thoſe peculiar notions, to which it is difficult to ſubſcribe, are, that the quinteſſence alone of manures (which he ſuppoſed to reſide in the dried and exhauſted aſhes) is of any benefit to the land; and that the barrel-ſhape, which preſents rotundity in the centre, with a gradual tapering towards either extremity, is the moſt advantageous form for domeſtic animals. In purſuance of the firſt notion, he ſuffered his dung heap to lie ſo long (perhaps two years and upwards), and

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to go through ſuch a continued proceſs of fermentation, that it was fairly reduced to the conſiſtence of a ſtercorary ſnuff, and in this ſtate he laid it upon his land; which ſurely would not have been the worſe for that fat and incraſſating ſubſtance, inhaled by the atmoſphere during ſo long a period. Granting even, for form's ſake, that the real eſſence of manure had been thus procured, yet the extreme difficulty of obtaining an adequate quantity, joined to its unavoidable waſte in the application, form an inſuperable bar to the utility of the practice. The barrel ſhape of cattle, a mere factitious form, and perhaps not natural to any of the indigenous breeds of this iſland, is liable to the ſolid objections of producing in animals intended for ſlaughter a diſproportion of fat to the quantity of lean, which is a public loſs; and in thoſe deſtined for labour the waddling gait of a duck, in the place of a firm, facile, and rectilinear mode of progreſſion.

He, however, adhered to his favourite ideas, with a full ſhare of that paternal prejudice and pertinacity which is ſaid to diſtinguiſh the founders of ſyſtems. His cattle, ſelected and reared with immenſe care and coſt, aſſumed that ſtately and beautiful appearance which charmed a whole country where ſuch a ſight was perfectly novel; and the cultivators, being admitted in the critical moment of the animals' bite, were equally ready either to be duped or inſtructed. The idea was new, and the *rationale* of it centred in the invention and judgment of a ſingle enterpriſing individual. It could not be ſuppoſed that his purchaſers and diſciples were firſt-rate judges of the true lines of animal proportion, or that they could artfully and ſcientifically combine the ideas of beauty and utility; for it is well known that theſe are ſtill extremely variable and uncertain among our cattle-fanciers. The truth is, a large quantity of beautiful and valuable ſtock was diſtributed about the country from Diſhley, and of this there was no ſmall ſhare, the ſole value of which conſiſted in a ſleek and bulky appearance, conferred ſolely by the great care and expence of the breeder. Theſe animals having coſt the purchaſers, or thoſe who hired them, conſiderable ſums, it was a neceſſary conſequence that their produce would be

be valuable, in proportion; and Bakewell ſhrewdly obſerved, "that the only way to have capital ſtock is to keep the price high."

In aid of theſe natural and legitimate cauſes of the high prices of the Diſhley breed, others were ſuperadded, which, although but too common in all matters of bargain and ſale, are not conſidered as being ſo candid. A ſort of monopoly was created among the fraternity of improvers, who adopted all the arts, and put in practice all the tricks, of jockies and horſe-dealers. Sham contracts and purchaſes were made at wonderful high prices; puffers were regularly engaged to ſpirit up the buyers at auctions; and a young lord or gentleman, with his pockets well lined, and his ſenſes intoxicated by the fumes of improvement, was as ſure to be impoſed upon by theſe as by the gentry at Newmarket. The pens of itinerant agriculturiſts, whoſe knowledge of live ſtock originated merely in their writing about it, now took up the cauſe, and blazoned forth the tranſcendent qualities of the "new Leiceſters." In conſequence of this the country began to conſider theſe oracular deciſions as orthodox. Not ſo the town. The ſages of Smithfield, before whom the fatted animals of all counties paſs in hebdomadal review, and who try the merits of all by the unerring ſtandard of the balance, although they were compelled to purchaſe the commodity, never approved the *barrel-ſhape*, or the Diſhley improvements. They pretend at this hour that the original breed of Leiceſter ſheep was more advantageous, in point of public utility, than the new one; and that the Lincoln, a branch of the ancient family of Teeſwater, is, in reſpect to form, ſuperior to all. They do not even ſcruple to aſſert that the feeding of Diſhley ſtock has never fairly repaid the cultivator.

It is certain that Mr. Bakewell was not enriched, notwithſtanding his unremitting exertions, the admirable œconomy of his farms, and the vaſt ſums which he obtained for his cattle. But this is to be attributed entirely to the generous ſtyle of hoſpitality which he conſtantly maintained at Diſhley, where every inquiſitive ſtranger was received and entertained with the moſt frank

frank and liberal attention. The expanded heart of this man demanded more capacious means for the gratification of its generous deſires; and it is evident, from his conduct, that he was ambitious rather of the honour than the profit of his calling.

After what has been ſo freely aſſerted reſpecting the errors of the *Bakewellian ſyſtem*, the mind of the reader may well be ſuppoſed anxious to inquire wherein conſiſted the merit of this famous breeder, and in what mode can he be ſaid to have ſerved his country. Notwithſtanding his practical failure, Bakewell was a greater friend to improvement than any other man, either before or ſince his time; by promulgating to the nation the true principle of all excellence in breeding, in the axiom that "like produces its like," and proving it by his practice; by exciting activity and emulation in a claſs of ſociety perhaps the moſt indolent and prejudiced of all others; by making cattle-breeding depend on principle, in oppoſition to the old lazy *cock and hen** ſyſtem of the little farmer, which would abſolutely have ſtarved our increaſed population; in fine, by opening, and rendering paſſable, a road which will in the end lead to perfection. His ſyſtem has been ſedulouſly purſued; models of the larger horned cattle have been produced, in point of form abſolutely bordering on perfection; and the buſineſs of rearing live ſtock is, at this inſtant, followed with enthuſiaſm by the moſt illuſtrious characters in the kingdom.

The inſtructive converſation of his father, and a peruſal of the farming and cattle treatiſes of Ellis of Gaddeſden, were the firſt incentives to improvement experienced by our rural philoſopher. Looking around him he beheld nothing worthy of remark, but a ſtupid and indolent adherence to old cuſtoms; a farming practice without order or economy; the land foul and ſtarved for want of ſtock, or ſtocked with ſhabby and ill-ſorted animals; and a bare living obtained where, with an enlightened and

* By the *cock and hen* ſyſtem is intended an alluſion to thoſe Cockney cultivators who write with ſuch raptures about the *little farmers of former days*, and the *well ſtocked of poultry* they ſent to market. Poultry, always an expenſive luxury, will probably appear, on a fair calculation, to be invariably a loſs to a ſmall farmer.

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ſpirited improvement, fortune might have been acquired. Having now conceived certain theoretic notions, with a characteriſtic ſpirit of ſagacity and enterprize, he determined to ſubmit them to the teſt of experiment, previouſly to their adoption as fixed principles. He accordingly made occaſional tours through the beſt cultivated parts of the iſland, eſpecially thoſe moſt celebrated for their reſpective breeds of cattle; he alſo viſited Ireland, more than once, for the ſame purpoſe. He viewed on the ſpot the uſe and commencement of that cheap, expeditious, and effective mode of huſbandry practiſed in Norfolk, which has ſince become ſo deſervedly famous; and on that model, and the neat and orderly ſyſtems of Holland and Flanders, which he afterwards ſurveyed, he founded his own, in no reſpect inferior, and in many far ſuperior to the celebrated originals.

Nothing, either of great or inferior conſequence, in rural economics, eſcaped his indefatigable reſearch; and, from repeated obſervation of that moſt beneficial practice, he at length formed a very complete plan of irrigation, or conducting of water over meadow land, calculated for his own ſituation at Diſhley. As a ſtriking proof of the inventive and uſeful turn of this man's mind, it is recorded, that a ſtream, brought for the purpoſe of irrigation from the upper grounds, was applied to the conveyance of floats of turneps to the homeſtead for the uſe of the cattle. Thus labour and cartage were ſaved, and the attendants in the yards received from the favourable tide of this canal, of various uſes, whole cargoes of the needful commodity ready waſhed to their hand. Another ſingularity, worthy of notice, attended Bakewell's plan of irrigation: his unenlightened neighbours, farmers of the old ſchool, who, whilſt they looked over his hedge and ſaw him ploughing up his grounds, in the moſt complete and advantageous manner, with only two horſes and a driver, were at the inſtant employing four, or perhaps ſix, with two attendants, upon preciſely the ſame ſoil, affected to be much alarmed leſt the water, which Bakewell collected upon his land to ſuch an immenſe profit, might, by an accidental inundation, poiſon theirs; and they even threatened, nay, it is ſaid, actually commenced, a proſecution againſt him on this account.

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The Lancaſhire long-horned cattle, the Teeſwater and Lincoln ſheep, the Berkſhire pigs, in ſhort all the original and beſt breeds of the iſland, now ſupplied Diſhley with well ſelected individuals, in order to mix and produce a variety, according to the preciſe ideas of this ſyſtematic projector, and thus attain a profitable ſuperiority both in reſpect to figure and quality. He accordingly went to work to diminiſh bone and length, or, in his own pithy phraſe, "to ſubſtitute profitable fleſh for uſeleſs bone." Fineneſs of bone, he argued, and reduction of frame, would produce fineneſs of fleſh, aptitude to fatten, and diminution of offal. The ſpontaneous tendency to pinguefaction would alſo conduce to quietude of diſpoſition in the animal, and to the more economical and eaſy ſatisfaction of the appetite.

The Diſhley breed of horſes originated in that of Flanders, where Mr. Bakewell ſelected the moſt valuable ſtock of this kind he could meet with at a very conſiderable price; and he was often accuſtomed to relate, with great good-humour, that he had once met with a Dutchman who refuſed any money for a favourite mare. His partiality for large horſes and inattention to the racing kind, of ſuch indiſpenſable uſe in this country, are matters of ſufficient notoriety; while his offer, ſome years ſince, of a huge black cart horſe, which was exhibited to the king and at Tatterſal's, as a proper ſtallion for the produce of ſaddle-horſes, was juſtly conſidered as one of the moſt prominent errors of his judgment *.

The father lived long enough to obſerve the dawning ſucceſs of his ſon, and is ſaid to have expreſſed the moſt heart-felt ſatisfaction, and ſanguine hopes, at the proſpect. Some time previouſly to the old gentleman's death, the *new Leiceſter ſheep* were ſold, by private contract, at two, three, and ſome few at four guineas each. Bakewell then, with truly public ſpirited views, began to let out his rams among his neighbours at the low price of fifteen or twenty ſhillings apiece for the ſeaſon. But ſo ſudden and conſpicuous was the improvement of the neighbouring flocks, both in ſubſtance and elegance of form, that the fame of the Diſhley rams was rapidly diffuſed

* His own ſtallions, however, were uſually let by the ſeaſon, at the rate of one hundred guineas and upwards.

around, and extended even to foreign countries. Their price, therefore, both for hire and purchaſe, augmented in a proportionate degree. The ſum paid for the uſe of one of theſe for a ſeaſon was ſoon increaſed to twenty-five guineas, and from that rate (ſo great had now become the fame of his ſtock) experienced a gradual riſe to the amount of near five hundred pounds! But, as an inſtance of ſingularly great emolument in this way, the ram named the *two-pounder* earned his proprietor, in one ſeaſon, eight hundred guineas, excluſive of his duty to his own ſeraglio; the reward of which, being reckoned in proportion, would have produced the enormous total of twelve hundred guineas.

In the mean time the character of the *new Leiceſter oxen* held even pace with that of the ſheep, and commanded prices proportionally great. They were imported by the cultivators of Ireland, with a view to improvement; and ſome found their way to the continent, even as far as Ruſſia, where they were much admired for their ſtatelineſs and beauty. A conſiderable number of the Diſhley bulls and heifers were expoſed to ſale at the horſe auction at Tatterſal's, where thoſe of the fineſt form obtained high prices.

As an additional proof to foreigners of the wealth and ſpirit of improvement in this fortunate country, and with the view of handing down to poſterity the remembrance of ſuch extraordinary events, it will be proper to adduce ſome more facts reſpecting the prices obtained for this famous breed of cattle. Mr. Fowler, of Rollright in Oxfordſhire, began his improvements by hiring a few cows and a bull from Diſhley. At the ſale of his effects, after his death, his ſtock of large horned cattle alone raiſed a ſum of money equal in value to the fee ſimple of his farm: fifteen head of them were ſold at an average price of one hundred and ſixty-four pounds each, making a groſs amount of two thouſand four hundred and ſixty-four pounds.

At the ſale by auction of the flock of Mr. Paget of Ibſtock (for many years a breeding confederate of Bakewell's), one bull produced four hundred guineas, and a ſixth ſhare of the ſame was, ſome time after, diſpoſed of for one hundred. A two year old heifer fetched 84 guineas; two hundred and eleven ewes and theave [illegible]p brought three thouſand three hundred and fifteen guineas,

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at an average price of ſeventeen guineas each; while one particular lot of ewes, in number five, was ſold by themſelves for three hundred and ten pounds. Many readers will readily preſuppoſe a great deal of riſk and uncertainty, and no little of the inveigling power of imagination, in ſpeculative purchaſes like theſe; for real *bona fide* purchaſers they were: and to prove ſuch are not ſingular in their judgment, a certain high-bred Diſhley heifer, which coſt the fortunate buyer fourſcore pounds, was actually valued on her journey homewards, by a jury of common farmers, at eight.

The author of this article himſelf, a thorough paced amateur, has bought new Leiceſter heifers at ten pounds each, which, comparatively, were not worth half that ſum, either as milkers or for any other purpoſe. But the following anecdote will evince the opinion of the law in this caſe: Mr. Bakewell let a bull for the ſeaſon to a certain gentleman who deſired to improve his ſtock. The gentleman died in the interim; and ſo little account was made of this high-bred animal, that he was actually ſold, with the reſt of the effects, and obtained no more than eight pounds, having been purchaſed by a butcher, who ſlaughtered and ſold his fleſh at two-pence halfpenny per pound. Bakewell laid his action, and recovered two hundred pounds for this ſame bull, and fifty for the uſe of him during the ſeaſon.

We have already mentioned the cheering old Engliſh hoſpitalities of Diſhley. Every thing about the farm was arranged with admirable order, and at the ſame time ſo calculated as to ſatisfy curioſity. Even the ſhew of the cattle was conducted with the moſt pleaſing and intereſting regularity. The ſheep were exhibited ſingly in a ſmall houſe, adapted to that purpoſe, having two oppoſite doors, one for admiſſion, the other for retreat; and the inferior were always introduced firſt, that the imagination of the inſpector might be raiſed by degrees to the utmoſt pitch at the exhibition of the laſt and fineſt. The policy of Bakewell alſo induced him to conceal thoſe rams, which were already engaged, from the view, and ineffectual coveting, of thoſe who were deſirous to hire. Among his curioſities he

inſtil into him the principles of Calviniſm, but without ſucceſs. In a note in the Biographia Britannica, ſpeaking of Eliſha Coles's treatiſe on the Sovereignty of God, he ſays, "that book, which is compoſed in the higheſt ſtrain of Calviniſm, upon what is called the ſuperlapſarian ſcheme, was put into my hands, when thirteen or fourteen years of age, by ſome zealous friends, to inſtruct and confirm me in the doctrines it contained. The reading of it, however, produced a contrary effect. The author ſtated the objections to his opinions concerning abſolute election, reprobation, and other points, and endeavoured to remove them; but to me his objections appeared ſtronger than his anſwers: ſo that I owe to Coles on God's Sovereignty my firſt renunciation of Calviniſm." Biog. Brit. ſecond edit. Vol. IV. p. 3.

He received his grammatical education at Sleaford; and applied himſelf to his ſtudies with ſo much diligence and ſucceſs, that he excited the particular attention of Mr. Merrivale, who was miniſter of a congregation of proteſtant diſſenters in that town, and a man of taſte and learning. By this gentleman he was much patroniſed, and encouraged in his literary purſuits; he frequently expreſſed the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of his obligations to him; and it is ſuppoſed to have been by his advice and encouragement, that he was firſt induced to direct his views to the profeſſion of a diſſenting miniſter *.

In 1741 young Kippis was admitted into the academy for the education of proteſtant diſſenting miniſters at Northampton, under the care of Dr. Doddridge. Here he applied himſelf cloſely to his ſtudies, and, by his general conduct, greatly recommended himſelf to his tutor; and of Dr. Doddridge he always expreſſed his regard in the ſtrongeſt terms. In a note to a ſermon preached by him, on the occaſion of founding a new academical inſtitution among proteſtant diſſenters, he ſays, "that Dr. Doddridge was one of the beſt characters that ever exiſted. To his pupils in general he behaved as a father: to

* Sermon preached on occaſion of the death of Dr. Kippis, by Abraham Rees, D. D. p. 24.

myſelf

myſelf (adds he) he did ſo in a particular manner; for, during the latter years of my reſidence with him, I was diſtinguiſhed by his favour above the reſt of my fellow-ſtudents; and this when he fully knew that I aſſerted my own right of judging upon theological ſubjects *." And at the cloſe of the life of Dr. Doddridge, which is inſerted in the Biographia Britannica, Dr. Kippis obſerves, "I eſteem it as no ſmall felicity of my life, that I have been preſerved to give this teſtimony of duty, gratitude, and affection, to the memory of my benefactor, my tutor, my friend, and my father."

When Mr. Kippis had been five years at Dr. Doddridge's academy, he was invited to undertake the paſtoral care of a congregation of proteſtant diſſenters at Dorcheſter; but having, at the ſame time, received a ſimilar invitation from Boſton in Lincolnſhire, he preferred that ſituation, and went to reſide there in the month of September 1746†. Here he continued four years; but, probably, having an inclination to reſide nearer to the metropolis, in 1750 he became miniſter of a congregation at Dorking in Surry.

On the death of Dr. Obadiah Hughes he was choſen, in 1753, paſtor of the congregation in Prince's-ſtreet, Weſtminſter; and of that congregation he continued miniſter to the time of his death. In the ſame year in which he became a miniſter in Weſtminſter he was married to Miſs Elizabeth Bott, the daughter of a reſpectable inhabitant of Boſton in Lincolnſhire.

As Mr. Kippis had cultivated his talents with great diligence and ſucceſs, and was fond of literature and of literary company, his reſidence in the metropolis was much more agreeable to him than his former ſituation in the country. The excellence of his character ſoon procured him a number of reſpectable acquaintance; and by his congregation he was much beloved, and held in high eſtimation. His firſt publication appears to have been a ſermon on the advantages of religious knowledge, preached at St. Tho-

* Sermon on the new academical inſtitution, p. 50.

† Funeral Sermon, ut ſupra, p. 26.

mas's meeting-houſe, in 1756, for the benefit of the charity-ſchool, in Gravel-lane, Southwark. The following year he publiſhed a diſcourſe, containing a conciſe account of the doctrine of the New Teſtament concerning the Lord's Supper, which paſſed through ſeveral editions.

Soon after the commencement of the Monthly Review, he became a writer in that literary journal, and continued to contribute to it for many years. In 1761, a periodical publication was commenced, entitled, "The Library, or Moral and Critical Magazine," in which Mr. Kippis agreed to take a part.

In that work, the hiſtory of knowledge, taſte, and learning in Great Britain, was written by him; together with ſeveral miſcellaneous eſſays. The Library was a publication of conſiderable merit, but contained more moral and theological diſcuſſions than ſeems to have been agreeable to the generality of readers. It was, therefore, diſcontinued, the ſale not being adequate to the expence, when one volume had been publiſhed, and five numbers of a ſecond. In the laſt number the following paragraph was inſerted by the direction of Mr. Kippis: "The author of the "Hiſtory of Knowledge having the ſatisfaction to find that his "ſubject is approved of, is deſirous that we would here intimate "his intention of completing his ſcheme, of correcting and enlarg-"ing what has been already done, and of printing the whole, "with the proper authorities annexed, in a ſeparate treatiſe."

This hiſtory, conſiderably enlarged, was afterwards inſerted in the New Annual Regiſter. It is probable that it was always Dr. Kippis's intention, that, when completed, this ſhould be publiſhed as a diſtinct work; but as, in conſequence of his unexpected death, neither his papers, nor the diſpoſal of his productions, came into the hands of any proper or judicious literary friend, we do not find that meaſures have been adopted for that purpoſe.

In 1762 he was choſen ſucceſſor to Dr. Benſon, as truſtee of Dr. Daniel Williams's library, in Red-croſs ſtreet, London. Dr. Williams, who died in 1716, founded this library, chiefly, but not excluſively, for the uſe of the diſſenters; and a part of his eſtate was alſo appropriated to various charitable purpoſes

under the direction of his truſtees. Dr. Rees, ſpeaking of Mr. Kippis's being elected on this occaſion, obſerves, that "this appointment afforded him an additional opportunity of bein "eminently and extenſively uſeful in a variety of reſpects. His "connexions with the general body of proteſtant diſſenting "miniſters belonging to the cities of London and Weſtminſter, "and with many charitable inſtitutions, which the liberality of "diſſenters has eſtabliſhed, gave him frequent occaſion to exerciſe his talents for the honour and intereſt of the cauſe to "which, both by his ſentiments and profeſſion, he was zealouſly "attached*."

As Mr. Kippis's literary abilities and acquiſitions were now well known, he was, on the death of Dr. Jennings, elected, in 1763, claſſical and philological tutor to the academical inſtitution for the education of diſſenting miniſters, ſupported in London by the funds of William Coward, eſq.

In 1766 he publiſhed an introductory diſcourſe, which was delivered at the ordination of the reverend Samuel Witton, at Lower Tooting, in Surry; and, the following year, the univerſity of Edinburgh conferred on him the degree of doctor in divinity.

In 1769 he publiſhed a ſermon on the character of Jeſus Chriſt as a public ſpeaker, which was preached at Bridport, in Dorſetſhire, at the ordination of Mr. George Waters and Mr. William Youat. The ſame year he publiſhed a ſermon, which was preached at Hackney, on the occaſion of the death of Mr. Timothy Laugher, who was miniſter of the Preſbyterian congregation in that place, and who was ſucceeded by Dr. Price. Mr. Laugher had been extremely intimate with Dr. Kippis, and died at the age of forty-five. In this ſermon Dr. Kippis expreſſes himſelf thus concerning his friend: "I have been con-"nected with him, in a cloſe and endearing friendſhip, between "twenty and thirty years; I have ſhared every ſecret of his "heart, and been acquainted with almoſt every tranſaction of his "life; I have ſeen him in the unguarded moments of youth,

* Funeral Sermon, p. 27.

" and in the various ſituations of riper age; and, with this know-
" ledge of him, I can aſſert, that he hath always appeared to me
" to be animated by a genuine, fervent, and uncorrupted prin-
" ciple of piety, integrity, honour, and benevolence *.

In 1773 he publiſhed " A Vindication of the Proteſtant Diſſenting Miniſters, with regard to their late application to Parliament." This application was to remove the obligation they were under, as the law then ſtood, to ſubſcribe the greater part of the articles of the church of England. That diſſenting miniſters, who openly ſeparated from the church of England, and avowedly diſapproved of its doctrines, ſhould be required to ſubſcribe the majority of the articles of that church, was, upon the very face of it, unjuſt and abſurd. Many of the diſſenting miniſters, of the beſt reputation for abilities, and for integrity, never complied with this requiſition; but they were ſubject by law to conſiderable penalties, if the law had been enforced. In this pamphlet, Dr. Kippis ſays, " Religion, in every form of it which is conſiſtent with the ſafety of the ſtate, has an unlimited title to indulgence. I do not, therefore, think that liberty of conſcience ought to be confined to Chriſtianity. I am of opinion, that the magiſtrate hath no right to interpoſe in religious matters, ſo as to lay any reſtraint upon, or to preſcribe any teſt to, thoſe who behave as peaceable ſubjects †."

At the cloſe of this piece Dr. Kippis adds: " When biography ſhall relate, in future ages, the learned labours, and the eminent virtues of ſome of the preſent bench of biſhops, ſhe will at the ſame time record it with ſurpriſe and ſhame, as a ſtrange inconſiſtency with their great abilities, and an aſtoniſhing blot in their characters, that they were capable of pleading for the continuance of laws which are repugnant to every dictate of wiſdom, every precept of the goſpel, and every ſentiment of humanity ‡.

Dr. Kippis's piece produced an anſwer from Dean Tucker, which was publiſhed under the title of " Letters to the Rev.

* Sermon, p. 56.

† Vindication of the Proteſtant Diſſenting Miniſters, p. 63, ſecond edition.

‡ Ibid. p. 123.

Dr.

Dr. Kippis, occaſioned by his Treatiſe entitled a Vindication, &c." This controverſy was carried on with much civility on both ſides. Dr. Kippis, in his Vindication, had ſtyled Dr. Tucker "the ableſt apologiſt for the church of England;" and the dean, in his Letters, ſays to Dr. Kippis, "You, ſir, appear to me in the light of a very able advocate for your cauſe; and, what is much better, but which, alas! can be ſaid of very few controverſial writers, in the light of an honeſt man. You are, on the whole, a candid and impartial ſearcher after truth*."

The application of the diſſenting miniſters to parliament was not complied with at this time; but, ſome years after, an act was paſſed for their relief in the buſineſs of ſubſcription.

In 1777 he undertook the office of editor of the new edition of the Biographia Britannica. This work engaged much of his time and his attention, and he was extremely ſolicitous to render it truly valuable. In the preface to the firſt volume he ſtated his ideas of the principles on which he was deſirous that it ſhould be executed. He ſays, "It is our wiſh, and will be our aim, to conduct this publication with real impartiality. We mean to riſe above narrow prejudices, and to record, with fidelity and freedom, the virtues and vices, the excellencies and defects, of men of every profeſſion and party. A work of this nature would be deprived of much of its utility, if it were not carried on with a philoſophical liberality of mind. But we apprehend, that a philoſophical liberality of mind, whilſt we do full juſtice to the merit of thoſe from whom we differ, either in religious or political opinions, doth not imply in it our having no ſentiments of our own. We ſcruple not to declare our attachment to the great intereſts of mankind, and our enmity to bigotry, ſuperſtition, and tyranny, whether found in Papiſt or Proteſtant, Whig or Tory, Churchman or Diſſenter. A hiſtory that is written without any regard to the chief privileges of human nature, and without feelings, eſpecially of the moral kind, muſt loſe a conſiderable part of its inſtruction and energy."

At the cloſe of the preface Dr. Kippis adds, "Biography may

* Letters to the Reverend Dr. Kippis, &c. by Joſiah Tucker, D. D. Dean of Glouceſter, p. 5.

be conſidered in two lights. It is very agreeable and uſeful, when it hath no other view than merely to relate the circumſtances of the lives of eminent men, and to give an account of their writings. But it is capable of a ſtill nobler application. It may be regarded as preſenting us with a variety of events, that, like experiments in natural philoſophy, may become the materials from which general truths and principles are to be drawn. When biographical knowledge is employed in enlarging our acquaintance with human nature, in exciting an honourable emulation, in correcting our prejudices, in refining our ſentiments, and in regulating our conduct, it then attains its true excellence. Beſides its being a pleaſing amuſement, and a juſt tribute of reſpect to illuſtrious characters, it riſes to the dignity of ſcience; and of ſuch ſcience as muſt ever be eſteemed of peculiar importance, becauſe it hath man for its object."

When he had been ſome time engaged in the Biographia, he found that the taſk was too great for him to execute alone; and Dr. Towers was joined to him as an aſſociate.

All the new articles, and additions to old articles, written by Dr. Kippis, had the latter K affixed to them. To the new articles, or additions to old articles, written by Dr. Towers, the letter T was affixed.

The articles written by Dr. Kippis, in the ſixth volume, part of which is printed, but not yet publiſhed, are the following: Dr. Henry Felton, Elijah Fenton, Henry Fielding, Henry Finch firſt Earl of Nottingham, Martin Folkes, Samuel Foote, David Fordyce, and Dr. Nathaniel Forſter.

In 1783 he publiſhed "Conſiderations on the Proviſional Treaty with America, and the Preliminary Articles of Peace with France and Spain." In the courſe of the ſame year appeared "Six Diſcourſes delivered by Sir John Pringle, bart. when preſident of the Royal Society, on occaſion of ſix annual aſſignments of Sir Godfrey Copley's medal. To which was prefixed the life of the author." Dr. Kippis had been on very friendly terms with Sir John Pringle, who frequently attended public worſhip in his congregation.

In 1786 he publiſhed a ſermon preached by him at the Old Jewry,

Jewry, on the 26th of April that year, on occaſion of a new academical inſtitution among proteſtant diſſenters, for the education of their miniſters and youth. Of this academy Dr. Kippis became a tutor, and continued ſo for ſeveral years, he being very deſirous of promoting the intereſts of the inſtitution. But he afterwards quitted that office; and, at no diſtant period, the inſtitution itſelf was aboliſhed, in conſequence, as has been ſuppoſed, of injudicious management in the conductors. Dr. Rees, ſpeaking of Dr. Kippis as tutor, ſays, "His lectures, and his general conduct, conciliated the eſteem, and promoted the improvement, of his pupils. They all honoured and loved him: for he had a happy talent of attaching their attention and reſpect *."

Dr. Kippis publiſhed, in one volume quarto, in 1788, the life of the celebrated circumnavigator, Captain James Cook; and, the ſame year, a life of Dr. Nathaniel Lardner, which was prefixed to his works. It was a ſingular circumſtance, that when the greater part of this life had been compoſed, Dr. Kippis received a letter from Mr. David Jennings, grand-nephew to Dr. Lardner, deſiring him to withdraw his publication. This letter was written not only in his own name, but in the name of Dr. Dickens, prebendary of Durham, who had married a niece of Dr. Lardner, and who joined in the requiſition. At the ſame time Dr. Kippis was aſſured, that if he perſiſted in his intention, they would ſtrongly and publicly diſavow their having conſented to the performance.

Dr. Kippis, having ſtated this abſurd application, ſays, in an advertiſement prefixed to the life, "Although, for reaſons which to my own mind appeared perfectly ſatisfactory, I refuſed to comply with their requeſt, I acquainted them, that I had not the leaſt objection myſelf to record their diſavowal, and to take upon me the diſgrace of having written the life without aſking their permiſſion. Accordingly I here do this in the moſt expreſs manner. I here declare, that if, in the life of Dr. Lardner now preſented to the public, there be any miſtakes in point of fact, or errors of ſentiment; that if it be ill written, or improperly written,

* Funeral Sermon, p. 43.

ten, its faults belong to myſelf alone, being chargeable upon no other perſon whatſoever."

Dr. Kippis's account of Dr. Lardner is compoſed with great judgment, and contains much valuable information. He alſo made numerous additions to Dr. Doddridge's courſe of lectures on pneumatology, ethics, and divinity, which were printed in the third edition.

In 1791 he publiſhed a volume of ſermons; and, the ſame year, a funeral oration, delivered at the interment of the celebrated Dr. Richard Price.

Dr. Kippis regularly attended the public meetings of the diſſenters on important and proper occaſions; and Dr. Rees remarks, that "his knowledge of the world, the rectitude of his judgment, and the mildneſs of his temper, gave him conſiderable influence in various connexions to which he belonged. At the Preſbyterian board, in Dr. Williams's truſt, and in the general body of aſſociated miniſters, his opinion always claimed peculiar deference. As he was become the father of ſeveral ſocieties of this kind, to which he ſtood related, his age commanded reſpect; and his condeſcending, complying diſpoſition, rendered it eaſy and pleaſant to act with him on every occaſion.

Nothwithſtanding the variety of his engagements, he was a conſtant attendant. He never pleaded them as an apology for abſence. He never wiſhed to decline any public ſervice, whatever perſonal inconvenience or trouble might attend it. He preferred the concerns of others, who needed his aſſiſtance, to his own *.

He was a ſincere friend to the intereſts both of civil and religious liberty, and frequented ſeveral popular ſocieties. For ſome years he was a member of the ſociety for conſtitutional information; he was a member of the revolution ſociety, and, in 1788, he publiſhed a ſermon which was preached before that ſociety. He was alſo a member of the ſociety of the Friends of the People, and the Unitarian ſociety.

Dr. Kippis died on the 8th of October, 1795; and, though he

* Funeral Sermon, p. 3., 40.

was

was then in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, he had, till a very ſhort time before, ſuch an appearance of health, that it might have been expected that he would have lived many years. It was this circumſtance which probably prevented his having made any late will, or given inſtructions for a proper diſpoſition of his books and manuſcripts. He might not chooſe, perhaps, to make any new will till the death of his wife. She had been confined to her room, and was not able to walk acroſs it for ſome years without aſſiſtance, while he apparently enjoyed good health. No body, therefore, thought it probable that Mrs. Kippis would ſurvive him, but ſhe lived more than a year after his death.

He was interred in the diſſenting burying-ground in Bunhill fields, on the 18th day of the month in which he died. He had two children by Mrs. Kippis, but they were both cut off at a very early age, and their loſs ſeems to have affected him more than any other affliction he ever experienced.

Mr. Jervis, who ſucceeded Dr. Kippis as miniſter of the congregation in Prince's-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, made the following obſervations concerning his predeceſſor, in the firſt ſermon preached by him as paſtor of that congregation. He ſaid, that Dr. Kippis's was a name which "would be remembered in the world as long as manly abilities, ſolid learning, ſterling worth, and unaffected benevolence, ſhall continue to retain a place in the eſteem of mankind. In him the perſonal virtues and talents of the man were ſo admirably blended with the acquirements of the ſcholar, and the elevated ſentiments and principles of the Chriſtian, as to conſtitute a rare, valuable, and accompliſhed character. In him, ſcience has loſt an ornament, religious liberty and truth an able advocate, and humanity a diſintereſted friend *."

His character was uncommonly excellent and amiable; his manners were mild and placid; he had great ardour and activity of benevolence; and much of his time was employed in doing good to others. He walked ſlowly, and it was his cuſtom to

* Mr. Jervis's Sermon, p. 26, 27.

read

read even in the ſtreets of London. He roſe early; and appears always to have been diſtinguiſhed by diligence and application. In his life of Dr. Doddridge he ſays, "Literary diligence is a "matter which I have always earneſtly wiſhed to preſs on every "young man of liberal education, with whom I have had ac-"quaintance. When accompanied with original genius, it is "the parent of all that is great and valuable in ſcience; and "where there is not much of original genius, provided there be a "natural capacity, it is endued with the power of producing "valuable attainments, and of rendering eminent ſervices to the "learned world."

Dr. Kippis wrote the preface to Edwin and Eltruda, a legendary tale by Miſs Helen Maria Williams. That ingenious lady had been much benefited by his advice and friendſhip; at the time of his death ſhe was at Paris, but ſhe there wrote a poem, in honour of his memory, in which are the following lines:

"For him, his country twines her civic palm,
And learning's tears his honour'd name embalm;
His were the laviſh ſtores, her force ſublime,
Thro' every paſſing age has ſnatch'd from time;
His, the hiſtorian's wreath, the critic's art,
A rigid judgment, but a feeling heart;
His, the warm purpoſe for the general weal,
The Chriſtian's meekneſs and the Chriſtian's zeal;
And his the moral worth, to which is given
Earth's pureſt homage, and the meed of heaven."

Poetical compoſitions in honour of him were alſo publiſhed by Mr. John Towel Rutt, and Mr. William Toulmin, now Dr. Toulmin.

FRANCIS

FRANCIS NEUBAUER,

MUSIC-MASTER TO THE CHAPEL OF THE PRINCE OF NASSAU, AT WEILBURG.

NEUBAUER was born in Bohemia, where his relations ſtill live, and in all probability of low parentage. But that land of muſic, where every talent for the art has free ſcope, introduced him at an early age to men who diſcerned his excellent qualifications, and gave all poſſible aſſiſtance to promote their progreſs. He had unqueſtionably attended the grammar ſchool in his youth, for he ſpoke Latin with tolerable facility, and afterwards acquired ſome knowledge of French and Italian, at leaſt as much as is indiſpenſably neceſſary to enable a compoſer to form a judgment of foreign words.

Prague and Vienna were the two chief ſchools of muſic, which Neubauer ſubſequently frequented; and his acquaintance with the moſt celebrated maſters of his time, Haydn, Mozart, Wranitzky, Kotzeluch, and others, added to a diligent ſtudy of the beſt Italian ones, both ancient and modern, enabled him to attain that accuracy of expreſſion which will tranſmit his thoughts to poſterity. He began early to compoſe, and the excellent conſtruction of his pieces had been admired in many parts of the ſouth of Germany, and praiſed in ſeveral periodical publications, and among others by Meuſel and Kramer.

His works were publiſhed at Vienna, Paris, and Offenbach; and the catalogues of muſic-ſellers were continually announcing ſome new ſymphonies, quartettos, or ſongs, of his compoſing. Neubauer was an original. All his muſical ideas bore the marks of glowing genius. Symphony was his *forte*, and in this he diſplayed inexhauſtible copiouſneſs of thought, with ſtrength and richneſs of expreſſion. His quartettos have a ſoft and amiable character; but his ſongs ſomewhat of fullneſs, and, from the too copious introduction of wind inſtruments, which in general, however,

however, he knew how to employ with effect, are a little overcharged, throwing the finger too much into the back-ground.

He was not thirty years old when he entered into the ſervice of the prince De Weilburg. The diſturbances attending the war of the revolution broke up the chapel, and Neubauer fled to Pruſſian Minden, where he remained ſome time, till he became known to the princeſs of Schaumburg, who gave him leave to repair to Bueckeburg. The laſt of the Baches was then maſter of the concert at Bueckeburg. As a compoſer Neubauer was far ſuperior to him in the management of inſtruments. Bach felt this; and he was vexed that the arrival of a ſtranger ſhould throw him into the ſhade; particularly as he was conſcious of poſſeſſing certain excellencies in the ſuperiour branches of the ſcience, to which nothing was wanting but the art of diſplaying them to advantage.

Neubauer had obtained permiſſion to perform ſome of his compoſitions in the chapel, and of this he availed himſelf to ſuch advantage, that his powers of muſical execution excited univerſal aſtoniſhment. The fire of genius pervaded the orcheſtra, when led by him; and his ſymphonies, when animated by his ſpirit, produced an indeſcribable effect on the audience.

Bach was a man of the higheſt probity: but, in the confidence of a private converſation, he had paſſed ſome ſlight cenſures on Neubauer's compoſitions, to which they were undoubtedly liable, when weighed in the old *Bachian* balance. Some officious friends reported theſe cenſures to Neubauer, who was inflamed with ſuch zeal for his art, that he broke out into the bittereſt invectives againſt Bach, without the leaſt reſtraint, and challenged him to a muſical conteſt, in the compoſition of a ſubject in parts, in which he wiſhed to engage the old muſician *pro aris et focis*.

Shortly after this Bach was ſeized with an acute diſorder, of which, to the regret of all true connoiſſeurs in muſic, he died. Neubauer ſucceeded to his place, and was engaged as director of the concert by the princeſs of Schaumburg, but for no determinate time. Long, however, he did not long enjoy the ſatisfaction of a peaceful abode, and the happineſs of an affectionate wife, whom he had married in Bueckeburg, for death hurried

him off in the prime of life. He followed his predeceſſor Bach in the ſame year, and his bones were laid at reſt in the ſame church-yard with thoſe of him whoſe rival he had been when alive.

There can be no doubt but he ſhortened his life by a vice which he had permitted to acquire a ſway over him. Formerly, in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, he had inflamed his fancy by the generous juice of the grape: afterwards the ſcantineſs of his purſe induced him to have recourſe to brandy, to ſatisfy his want of ſtimulating liquor. In this he indulged to an immoderate degree; and he fell a ſacrifice to his indulgence.

His native character was eſtimable. He had a diſpoſition to generoſity, which would have diſplayed itſelf to advantage in favourable circumſtances: but his goodneſs of heart led him into extravagance. He employed his talents for the relief of neceſſitous muſicians, particularly on their travels, and gave them the whole of his earnings, when he himſelf was ſo poor, that he muſt either ſtarve or get into debt. In ſhort, his heart was ſuſceptible of great and noble ſentiments. "I cannot avoid thinking," he uſed to ſay, "that it is impoſſible for a great artiſt to have a narrow ſoul."

His phyſiognomy was expreſſive of genius and animation; they indeed beamed from his eyes. The lower part of his face indicated the lover of what is called *good living*. In every feature there was an indeſcribable ſtretch of attention to every impreſſion his muſic produced. He well knew the paſſages that muſt have the greateſt effect; and never failed while they were playing to take a ſide glance at thoſe amateurs by whom he thought they would be moſt felt, or on whoſe judgment he moſt depended.

He compoſed with incredible facility; and would ſit down in a crowded tavern, and produce a maſterly ſymphony amid the jarring din of a hundred diſcordant voices. At times, it is ſaid, he expoſed himſelf to the diſgrace of detection. He would write down paſſages from ſome of his compoſitions that had long been in print, and give them out as perfectly new. It cannot be denied that he had ſomething Thraſonic in his character. This

was

was never more clearly expreſſed than in his capital ſymphony, "The Battle," which excels all his others in effect; but in real ſcience, and muſical correctneſs of invention and conſtruction, muſt rank far below them. This ſymphony, and his cantata on the taking of Mentz, have been performed in ſeveral places with great applauſe. The latter has this ſingularity, that, though the work of a Bohemian, who was by no means maſter of the German language, he put the words together while he was compoſing the muſic, and wrote them down with the notes. This cantata, with all its faults in reſpect to proſody, has ſomethingin it ſo original that no poet has ventured to alter the words.

His moſt perfect maſterpiece was the Harmony, as it is entitled; a piece for wind-inſtruments, with accompaniments for a violin and baſs. All the ſkill that could be exerted for producing the fineſt effect by wind inſtruments has here been concentred in one focus. It is the harmony of the ſpheres, in which the idea of every thing terreſtrial is abſorbed.

It is to be regretted that Neubauer ſuffered the warmth of his genius to pervade his character, and carried it to exceſs. His ſpirit, however, lives in his works; and many a foreigner will hear, with regret, the news of his early death, which happened October 11, 1795.

GEORGE BENDA,

DIRECTOR OF THE CHAPEL OF HIS HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SAXE GOTHA.

In the year 1795 Germany loſt two eminent muſicians, Bach and Benda; of whom it is remarkable that they both ſprung from muſical families. George Benda was born in 1721 or 1722. He was the third ſon of a linen-weaver, who lived at Altbenatky in Bohemia, and, in the national ſpirit of that country, played a little on the hautboy, the bagpipe, and the pſaltery.

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His three brothers were all muſicians, and his only ſiſter was married to a muſician, and had the repute of being one of the beſt ſingers of her time. During the firſt Sileſian war, Frederick II. of Pruſſia brought the whole family out of Bohemia to Berlin, and placed the children under proper maſters to be taught muſic. The eldeſt brother, Francis, became a great player on the violin; and George ſoon diſplayed a talent for compoſition. He alſo handled the bow with conſiderable ſkill; and at an early age was introduced into that great ſchool of muſic, which was formed about the middle of the preſent century, in Berlin, and of which he ſoon became a conſpicuous member. He was likewiſe a good harpſichord player for that time; but his favourite inſtrument was the hautboy.

G. Benda never enjoyed any particular inſtructions for compoſing muſic: his natural talent and feelings made him maſter of the art. On reading ſome able criticiſms of his later works, he once ſaid to a friend, "The reviewer remarks and praiſes my obſervance of ſome very ſublime rules of compoſition, with the very names of which I was in fact unacquainted." In the mean time his ſix ſonatas for the harpſichord, publiſhed in 1757, and ſtill conſidered as claſſical compoſitions, are laſting proofs how well he was led by his own ear to obey the rules of art. We cannot ſay whether Benda was ſent for to Gotha in conſequence of the recommendation of friends, or of the fame he had acquired: we only know that, in 1748, he went thither to fill the place of maſter of muſic to the chapel, which Stœlzel, a man of merit in his way, had enjoyed before him. This ſituation contributed greatly to improve his talents as a compoſer. Frederic III. the reigning duke at that time, was a great lover and good judge of muſic, and Benda compoſed a great deal for the church by his order. He compoſed almoſt four ſets of church muſic for the whole year; beſides ſeveral maſſes, ſervices for paſſion-week, and other pieces. His ſymphonies were prized as highly at that time, as thoſe of Haydn and Mozart are now. His Italian airs were greatly admired, and he compoſed the whole of the opera *Xinto riconoſciuto*.

Benda enjoyed the eſteem of his prince in ſuch a degree, that he was ſent into Italy at his expence in 1765, and afterwards promoted to the rank of director of the chapel. This journey enlarged and improved his taſte, and freed him from many of the prejudices he had before imbibed. The acquaintance he obtained with the theatre prepared for him thoſe laurels, which he afterwards acquired by his compoſitions for the ſtage. He was indebted to fortuitous circumſtances, however, for an opportunity of gathering them. In 1774 the palace at Weimar being burned down, Seiler's company of actors removed from that city to Gotha. With it came Schweizer, then chiefly known to the world for having compoſed the muſic to Wieland's opera of *Alceſte*, and who was afterwards the ſucceſſor of Benda as muſic maſter to the chapel.

Benda's talents had now ſlumbered for ſome time. On the death of Frederic III. in 1772, the muſic in the ducal chapel had been diſcontinued; and nothing occurred to rouſe him from that life of indolence and eaſe, to which he had a ſtrong propenſity. The amuſements of the theatre, of which he was paſſionately fond, and the ſucceſs which attended the *Alceſte* and other performances of Schweizer, at length, however, ſtimulated him to exert his talents for the ſtage. The firſt-fruit of this exertion was that very original and celebrated work his *Ariadne*.

Benda was a great admirer of the declamation and action of an actreſs at Gotha, of the name of Brandes, who had no talent for ſinging: and he conſidered how he could combine her powers as an actreſs with the effect of muſic. The thought of a *melodrama* ſtruck him; and this he communicated to his friend Engel of Berlin, who was then at Gotha with Gotter. He was informed by him, that a ſimilar idea had occurred to Rouſſeau, who had carried it into execution, though but feebly, in his *Pygmalion*, and he encouraged him to attempt ſuch a work. From their hints Brandes the actor compoſed the text of the melodrama of *Ariadne in the iſland of Naxos*. The words of the piece have no extraordinary merit, but the ſtory is well adapted

adapted for effect. Benda undertook the compoſition of the muſic for this piece, in ſuch a manner that there is no proper air, throughout the whole, but the muſic occaſionally relieves the declamation, and endeavours to extend the expreſſion of the ſentiments conveyed by the words. It is, indeed, an enchanting performance; and Reichardt, a critic of no mean eminence, ſaid of it, that ſuch genuine muſic had never before been heard within the walls of a German theatre.

This maſter-piece was followed by the *Medea* of Gotter, into which, however, Benda introduced ſome airs. The *Fair Walder*, *Romeo and Juliet*, the *Woodcutter*, and *Pygmalion*, ſucceeded each other rapidly; and ſome time after the *Law of Tartary* was performed at Manheim.

Caprice, and probably ſome portion of diſlike to his rival Schweizer, who, however, was very far inferior to him, and with whom he had ſome cauſe to be offended, induced Benda, in 1778, to requeſt his diſmiſſion from Gotha, where his income amounted to upward of two hundred a year. In this imprudent reſolution he perſiſted, againſt the advice of all his friends, and went to Hamburg, where he was engaged by Schroeber, under very advantageous terms, as director of muſic to the theatre. He was accompanied by his only daughter, and one of his younger ſons, who both had engagements at the theatre likewiſe.

After ſome time he became diſſatisfied with this ſituation, left Hamburg and repaired to Vienna, where he acquired conſiderable fame and ſome money. Hence he returned to Gotha to viſit his ſiſter, Mrs. Hattaſch the ſinger, and his old friends; though chiefly to ſolicit a penſion from his former benevolent employer, as his preſent unſettled way of life afforded him but a gloomy proſpect for his declining years. It coſt him ſome pain to confeſs that he, an old man, after having ſpent eight and twenty years of meritorious ſervices, had acted with ſuch imprudence as at once to throw up a lucrative place from paſſion. The duke, however, was not deaf to his petition; and his brother prince Auguſtus, who, being a lover and judge of muſic, valued Benda as an artiſt, joined in the grant of a little annuity.

And thus this muſician, who found his former income inſufficient, though great in compariſon, now thought himſelf happy to be aſſured of ſomewhat leſs than ſeventy pounds a year for the remainder of his days.

Soon after this he began to collect, and publiſh by ſubſcription, the various pieces he had compoſed for the harpſichord while he was in the ſervice of the duke of Saxe Gotha. The fame of Benda was ſo great, that the firſt volume had above two thouſand ſubſcribers; but as none of the pieces exhibited that extraordinary merit, which he had diſplayed in his compoſitions for the ſtage, the ſucceeding volumes experienced but indifferent ſucceſs.

At the preſſing invitation of Mrs. Zernitz, ſupported by the advice of his other friends, he left the place of his reſidence near Gotha, and repaired to Paris, to bring out his *Ariadne*, which had been tranſlated into French. It was accordingly performed at the Italian theatre: but the opinion of the public was divided reſpecting it; in conſequence of this a little paper war aroſe, which was carried on in the *Mercure de France*. He reaped ſufficient emolument, however, to defray the expences of his journey.

On his return he ſpent his days in extreme ſolitude, his wife having long been dead, and his children grown up and diſperſed in the world. In 1790, or 1791, he took a final leave of muſic in a cantata, compoſed at Ronneburg, under the title of *Benda's Lamentations*. Walking was his chief occupation and amuſement, and he often went to a town ſome miles off; entered at one gate, went out at another, and returned home without ſpeaking to a ſingle perſon. He frequently went on poſt-days to read the news as early as poſſible, for he was eager after a knowledge of public events, and in particular concerning every thing that appertained to the French revolution, of which he was a warm friend. Once meeting an acquaintance, whom he could not avoid, he ſtood ſtill, and looked earneſtly all round him, without ſpeaking. "Are you looking for any one?" ſaid his old friend. "Yes: for my wife." "You have no wife." "O yes: Solitude."

Benda

Benda was of a robuſt frame; but his latter years were infirm; and he died on the 6th of November, 1795, about the age of ſeventy-four. Handel, Jomelli, Gluck, and Bach, have been inſtanced as examples of muſicians who were great eaters; and Benda may be added to the number. Once calling on a friend, a frugal Frenchman, who had a piece of roaſt-meat juſt brought in, that he intended ſhould ſerve him for his ſupper during the whole week, and being aſked to taſte it, he ſat down, though it was between meals, and did not leave off till he had picked the bones.

He was famed for abſence of mind and forgetfulneſs; many inſtances of which are related. Mildneſs and benevolence were alſo highly predominant in his character: but he was extremely ſenſible of any affront, or diſreſpect, and did not readily forget it. He loved his children, yet left their education almoſt to chance. Rightly as he judged in the caſe of others, and good as was the counſel he gave his friends, he often miſtook his own intereſt, and neglected the duties incumbent on the father of a family. His firſt paſſion, which he carried to exceſs, was to relieve the wants of others: his next was for ſociety and cards, though with the exception of almoſt all games of chance; and he has often ſeriouſly ſaid, that he could ſcarcely believe it poſſible for a man to be a good compoſer of muſic who had no ſkill at cards or draughts.

Of the philoſophy of Benda we have many ſpecimens before us in his letters, an extract from which we cannot withhold, as it will probably be acceptable to the readers, and afford ſome idea of the man.

" March 4, 1788.

" I a Sceptic? Heaven defend me from it! Scepticiſm indicates weakneſs of mind, has embittered the lives of many, and to many has made death terrible. I believe, and firmly believe, what reaſon bids me: but things, of which I cannot convince myſelf, I leave as they are; reject them not, ridicule them not, and only ſay, that I know nothing of the matter. With reſpect to our ſtate beyond the grave, nothing can be ſaid with certainty: he who created us alone can know, whether,

and how, the ſoul, ſeparated from its body, can think and act. But this uncertainty diſturbs me not. Was I unhappy before I was born? Why then ſhould I deem myſelf unhappy, if I muſt ceaſe to be and return to my former non-entity? I thank the Omnipotent for the boon of this ſhort life, whether futurity be to me an eternal ſleep, or a continuation of exiſtence. If the creator of all things have deſtined man to the latter, I am convinced, that I too ſhall enjoy ſuch happineſs. While this is the ſtate of my mind, the old fellow with his ſcythe may come when he will. Probably he will not find that I ſhall receive him with a ſmile; though I certainly ſhall with ſerenity, if my machine be ſo far worn out, as not to be too ſenſible of the pain attending its deſtruction."

EWALD-FREDERIC COUNT DE HERTZBERG,

MINISTER OF STATE TO THE KING OF PRUSSIA, CURATOR OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY AT BERLIN, PRESIDENT OF THE ECONOMICAL SOCIETY AT POTSDAM, HONORARY MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE OF LONDON, &c. &c.

It is known to the world, that Hertzberg was one of the moſt able and active aſſiſtants of Frederic II.; and that this great king, in his laſt hours, would have him alone of all his miniſters about him: thus appearing to make the count the depoſitory of thoſe political maxims, an adherence to which was to maintain and extend the internal ſtrength and external power of the Pruſſian monarchy.

Ewald-Frederic Von Hertzberg, deſcended from an ancient but decayed Pomeranian family, was born on the ſecond of September 1725, at Lottin, an eſtate of his anceſtors, near New Stettin, to which his father had retired with the rank of major, in the ſervice of the king of Sardinia. When he was

was ſix years old, his parents entruſted him to the care of a neighbouring clergyman, named Rhenſius, in whoſe houſe ſeveral young noblemen were boarders. Under this maſter, who poſſeſſed his grateful eſteem, he imbibed the elements of learning with ſuch ſucceſs, that, after having been three years at the academy of Old Stettin, he was capable, in 1742, of compoſing a genealogical hiſtory of the firſt Auſtrian emperors, in Latin, from original ſources. Both the choice of his ſubject, and the manner in which he handled it, proved that, already in his ſeventeenth year, he had turned his thoughts to that courſe in which he afterwards obtained ſo much fame.

Probably the narrow circumſtances of his parents, which his father arduouſly ſtrove to improve, firſt induced him to try a path, in which he hoped he might earlier be enabled to ſupport himſelf without their aſſiſtance. But whether this conjecture be right or not, it is certain that he ſeduloufly purſued the ſtudy of the public law of Germany, and the ſciences connected with it, during a three years reſidence at Halle, under the celebrated profeſſors Bœhmer, Von Ludwig, Schmauſs, and Wolf. Before he quitted the univerſity he was deſirous of exhibiting a proof of the knowledge he had acquired, by a ſyſtematic eſſay on the juriſprudence of Brandenburg; but the cabinet of Berlin forbad the publication of this work, to which, however, it could not refuſe praiſe. The mortification experienced by the young man contributed greatly, perhaps, to render the future miniſter of ſtate more friendly to the liberty of the preſs, than from the tenor of his mind in other reſpects he appears likely to have been. Nothing remained for him at the time, however, but to chooſe another ſubject for his theſis, which he propoſed to maintain in public without a moderator; and he pitched upon the Electoral Union, the hiſtory of which he executed with great judgment, and defended with uncommon applauſe.

Immediately after this he was placed in the department of foreign affairs at Berlin; then accompanied the embaſſy of the elector of Brandenburg, on occaſion of chooſing an emperor, as ſecretary; and after his return laboured with great induſtry in public buſineſs, particularly in the private archives, an intimate

acquaintance with which he juſtly conſidered as the moſt certain road to diſtinction in his new career. His exertions were ſoon noticed, and praiſed by the king; who directed him to make extracts from documents relative to the hiſtory of Brandenburg, and to compoſe an eſſay on the military ſtate of the electorate. As a recompenſe for this he was made counſellor of legation, and thus attained one ſtep nearer his object, he being now called upon officially to defend the actions and rights of his prince *. In 1750 he received orders to arrange the ſecret papers of ſtate, which had remained packed up ever ſince the war of 1745. An inſpection of the original documents, reſpecting the external connexions of his court and the moſt important tranſactions of the times, afforded him an accurate and profound knowledge of the domeſtic and foreign relations of Pruſſia, and contributed not a little to his future improvement. In 1752 his eſſay On the firſt Population of the Marche of Brandenburg, obtained the prize from the royal academy of ſciences at Berlin; and, in conſequence of it, he was ſoon after made a member of the academy, and privy counſellor of legation. In 1755 he was ſummoned to the ordinary conferences of the department for foreign affairs, and had the ſuperintendance of part of the private diſpatches. During this buſy period he wrote the conciſe but learned "Hiſtory of the Maritime Strength of Brandenburg under the Elector Frederic-William the Great, and of the African Company, as likewiſe of the Poſſeſſions of the Brandenburgers on the Coaſt of Africa, which the King, Frederic-William, ſold to the Dutch in 1720."

In 1756, when Frederic II. meditated the project of marching at the head of an army into Bohemia and Saxony, Hertzberg was directed to prepare an "Abſtract of the ſecret Deſigns of the Courts of Vienna, Peterſburg, and Dreſden, againſt

* In the year 1747 he compoſed an anſwer to the *Polit. Hiſtorie der Staatsfehler, &c.* entitled "Political Hiſtory of the Errors of State, which the European Powers have committed with reſpect to the Houſes of Bourbon and Brandenburg;" and, in 1748, an argument, in French, againſt the crown of England, reſpecting the freedom of the navigation of Pruſſia, as a neutral nation, in the maritime war of that time. Both theſe works, however, remained unpubliſhed for reaſons of ſtate.

Pruſſia,"

Pruſſia," from the papers of the elector of Saxony, which the king had found means to procure: and when Frederic made himſelf maſter of Dreſden, and ſent Hertzberg the correſpondence of the Saxon court from 1746 to 1756, taken from the archives, the miniſter drew up, from theſe forty volumes, in the courſe of a ſingle week, in three different languages, "The Memorial reſpecting the Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony, and their dangerous Deſigns againſt the King of Pruſſia, with the original Documents, from which the Proofs of them are derived." This memorable compoſition brought on him various attacks, to all of which he gave a general anſwer.

In the beginning of the year 1757, when the king was preparing for a freſh campaign, and had it in contemplation to abandon Pruſſia and Weſtphalia in order to concentrate his whole force between the Viſtula and the Weſer, and employ it againſt Auſtria, Hertzberg counſelled him, in an anonymous letter, not to leave thoſe provinces, but rather to augment his army with forty thouſand men. The latter part of his advice was taken, as the writer ſoon diſcovered; but Frederic abandoned the provinces, and they were loſt. After the death of privy counſellor Wahrendorf, in the courſe of this year, Hertzberg became firſt privy counſellor, or ſecretary of ſtate, for the foreign department; in which office he had to prepare all the private diſpatches, both French and German, including thoſe for Sileſia. In addition to this, he had the ſuperintendance of the ſecret archives. He had alſo, from this time, the direction of foreign affairs, in conjunction with the two miniſters count Podewils and count Finkenſtein; compoſed all the ſtate papers that were written in German, French, and Latin, during the ſeven years war; and removed the ſecret archives to Magdebourg.

After the unfortunate battle of Collin, when the fortreſs of Stettin, completely diveſted of troops, was threatened by a Swediſh army, he rendered an important ſervice to his king and nation, by perſuading his patriotic countrymen, the ſtates of Pomerania, to aſſemble in haſte a body of militia, conſiſting of ten battalions of foot, and two ſquadrons of huſſars. Theſe

were

were kept embodied during the remainder of the war, and performed ſignal ſervices by their valour, which was animated and increaſed by the love of their country.

In the year 1762, Hertzberg was the means of bringing about an accommodation between Ruſſia and Sweden, and in 1763 the king pitched upon him as the inſtrument for effecting a general peace. He went to Hubertſburg with oral inſtructions merely, and there concluded a treaty on the day preſcribed. The ſaying of Frederick on this occaſion, "You have made peace, as I made war, one againſt many," was to ſuch a miniſter the nobleſt of rewards. After this, his merits and exertions were further rewarded by the place of ſecond miniſter of ſtate, or miniſter for foreign affairs, vacated by the death of count Podewils; in addition to this he for a time continued to exerciſe his former functions.

On the firſt partition of Poland, in 1772, Hertzberg, though he ſo loudly declaimed againſt the laſt diviſion of that unfortunate kingdom, was extremely active, both by his expoſition of the pretenſions of Pruſſia, and his counſels reſpecting the aggrandiſement of the Houſe of Brandenburg. As theſe important ſervices to the Pruſſian monarchy appeared to have been too little noticed, he himſelf was anxious that they ſhould be fully diſplayed in Weddigen's ſketches of his life. Hertzberg took an active part in the diſputes between the houſes of Pruſſia and Auſtria reſpecting Bavaria, both by his writings and his influence: and at the peace of Teſchen, in 1779, he was not idle, having drawn up the treaty himſelf. As the emperor Joſeph made freſh attempts, in 1784, to obtain Bavaria, theſe rendered new counterplots neceſſary. Hertzberg performed a principal part in the grand project of bringing about a coalition of the German princes, in 1785, intended to fruſtrate the emperor's ſcheme: but, according to his own avowal, the firſt hint of it came from the heir to the throne. The count publiſhed ſome tracts reſpecting this coalition. Soon after this he became prime mover of the meaſures entered into for quelling the diſturbances in Holland, reſtoring the ſtadtholder, and diminiſhing the influence of France in

the united province. Even the well-known journey of the princeſs of Orange was his work *.

During his laſt illneſs, Frederick, as we have already obſerved, ſent for his old and truſty miniſter to *Sans Souci*, and kept him with him till his death, which occurred, Auguſt the 16th, 1786. What muſt have been the feelings of Hertzberg at the demiſe of this firſt of kings, who had honoured him with his confidence for ſo many years, with whom he had ſo long co-operated, the ſplendor of whoſe great deeds had been diffuſed over him alſo, and on whoſe quitting the ſtage it was probable his own part as a politician was ended! But the hour was not yet come when he was to retire from the fatigues of ſtate, to enjoy dignity and eaſe.

Frederick-William ſeemed deſirous of treating Hertzberg with the ſame favour and affection as his uncle. He honoured him with the order of the black eagle; took him along with him when he went to receive the homage of Pruſſia and Sileſia; promoted him to the rank of a count; ſent him to Pomerania and the Neumark, to accept the oaths of fealty in the name of his king; committed to his charge the department of foreign affairs; and made him curator of the academy. Peace was reſtored in Holland by his means; and he was active in preſerving the balance of Europe. Hence reſulted the celebrated congreſs of Reichenbach, in 1790. The count could never forget that this compact, which he conſidered as his maſter-ſtroke, was not brought to perfection, and that he was thwarted in the execution of his deſigns. With this ſource of diſſatisfaction others united.

* When this princeſs was ſtopped in her journey by the Dutch patriots, the king of Pruſſia demanded ſatisfaction within a ſhort determinate time, in a memorial drawn up by Hertzberg. The following letter on this occaſion from the count to Mr. Poſſelt, publiſhed in Poſſelt's annals for 1797, No. 2, p. 137, is characteriſtic of the miniſter. "In the caſe of the laſt memorial of Mr. Von Tulemeier, I have in my thoughts the examples of Popilius Lænas, Liv. xlv. 12, and of Admiral Matthews before Naples; and I have ultimately attained a wiſh which I have ever cheriſhed throughout my diplomatic career. This attempt, however, is much more ſtriking than either of thoſe to which I allude, becauſe it is not directed againſt ſuch feeble ſovereigns as Antiochus and Don Carlos, but a much greater power (France), at leaſt indirectly, not inſignificant Holland. Yet I engage that it ſhall not occaſion a war."

In

In May 1791 the cabinet was enlarged by the addition of two new miniſters, ſo that the buſineſs was no longer conducted by himſelf alone, which he ſenſibly felt. This proof of diſeſteem, or disfavour, induced him, in July, to requeſt his diſmiſſal, or at leaſt to be exonerated from any concern in foreign affairs. The latter was granted; but neither his complete reſignation, nor the relinquiſhment of his ſalary, which he had likewiſe offered, was accepted. Thus he ſtill retained the title of prime miniſter; but the only buſineſs he had to tranſact was what belonged to him as curator of the academy of ſciences, with the ſuperintendence of the ſilk manufacture * in Pruſſia, and the rural economy of the country.

The leiſure now enjoyed by the count, and his high regard for the late king, induced him to reſolve on writing a hiſtory of Frederick II. and to avail himſelf of the ſecret archives for that purpoſe. The new monarch gave him permiſſion. Obſtacles of every kind, however, were induſtriouſly thrown in his way; ſo that at length he grew weary of a work, which, continually occupying his mind, by the recollection of happier days, might have afforded him conſiderable enjoyment. He effected, however, the erection of a memorial to Frederick the Great, an idea which he did not ſuggeſt to his Pomeranian countrymen in vain. This was a marble ſtatue of the king, by Schadow, toward which the count himſelf ſubſcribed one thouſand rixdollars (one hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds†), and which was publicly dedicated to his memory, at Old

* The manufacture of ſilk ſeems to to have been an object peculiarly dear to count Hertzberg, and that the hopes entertained by him on this occaſion were proportionably ſanguine may be ſeen by the following extract of a letter from that nobleman, to a perſon in high public ſituation in this country, dated Berlin, June 1, 1794.

"Je continué a faire des grandes progres dans la culture de la ſoye nationale, et je me flatte, que favoriſer par le ſaiſon de cette année nous aurons une recolte abondante, et que nos fabriques proſperont par la ruine de Lion, puiſque les etranger viennent deja demander de nos fabrications."

It would appear from another paſſage, that he encouraged the cultivation of ſilk by giving two golden Fredericks, and preſenting a medal to every perſon, on raiſing the firſt twenty pounds weight; his or her name was alſo inſerted in the gazette.

† It appears from an original letter, written by the ex-miniſter, and now in the poſſeſſion

Old Stettin, on the 10th of October 1793, when Hertzberg gave vent to his feelings reſpecting the merits of Frederick, in an oration delivered by him on this occaſion*.

Hertzberg's conſtitution was by no means ſtrong, and he could not have ſupported his various exertions during ſo long a period, had he lived in a leſs ſimple manner. In the year 1780 he was attacked by a dangerous illneſs, during which the king teſtified his anxiety for his life by frequently ſending to inquire after his health, and giving orders, that no carriage ſhould paſs near his houſe. During the laſt two years of his exiſtence the ſpaſmodic complaint, under which he occaſionally ſuffered, became more ſevere laſting, and, after he had loſt his ſpeech for more than a month, he died on the 27th of May 1795, aged ſixty-nine years, eight months, and twenty-five days, near fifty years of which he had ſpent in the ſervice of the ſtate. According to his laſt will, his brother, E. R. Count de Hertzberg, a captain of horſe, was appointed his heir, after the payment of a conſiderable number of legacies.

Hertzberg's phyſiognomy was ſtrikingly expreſſive of a thinking mind†. Of his carriage and external appearance he was negligent. His dreſs was after the manner of the *old ſchool*. His manners were not thoſe of a courtier but of a citizen; plain, and patriarchal, as was his mode of living. He ſaw little company at his houſe, and his acquaintance was confined moſtly to men of letters.

The count united what we do not often find in the ſame perſon, the practical man of buſineſs with the theoriſt and ſcholar. Had he not been a ſtateſman, he would have been admirably qualified for a profeſſor. His predilection for hiſtorical inquiries, and his ſucceſs in them, are evinced by the memoirs he read in

poſſeſſion of the Editor, that he ſubſcribed two hundred guineas on this occaſion. *Edit.*

* See *Umſtændliche nachricht von der dem groſſen Kœnig Friedrich II. zu Alt. Stettin errichteten marmornen bildſaule:* "A circumſtantial account of the marble ſtatue erected to the great king Frederick II. at Old Stettin;" printed at Berlin, in quarto, 1793. An engraving of the ſtatue itſelf is prefixed.

† An elegant print of him has been publiſhed by Fravenholz, at Nuremberg, engraved by Klauber, from a painting by Schrœder.

the academy, a complete catalogue of which is given in Meuſel's fifth ſupplement. The numerous ſtate papers he has compoſed alſo afford ſtrong proofs of his great diplomatic induſtry and abilities. They have been publiſhed in three volumes, under the title of *Recueil des Deductions*, &c. "A collection of expoſitions, manifeſtoes, declarations, treaties, and other public documents and writings, compoſed and publiſhed for the court of Pruſſia, by court de Hertzberg, miniſter of ſtate." Theſe include the political tranſactions of the Pruſſian government from the year 1756 to the year 1795. He could not for a long time obtain permiſſion to publiſh the third volume, which contains the memorable treaties and tranſactions of the year 1790, with Poland and the Porte, and with Auſtria at Richenbach. It appeared at length in 1796.

A critic has excellently appreciated Hertzberg's character as a political writer, in few words. "Unqueſtionably he is the greateſt and moſt weighty author, in regard to expoſitions (*déductions*), that Germany can boaſt of. A ſtateſman, who, with an extenſive knowledge of politics and the world, is intimately acquainted with ancient and modern hiſtory, the public law of Germany, and every thing connected with it; has ſtudied the records and claims of his king for ſeveral years; has acquired an eminent rank in diplomatic learning, and poſſeſſes various knowledge. Beſide this, he has great penetration; is capable of ſeeing things, and exhibiting them in their true ſhape and value, with a clear, pure, nervous, extremely conciſe, eaſy, and convincing ſtyle."

A remarkable feature of his political character, which is not uſually copied by the members of the diplomatic body, was a high degree of ſincerity and openneſs, which in many reſpects claims our regard, but did not always render him the ſecureſt repoſitory of political ſecrets. This too might be the reaſon that during his latter years he was excluded from a ſhare in the buſineſs of the cabinet, and even his letters opened at the poſt-office. This way of thinking, probably, among other things, gave him ſuch an inclination to publicity. "Every ſtate," ſaid he in his ſpeech to the academy on the coronation day of Frederick-William II, "the conduct

conduct of which is founded on wiſdom, power, and juſtice, gains by that publicity which exhibits it to the world in its true light: it is dangerous only to thoſe governments which love dark and crooked by-ways."

With a commendable ſenſe of his own worth and merit, was aſſociated a daſh of vanity, a certain degree of pertinacity, a too great diſlike of contradiction. Ill health and neglect ſerved to increaſe the diſcontent of his latter years. He was pleaſed with nothing that was done in Pruſſia. Accuſtomed to the moſt extenſive political activity, he was not enough of a practical philoſopher to feel with unconcern his powers contracted and his influence vaniſhed. He ſaw the ſtate brought to a perilous criſis: he looked upon himſelf as the only perſon who could ſave it from approaching ruin. Accordingly he reſolved once more to offer his ſervices to the king, and, in July 1794, he wrote three letters to his majeſty, which, on account of the anxious importunity, boldneſs of political opinions, rare freedom of ſpeech, and wounded ſelf-love, evidently diſplayed in them, have been preſerved, as highly memorable documents, with the king's anſwer, in Haberlin's *Staats Archiv*, "Political Repoſitory," for 1796, No. 1. In giving a character of Hertzberg, a few fragments of theſe letters ſhould not be omitted.

His diſapproval of the new partition of Poland he expreſſes moſt forcibly in the following terms: "I confeſs, according to my notion, it is the greateſt political fault that the three powers, Pruſſia in particular, could commit. The claim which they advance for the diviſion of Poland is ſo odious and ſo ſtrongly reprobated, that it will remain an eternal blot on the reputation of the three ſovereigns, will tarniſh their names as long as hiſtory ſhall laſt, and I own I know not how they can reconcile it with their religion or their conſciences. I have incurred your majeſty's diſpleaſure *, I was ſacrificed to the court of Vienna, and I have withdrawn myſelf from affairs of ſtate, to which I had devoted myſelf, I believe with ſucceſs, for fifty, or at leaſt for thirty

* On occaſion of the convention of Reichenbach.

years."

years." Here he proceeds to ſtate the dangers of a war with France, and propoſes, as the only means of averting ruin, that the king ſhould propoſe a peace with the French republic, as mediator, in the name of the allied powers. "If your majeſty ſhould approve this idea, I will undertake to carry it into execution with that activity which is natural to me, and which I have never failed to exert, by means of perſons whom I would ſelect and memorials which I would compoſe for the belligerent powers. I would propoſe to them a general congreſs like that of the peace of Weſtphalia, and there is every reaſon to preſume, from the confidence all parties have in the known rectitude of my principles, that it would be accepted. I do not wiſh to reſume my place in your majeſty's cabinet; I deſire only to be admitted into it for a ſufficient time to re-eſtabliſh the ſafety, ſecurity, and weight of my country. I have lived too long not to wiſh for repoſe, after I have rendered it this ſervice, and I aſk no other reward. I foreſee, from the remembrance of what is paſt, that your majeſty will charge me with extreme preſumption, and that this may increaſe your diſpleaſure againſt me: but I chooſe rather to run this riſk, than not to exert the laſt efforts of which I think myſelf capable to ſave my country, and to ſerve a monarch with whom I have fallen into diſgrace, but to whom I am not the leſs attached and devoted. If your majeſty would truſt to me, I would draw up memorials, without loſs of time, exhibiting reaſons of ſufficient force to induce the two courts of London and Vienna to acknowledge the French republic, and make peace with her on the footing I have propoſed, &c.; and I have likewiſe ſome hope, that I could bring the French convention into this, by the arguments which I ſhould lay before it, and to which it would more readily liſten than if they came from any other miniſter than me, whoſe firmneſs and veracity it knows from the paſt. At the ſame time I will endeavour to make the court of Ruſſia liſten to reaſon, by forcible arguments to which ſhe cannot refuſe to ſubmit. If theſe ſuggeſtions receive your majeſty's approbation, the memorials in queſtion will be compoſed in a couple of days; and it will then depend on your majeſty whether I ſhall be near your perſon,

perſon, to prepare daily and preciſe inſtructions for the foreign miniſters, as I did with ſo much activity and ſucceſs in the happy period between 1786 and the middle of 1791. To your majeſty it ſhall not coſt a ſingle penny. I will undertake the whole from motives of the moſt diſintereſted patriotiſm, and will retire the moment the preſent criſis is paſt. Your majeſty knows, by experience, whether others have ſerved you better, more promptly, and at leſs expence, ſince my diſmiſſal from the cabinet."

To the plain and home language of theſe letters the king returned the following ſhort but expreſſive anſwer:—"There was a time, when you fulfilled a duty, in ſubmitting to me your opinion reſpecting thoſe affairs which I entruſted to your zeal. Now your diplomatic career is finiſhed, I ſhould have been glad, if your diſcretion had ſpared me the trouble of advice, to which I pay regard only when I aſk it. Leave to the miniſters, whom my confidence has placed over thoſe concerns, which were once entruſted to your ſuperintendence, the care of receiving my orders, and carrying them into execution. I know the value of patriotiſm, and I would wiſh to think that it alone prompted your offers. Yet it is poſſible, that ſelf-love may have aſſumed its garb to your eyes, and deceived you with reſpect to your true motives: and I ſhall be glad, if this hint put you ſufficiently upon your guard againſt your own feelings, ſo as to induce you to confine yourſelf within the ſphere of your preſent duties, and ſave me the unpleaſant taſk of repeating to you this counſel. With this I pray God to take you into his good and holy keeping. From the camp at Oppenheim, July 20, 1794.

"FREDERIC-WILLIAM."

From the merits of Hertzberg, as a politician, we now turn to thoſe he poſſeſſed in relation to ſcience. The academy of Berlin will ever remain highly indebted to him; for as the German men of letters were nearly excluded under the reign of Frederic II. Hertzberg, on being made curator, wiſhed to invite into its boſom the moſt eminent of the natives, particularly

thoſe of Berlin. He endeavoured more and more to Germanize the French turn which the members had taken; and, though he was himſelf fond of the French language, he ſupported the cauſe of that of his country, both by exhortation and practice. In his converſations with Frederic he always ſpoke in favour of the German tongue, and thus gave riſe to his majeſty's eſſay on German literature, which the king ordered him to get tranſlated and printed. On this occaſion he wrote to a German literary friend, with whom he correſponded frequently, "I have not ſacrificed the ſuperiority of the German to the uſual arts of a court, but have endeavoured, both in converſation and writing, to turn the king from his prejudice, though in vain."

Hertzberg contributed greatly to promote the culture of ſilk in Pruſſia. Previouſly to the year 1788, when a particular board was appointed for this object, he was made preſident of it: the induſtry of thoſe who attended to this branch of cultivation was animated almoſt wholly by himſelf, by advances of money, pecuniary rewards, medals, and his own example at his eſtate of Britz, near Berlin. Between the years 1769 and 1789 he ſpent 10,000 rix-dollars (1666l.) in bringing the culture of ſilk to perfection. His drawing-rooms at Britz and at Berlin were furniſhed with this commodity from his own eſtate, and all the ſilk garments he wore were made of the ſame. In 1784, on the king's birth-day, Hertzberg made his appearance at court, at Potſdam, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, in a ſplendid ſuit of velvet. The king noticed it, and aſked how he came to be ſo dreſſed. "It is from ſilk of my own raiſing," anſwered the miniſter, "and the whole has been manufactured in your majeſty's dominions: I thought, therefore, I could not better teſtify my joy on this day, than by a production of the country, which is indebted for its exiſtence to your majeſty's glorious reign." The hiſtory of the culture of ſilk in the Pruſſian territories, under the direction of the board, is circumſtantially given in Weddigen's Fragments, p. 151 and following. Since the eſtabliſhment of this board, the cultivators of ſilk have enjoyed

joyed much more favour and ſupport than before. On that occaſion Hertzberg had particularly in view the poor village ſchoolmaſters; and, beſide the additional employment of raiſing ſilk, he procured them more roomy habitations, ground for planting, and many other advantages. He indeed proved himſelf a patriot in regard to the ſcholaſtic inſtitutions of his country in general. He exerted himſelf with paternal care for the improvement of the royal ſchool of arts *(realſchule)* at Berlin, of which he was one of the guardians, and the different eſtabliſhments connected with it. Among other favours, he beſtowed on this inſtitution 1000 rixdollars (166 l.) for the repair of the ſchool-houſe; frequently ſent it fire-wood; diſtributed conſiderable ſums of money among the ſcholars; paid a teacher of the management of ſilk-worms an annual ſalary of 200 rixdollars (33 l.) for ſix years; and allotted rewards to his pupils. He was likewiſe a conſiderable benefactor to two other ſchools at Berlin. Whenever he was aſked to a public examination of the ſcholars of any of the public ſeminaries in the capital, he always accepted the invitation, if it were practicable for him to be preſent, was an attentive auditor, and at times even aſſiſted in the examinations. On all occaſions he inculcated the principle, that the two chief objects of education are, to inſtil into the minds of youth the love of their country, and give them a thorough knowledge of it. He likewiſe viſited the civil and military ſchools of the lower claſſes. At every examination of the barrack-ſchool of the late Pfuhl's, now Thile's, regiment, he formed one of the audience, and diſplayed his liberality to the children and the teachers. He alſo paid great attention to the New and Old Stettin gymnaſiums: the former was indeed partly revived by him from its declining ſtate. For ſeveral years he made a conſiderable addition to the income of the teachers; and, beſide this, he beſtowed books, maps, and money, from time to time, to enrich the library of the ſchool, and as rewards to the moſt diligent ſcholars. To the gymnaſium of Old Stettin, in which he had laid the foundation of his own acquirements, he ſhewed himſelf particularly grateful on the 10th of October, 1793, on

the dedication of the ſtatue of Frederic II. He delivered a ſpeech there, and preſented to the inſtitution, among other things, the important *Codex Diplomaticus Pomeraniæ* of Dreger, which he had purchaſed, of Dreger's heirs, for 500 rixdollars (83 l.), and enriched with many ancient documents. He contributed likewiſe to the ſupport of the Sunday charity-ſchool of Mr. Fidler, preacher at Spandau, by an annual donation.

The name of Hertzberg is alſo mentioned with reſpect among the Pruſſian agriculturiſts. He himſelf deſcribed the rural economy of his eſtate at Britz, in Bueſching's *Reiſe von Berlin, &c.* or "Journey from Berlin, through Britz, to Rekahn." It is advantageouſly diſtinguiſhed in every reſpect. He brought the rearing of cattle to a great degree of perfection; introduced ſtall-feeding, of which he approved unconditionally, except with regard to ſheep; cultivated many kinds of fodder, particularly lucerne; and recommended a very advantageous method of ſaving wood, and managing foreſts. He never ſuffered a tree to be cut down, but dug up the earth round it, and looſened the roots, ſo that it fell by its own weight: thus a conſiderable quantity of reſinous wood was gained, and the land rendered almoſt immediately fit for the reception of ſeed. He was not a little chagrined to find his propoſal for the general adoption of this method throughout the country neglected. His ſilk-works at Britz have already been mentioned. The order, exactneſs, diligence, and induſtry, with which this eſtate was managed, were eminent. There Hertzberg enjoyed his pleaſures and recreation, and his eye was extended to the minuteſt objects. How firmly he was perſuaded, that the rural economy of this territory was capable of improvement, appears from his will; in which he makes it an abſolute condition with his heirs, that they ſhould continue to manage not only the lands in fee, which he held in Pomerania, but alſo his freehold of Britz, according to the plan which he had adopted and found ſo advantageous.

By way of concluding this brief memorial of a man ſo eminent in his day, and whoſe name will be recorded with honour to

to the lateſt poſterity, we ſhall give a tranſlation of the epitaph inſcribed on his tomb.

HIS EXCELLENCY
EWALD-FREDERIC COUNT HERTZBERG,
MINISTER OF STATE, OF WAR, AND OF THE CABINET,
CURATOR OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, KNIGHT
OF THE ORDERS OF THE BLACK AND RED EAGLE,
HEREDITARY LORD OF BRITZ, LOTTIN, &c.
A MAN,
WHOSE NAME ALONE IS A SUFFICIENT EULOGY,
AND WHOSE MEMORY GRATEFUL POSTERITY WILL
HONOUR,
WHILE IT WILL BE IMMORTALIZED WITH THE
HISTORY OF PRUSSIA.
BORN SEPTEMBER THE 2ND, 1725;
DIED MAY THE 27TH, 1795*.

GEORGE ANDERSON, A. M.

IT is one of the many advantages reſulting from a free government, and has ever been the peculiar boaſt of our own, that the career of glory and ambition is open to all; that the arts and ſciences confer diſtinction on their votaries; and that talents, when accompanied by worth, may aſpire to the higheſt departments in

* The death of count De Hertzberg was announced by his widow to all his friends and correſpondents throughout Europe. In one of the circular letters written by her on this occaſion, with equal propriety and elegance, which lies open at this moment before me, dated Berlin May 28, 1795, ſhe concludes with her ſignature as "Veuve Hertzberg, née de Kniphauſen," and pays a lively and at the ſame time a juſt tribute of applauſe to the memory of her late huſband. *Ed.*

the ſtate. It is far otherwiſe in Aſia *: in China the ſon of the loweſt artiſan is doomed, by irrevocable cuſtom, to follow the profeſſion of his father; and in Hindooſtan, the Pariar muſt appertain to that vile caſt for life.

Theſe preliminary obſervations are not wholly inapplicable to the ſubject of this memoir, who roſe from humble beginnings in conſequence of the early dawnings of genius, which diſtinguiſhed him from the crowd, and luckily obtained for him the patronage and protection of a ſucceſſion of amiable men.

Mr Anderſon was born at Weſton, a village near Ayleſbury in Buckinghamſhire, in November 1760. His father was a peaſant, undiſtinguiſhed either by wealth or talents; one of thoſe plain, ſimple, induſtrious men, who rear a numerous and healthy progeny, on the ſcanty profits of a ſmall farm, and thus eſſentially ſerve the community, without enriching themſelves. Both his parents died while he was yet young; but from his mother he was lucky enough to receive ſome little inſtruction; and, what is rather unuſual, this boy, who was the younger of two ſons, was actually taught to read and ſpeak at the ſame time. At the uſual age he was ſent to a little day ſchool, but could never be prevailed upon to take more than one leſſon. On his elder brother the taſk of inſtruction ſeems to have devolved, in conſequence of this event, and from him he received the firſt rudiments of arithmetic †. Such a conduct made a deep impreſſion

* This is alſo the caſe, in general, in every country of Europe founded on the Oriental model; with an exception, however, in favour of the clergy. A Frenchman, during the exiſtence of the old government, on hearing that Dr. Franklin had been appointed poſt-maſter-general in America, by the king of Great Britain, inquired if he was a *noble*; and, on being told that his father had been a tallow-chandler at Boſton, he exclaimed, with a mixture of ſurpriſe and indignation, "Comment employer le fils d'un chandelier!"

The Biſhop of Niſmes (Flechier), whoſe father had followed the ſame buſineſs, was reproached by a nobleman on this very account; the reply of this celebrated orator is too remarkable to be omitted here:—"My lord duke," exclaimed he with an honeſt pride, "inſtead of being diſgraceful to me, this very circumſtance proves my ſuperiority over yourſelf; for if you had been born in the ſame ſtation that I was, you would have ſtill remained a *maker of candles*."

† He was alſo put for ſome time under the tuition of one Tyler, an exciſeman, who kept a ſmall ſchool at Wendover. He, however, did not remain with him long; for the

impreſſion on a heart naturally grateful, and was afterwards amply repaid in acts of beneficence, to the ſon and daughter of that relative, when he himſelf had been ſnatched away by death from the poſſibility of participating in his bounty.

At an early age George, who ſeemed to have been doomed like the reſt of his family to the plough and the flail, attended to all the little details of the farm; and, on the approach of maturer years, aſſiſted in its more laborious operations. While in this obſcure ſituation, and occupied by the daily round of toil and exertion, his mind ſeems to have been to the full as active as his body. Like Ferguſon, in a nearly ſimilar ſituation, he conceived an irreſiſtible attachment to mathematics; and bereaved himſelf of ſome of the hours uſually devoted to ſleep, in order to cultivate his favourite ſcience.

Not content with the applauſe of a village circle, he ſoon aſpired to celebrity, and panted to behold his name and labours in print. This harmleſs and perhaps laudable ambition was luckily gratified; for happening by accident, in 1777, to ſee the London Magazine, which contained ſome mathematical problems and arithmetical queſtions, he was fortunate enough to tranſmit a ſatisfactory ſolution to each; and his letter, ſigned "George Anderſon," and dated from "Weſton, Bucks," was accordingly inſerted*.

Mr. Bonnycaſtle, the author of ſeveral valuable treatiſes on mathematics and aſtronomy, and now one of the inſtructors in the royal military academy at Woolwich, happening to take up the periodical work juſt mentioned, while in London, was aſtoniſhed at this attempt on the part of a young man from the ſame county with himſelf, knowing that his education muſt have been very limited, and his means of information extremely confined.

the maſter ingenuouſly confeſſed that he was greatly ſurpaſſed by his ſcholar, who had one day given him an arithmetical problem, which it was beyond his ability to ſolve, although the youth did it with the greateſt eaſe.

* As this occurred in the ſeventeenth year of his age, it affords an unequivocal inſtance of precocious talents.

On that gentleman's return to his father's in Buckinghamſhire, he accordingly repaired to Weſton, about ſeven miles diſtant, inquired for the youth, and found him threſhing in a barn, the walls of which were covered with triangles and parallelograms. During this firſt interview, the baſhfulneſs of the tyro, in the preſence of a maſter, was invincible; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that a ſingle word could be extracted from him. A ſecond conference at Weedon, the reſidence of Mr. B.'s family, proved more fortunate; and the loan of "Simpſon's Fluxions," and two or three other books*, won upon his heart, and inſpired him with a regard that ſoon became mutual, and endured through life.

In the mean time the acquirements of this provincial prodigy had buzzed about the neighbourhood; and it was at length reported to a reſpectable clergyman, that the village of Weſton contained a young peaſant who, with few books and ſcarcely any maſter, had attained ſuch a proficiency in mathematical learning, as to become the correſpondent of a periodical work publiſhed in London. The vicar† of Whitchurch was not very opulent; but he poſſeſſed a benevolent heart. Actuated by the nobleſt and moſt diſintereſted ſentiments, he ſaw and converſed with the boy. After this he conſulted the gentleman already alluded to reſpecting his talents, and on receiving a favourable report, conceived the generous reſolution of cultivating them by means of a regular education. His care, which was truly paternal, extended even to his health; and, leſt he ſhould be cut off from that ſociety to which he hoped he might one day prove an ornament, by the ravages of a malignant diſeaſe, he took him home, and cauſed him to be inoculated for the ſmall-pox.

After ſome prefatory inſtruction at the grammar ſchool belonging to New College, Oxford, he was matriculated in

* It would be unjuſt to omit here that the late Mr. Thomas Dagnall, a worthy bookſeller at Aylesbury, alſo ſupplied Mr. Anderſon with ſeveral books.

† The Rev. Mr. King, now rector of Worthing in Shropſhire, where he reſided many years with an amiable wife and ſeveral children. He has lately removed into Gloucesterſhire.

the

the univerſity, and entered of Wadham college. In that celebrated ſeminary, inſtead of confining himſelf wholly, as was expected, to his former purſuits, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of claſſical learning; but, although he attained conſiderable proficiency, yet he made no conſpicuous figure. The reaſon of this is pretty obvious: the languages were unconnected with his ruling paſſion. It was the ſtone-cutter* of Mezieres cultivating a taſte for nautical knowledge.

Let it not be ſuppoſed, however, that this is intended to convey the ſlighteſt reflection on his generous patron: on the contrary, it is well known to all his friends that the education he received, upon this occaſion, fitted him for the active ſcenes of life, and qualified him for the department to which he was afterwards appointed.

While at Oxford he became acquainted with Dr. White† and Mr. Henderſon, both of whom reſembled him not a little in the early part of their hiſtory: the firſt having been indebted for his education to the beneficence of a country gentleman; the ſecond to the fatherly care of a clergyman of ſome celebrity‡.

Mr. Anderſon's expences were ſupported in part, during the firſt year, by the preſent Earl of Cheſterfield, and the late Sir John Daſhwood; the greater ſhare, however, was ſupplied out of an income, at that period far from being large, by his early

* Monge, originally a ſtone-cutter at Mezieres, having diſplayed great talents for geometry, was reſcued from the drudgery of manual labour by the generoſity of the abbé Roſſuet. Condorcet, who had ſeen him ſolve many difficult problems before the academy of ſciences, of which he had been ſecretary, imagined he would make a moſt excellent miniſter of the marine. He was accordingly appointed to the head of that department, but became celebrated for nothing but his incapacity during the whole of his ſhort adminiſtration. Being ſoon forced to relinquiſh a ſtation for which he was ſo little calculated, he returned once more to his problems; and, after having ſhewn himſelf the worſt miniſter France ever poſſeſſed, he now ſtands in the very firſt claſs among her mathematicians.

† Mr. Anderſon was always accuſtomed to ſpeak in high terms, both of the talents and generoſity of Dr. White; from whom he received perhaps the firſt watch he ever poſſeſſed, for the correction of ſome proof ſheets. The early and various attainments of the late Mr. Henderſon alſo formed a copious theme; and he often diverted his friends by recounting the ſingularities of that wonderful young man.

‡ Dean Tucker.

friend

friend the Rev. Mr. King; and, in a ſhort time after, the whole charge devolved entirely on him. But what was infinitely more than this, he devoted his time to the youth of his adoption, and actually ſuperintended both his morals and his education. To the honour of mankind, there are many inſtances of ſimilar liberality in reſpect to pecuniary aſſiſtance; there is ſcarcely one, however, in which perſonal attention has been ſuperadded: this, therefore, forms an example equally rare and honourable.

As the church ſeemed to preſent an aſylum to a youth of merit, George Anderſon took the degree of A. M. and was admitted to deacon's orders. Here, however, his eccleſiaſtical career ended; for his proſpect of obtaining a living was but ſmall, and a country curacy had few charms for him; he therefore never qualified himſelf as a prieſt.

In January 1785 he repaired to the metropolis, that great mart of preferment, in conſequence of an invitation from Scrope Bernard, Eſq. M. P. brother-in-law to Mr. King. This gentleman, who was well acquainted with his hiſtory, and had ſeen him frequently at Oxford, became deeply intereſted in his future welfare in life, and now undertook the care of introducing him to notice in London. He was accordingly provided with lodgings in Villiers-ſtreet, in the Strand, until ſome permanent proviſion could be procured for him *.

After

* While this was in agitation, being actuated by a ſpirit of independence, young Anderſon became ſecretly impatient to exonerate his friends from the expence of his further maintenance. He accordingly requeſted Mr. Bonnycaſtle to procure him ſome employment. By that gentleman he was preſented to the maſter of an academy, who appeared deſirous of obtaining as an aſſiſtant "a perſon who ſhould prove his ſincere friend;—who underſtood every thing, and to whom in return he would give a moſt liberal allowance." On further inquiry, he was expected to teach Engliſh, Latin, Greek, arithmetic, mathematics, &c. &c.; to riſe very early; attend the boys in the play-ground daily; accompany them twice every Sunday to church; and to be the "friend" of the ſchoolmaſter: a term of indefinite meaning, and which undoubtedly included ſome new drudgery. Being aſked, what time he was to have to himſelf? It was replied, "plenty:—for he might take as much as he pleaſed while the boys were aſleep!" On inquiry, "the liberal allowance" for all this was to be twenty-five pounds per annum.

On leaving the apartment of this Rhadamanthus of academicians, Anderſon turned his

After between two and three months delay, the object in view was affected; for Mr. Bernard, who had always evinced an unremitting zeal for his advancement, introduced him to his friend Mr. now Lord Grenville, and he recommended him to Mr. Dundas, then, as now, at the head of the board of control, in which he obtained an appointment in the ſpring of 1785. His income at firſt was ſmall; but he no ſooner diſcovered his ability to analyze the moſt intricate arithmetical ſtatements, and apply his mathematical knowledge to the finances of Britiſh India, than his ſalary was increaſed to a very liberal allowance, and himſelf promoted to the reſpectable ſituation of accountant general.

Deeming this a favourable opportunity to ſettle in life, he married a very worthy and amiable young woman in 1790 (who ſtill ſurvives him), and ſoon after removed to a reſpectable houſe in Abington-ſtreet, Weſtminſter.

Mr. Anderſon was of courſe utterly ignorant of India affairs on his entering the office at Whitehall; but he ſoon obtained a minute acquaintance with every thing relative to the hiſtory, revenue, and reſources of the Engliſh dominions in Aſia.

To his eagerneſs to fulfil his public duty, reſpecting the arrangement of the *budget* for 1796, his death may in a great meaſure be attributed; for, on finding himſelf indiſpoſed, he had recourſe to medicine, and even increaſed the doſe preſcribed by his phyſician, to diſpel what at firſt appeared a ſlight illneſs, that he might finiſh his calculations in due time. The diſeaſe, however, increaſed in an alarming degree, and ſpeedily proved mortal: ſuch indeed was its violence, that Dr. Pearſon, of whoſe ſkill he entertained a high opinion, and who readily afforded his friendly aid on this occaſion, obſerved that he never knew but two ſimilar inſtances in the courſe of his whole practice.

On the evening of Tueſday, April 26, 1796, he was firſt attacked while in the houſe of a worthy and reſpectable friend, with whom he had been accuſtomed to dine once a week during

his eyes towards heaven, and declared, in a reſolute tone of voice, "that he would ſooner ſhip himſelf for the Weſt Indies, and become a negro-driver!"

many years. Finding himſelf better next day, he repaired to Whitehall as uſual, but, on his return, was obliged to retire to bed, and was carried off on the Saturday morning following at one o'clock. A few days after his body was attended by ſeveral reſpectable friends to Pancras church-yard, where he was interred.

Thus died, in the thirty-ſixth year of his age, George Anderſon, who, by the munificence of an early patron, and the dawnings of his own genius, without the aid either of wealth or family connexions, roſe to a reſpectable and confidential employment. And it is but juſtice here to ſtate, that the preſident of the India board, with an attention that reflects honour on his humanity, on hearing of this ſudden event, inſtantly determined to alleviate the melancholy ſituation of the afflicted widow, and, in a letter filled with eulogiums on her huſband, deſcribed his death "as a public loſs *." But his attention did not ſtop here, for he ſoon after procured a penſion for Mrs. Anderſon, and preſented her with a ſum of money to ſupply her expences in the mean time.

Having none of his own, Mr. Anderſon adopted two children of that brother to whom he was ſo much attached; the one a boy, whom he ſent to India, and who is now a cadet on the Bombay eſtabliſhment; the other a girl, on whom he was beſtowing a ſuitable education at the time of his death:

"Vivet extento Proculeius ævo
"Notus in fratres animi paterni:
"Illum aget penna metuente ſolvi
"Fama ſuperſtes."

Throughout all the relations of life his conduct was exemplary. He was a good huſband, a good brother, a good uncle, a good maſter, and a good friend; and by none was his death more ſincerely lamented than by thoſe who had foſtered his riſing powers. No man ever poſſeſſed leſs vanity, and, although often conſulted by adminiſtration, he was never heard to boaſt of any intimacy or connexion with any of the members of the cabinet.

He never aſpired to ſuperiority, for his manners were ſimple

* This was literally the caſe, as there was no India budget during that year.

and

and unſophiſticated, and he was unambitious of ſhining at the expence of others.

Mr. Anderſon publiſhed but two works; the firſt, "Arenarius, a treatiſe on numbering the ſand," being a tranſlation from the Greek of Archimedes, appeared in 1784, previouſly to his arrival in town *. The ſecond is entitled "A General View of the Variations which have taken place in the Affairs of the Eaſt India Company ſince the concluſion of the War in India in 1784." The former has never been ſeen by the writer of this article, but he has often admired the perſpicuity and preciſion of the latter. It poſſeſſes the rare merit of being utterly devoid of party ſpirit, malevolence, and recrimination; and accordingly made a deeper impreſſion on the public mind than if it had been written with the bitterneſs of a zealot, and disfigured by the revilings of a partiſan.

A few of his friends, who loved him while alive, and reſpect his memory now he is no more, have given orders to erect a ſimple marble tablet, with an epitaph at once expreſſive of his worth and their eſteem.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF THE REV. HENRY VENN, A.M.

THIS learned and exemplary divine was deſcended from anceſtors who were clergymen, in a direct line, from the time of the reformation. The misfortunes of one of them, on account of his attachment to Charles I. during the civil wars are well and particularly narrated in Dr. Walker's "Account of the Sufferings of the Clergy."

His father, the Rev. Richard Venn, rector of St. Antholin's,

* It was publiſhed by Mr. Johnſon, St. Paul's church-yard.

London,

London, diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a noted diſputant in his day, particularly in conjunction with the good biſhop Gibſon, in oppoſing the promotion of Dr. Rundle to a biſhopric, on account of a converſation in which the doctor had expreſſed ſentiments rather favourable to deiſm. Mr. Venn alſo aſſiſted Dr. Webſter in writing the "Weekly Miſcellany," a periodical publication which, under the venerable name of Richard Hooker, laboured zealouſly in defence of high church principles. He died in 1740, and a volume of his ſermons and tracts was publiſhed by his widow, the daughter of Mr. Aſhton, who had been executed in the reign of William III. for being concerned in a plot to bring back the Stuart family.

Mr. Henry Venn was born at Barnes in the county of Surrey, 1725. He was educated, partly under Dr. Pitman, at Market-ſtreet, and partly under the reverend Mr. Calcott, rector of St. Stephen, Briſtol, a Hutchinſonian divine of great ingenuity and learning, the author of a curious treatiſe on the deluge, and a volume of excellent ſermons. In 1742 Mr. Venn was admitted of Jeſus college, Cambridge, proceeded to the degree of B. A. in 1745, and to that of M. A. in 1749. There being no fellowſhip vacant in his own college, the fellows of Queen's unanimouſly elected him a member of their ſociety, in which he continued till his marriage in 1757. The lady to whom he became united was daughter of Dr. Biſhop of Ipſwich, author of an expoſition of the creed, and a volume of ſermons preached at Lady Moyer's lecture in 1724.

At this period Mr. Venn was curate of Clapham, where he was greatly beloved by the inhabitants, and contracted a cloſe friendſhip with thoſe eminently good men Sir John Barnard and John Thornton, Eſq. By way of exhibiting his gratitude to his pariſhioners, he publiſhed and dedicated to them in 1759, on his reſignation of the curacy, a volume of ſermons. In the courſe of that ſame year he was preſented to the vicarage of Huddersfield in Yorkſhire. Before this removal he had embraced the Calviniſtic ſyſtem, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as one of the heads of methodiſm in the eſtabliſhment. Such men as Romaine and Venn were undoubtedly great acquiſitions to that cauſe; eſpecially

cially as the majority of the methodiſts were then extremely illiterate. Mr. Venn's perſonal appearance would hardly incline the beholder to believe that he was of an aſcetic caſt. He was not only corpulent, but his face was as high coloured and as much bloated as if he had been an enthuſiaſtic votary of Bacchus. He was moreover extremely facetious in converſation, and dealt much in joke and repartee. No wonder then that he was frequently taken to be *a jovial parſon who loved his bottle better than a ſermon*. The two following ſtories he uſed to tell of himſelf with great felicity of manner.

Happening to paſs once through Towceſter on a Saturday evening, he aſked the landlord of the inn where he put up, whether he thought the parſon of the pariſh would be glad of his help? "Oh yes," ſaid Boniface, "I dare ſay, Sir, he will be very glad to have his duty done." "Then be ſo good," ſaid Mr. Venn, "to preſent my compliments, and tell him that a Yorkſhire clergyman will ſtay to-morrow at the inn, and is ready to preach or pray for him, if he needs his aſſiſtance." Away goes mine hoſt of the garter with the welcome news to the parſon. "Gladly," replies the vicar; "but pray what ſort of a man is this Yorkſhire clergyman? There are ſuch people as Methodiſt vagrants, you know, hah!" The other laughed, and ſhaking his head, replied, "Ah, Sir, look only at his *face and noſe*, and you will ſee he is not one of that ſort." "Well," ſaid the vicar, "let him come to me in the morning, and then I ſhall ſee whether I like him to preach or pray." The landlord returned with the meſſage, and the next morning Mr. Venn waited on his reverend brother. "Sir," ſays he, "you are from Yorkſhire, I underſtand?"—"Yes, Sir."—"Will you pleaſe to drink a dram this morning?"—"I have no objection." The bottle being produced, Mr. Venn took a ſip. His character was at once determined. Robed, and ready, away they poſted together to church, and Mr. Venn to the pulpit. His bible was no ſooner opened, than the congregation ſtared, and the parſon covered his face with the ſurplice to hide his mortification. In ſhort, when ſervice was over, the vicar haſtened home without ſpeaking to Mr. Venn, who was left to retire to his inn alone.

Another time, when he was at Bath, and was to preach in the evening

evening at Lady Huntingdon's chapel, he reſolved to go to church in the morning. On the way he overtook the clergyman of the place, who, gueſſing from his appearance what he was, aſked him to preach in the afternoon; he accordingly complied, greatly to the edification of all, and, according to his own account, to the converſion of ſeveral perſons. In the evening, when the parſon went among his old friends in the long room, they began to laugh at him for introducing ſuch a man into his congregation; but he readily apologized for this by ſaying, juſtly enough, "Who could have looked that man in the *face*, and ſuppoſed him to have been a methodiſt?"

While at Huddersfield, he laboured with unwearied aſſiduity in his vocation, and his memory will long be cheriſhed with affection and veneration in that extenſive pariſh. His zeal, however, carried him beyond his ſtrength. By his earneſt and frequent preaching, in the courſe of ten years, he had materially injured his conſtitution, and brought on a cough and ſpitting of blood, which rendered him incapable of officiating any longer in ſo extenſive a ſphere. He therefore accepted, in 1770, the rectory of Yelling in Huntingdonſhire, a crown living, which was preſented to him by his great and good friend the lord chief baron Smythe, then one of the commiſſioners of the great ſeal. During his reſidence at Huddersfield he publiſhed "The Complete Duty of Man," which has gone through ſeven large editions, including thoſe printed in Ireland and America. The great object of this book is to counteract the principles of the celebrated work which bears a ſimilar title.

He continued to reſide at Yelling until the month of December 1796, when, in conſequence of a paralytic ſtroke, which not only ſhook his bodily frame but his intellects, he removed to the houſe of his ſon, the worthy rector of Clapham, where he died in June following, aged ſeventy-three.

Mr. Venn's talents were of ſome note in his profeſſion. He was moreover remarkably cheerful and facetious in converſation, ſo that piety, as recommended by him, was pleaſant and alluring; and the young and the careleſs were often ſtruck, in his company, with admiration at this circumſtance.

The

The following is a correct list of his publications.

1. The Perfect Contrast, or the entire Opposition of Popery to the Religion of Jesus the Son of God: a Sermon preached at Clapham, November 5, 1758, 8vo. A second edition was printed in 1778.

2. Sermons on various Subjects, 8vo, 1759.

3. The Variance between real and nominal Christians considered, and the Cause of it explained: a Sermon, 8vo, 1759.

4. The Duty of a Parish Priest: a Sermon preached at Wakefield, July 2, 1760, 8vo.

5. Christ the Joy of the Christian Life, and Death his Gain: a Sermon preached at Haworth, on the death of William Grimshaw, minister of that parish, 8vo, 1763.

6. The Complete Duty of Man, or a System of Doctrinal and Practical Christianity. Designed for the Use of Families, 8vo. 1764.

7. Man a Condemned Sinner, and Christ the Strong Hold to save him. An Assize Sermon, 8vo, 1769.

8. A full and free Examination of the Rev. Dr. Priestley's Address on the Lord's Supper, with some Strictures on the Treatise itself, 8vo, 1769.

9. A Token of Respect to the Memory of the Rev. Mr. Whitfield, preached at the Countess of Huntingdon's, Bath, 8vo, 1770.

10. Mistakes in Religion exposed, in an Essay on the Prophecy of Zechariah, 8vo, 1774.

11. The Conversion of Sinners the greatest Charity: a Sermon preached before the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge, 8vo, 1779.

CATHARINE II.

AUTOCATRIX, AND EMPRESS OF ALL THE RUSSIAS, &c. &c.

THE lives of all ſovereigns abound with inſtruction, and the memoirs of thoſe who have acted a conſpicuous part, in the drama of royalty, cannot fail to be peculiarly intereſting.

But abſolute princes, who do not conſider themſelves as amenable to any human power, claim a pre-eminent degree of attention. Their paſſions, their caprices, their vices, their virtues, even their amours, are intimately blended with the happineſs or miſery of millions; they themſelves regulate the fate of whole nations, and, when placed at the head of great empires, are in ſome meaſure connected with the deſtiny of mankind. Theſe, indeed, can ſcarcely be ſaid to appertain to the human race, for the naturaliſt contemplates them as a ſingular variety of the ſpecies, while the ſtateſman views them as anomalies in the political, and the philoſopher as monſters in the ſocial ſyſtem. On the other hand, the ſlave, taught by experience that their frowns can annihilate him, ſurveys them as the vicegerents of the Divinity, and wonders to find that they are not immortal.

The empreſs, whoſe hiſtory is about to be detailed, has for many years paſt occupied the public attention; and thoſe who conſider ſucceſs as the criterion of greatneſs, are neceſſarily dazzled with the ſplendour of her ambitious career. Denmark devoted to her will during the whole courſe of her reign; Sweden reduced to the neceſſity of courting her alliance; the old monarchy of France afraid to avert the deſtruction of its ancient ally; Great Britain obliged to yield in her demand for the reſtoration of Oczakow; Poland partitioned, and the lion's ſhare reſerved for herſelf; Turkey at her feet, and Conſtantinople waiting but for her nod, to behold the Greek croſs once more flying on its battlements—Such is the grand outline of her ſplendid reign.

This aſtoniſhing female, who, on the throne of the czars, ſwayed

ſwayed a more abſolute ſceptre, and ruled over a greater extent of dominion, than any other contemporary ſovereign, was originally a petty princeſs of Germany. Her father was glad to procure employment in the ſervice of a king, whoſe houſe had but recently emerged from the electoral office, and ſhe herſelf was ſcarcely diſtinguiſhed from the crowd of dependents at the Pruſſian court; but fortune, which had reſerved her for a more exalted deſtiny, conferred all the requiſites neceſſary to obtain it.

Catharine II. the daughter of Chriſtian-Auguſtus of Anhalt-Zerbſt, a little diſtrict in Upper Saxony, was born in the caſtle of Zerbſt, in 1729, on the 23d of May, O. S. Sophia-Auguſta-Frederica (for ſo ſhe was then called) was educated under the eye of her parents, along with her brother prince Frederic-Auguſtus, and at an early period diſplayed a maſculine ſpirit. Elegant, majeſtic, and handſome, in her perſon, her complexion exhibited the union of the lily and the roſe, while a native dignity was tempered by a ſmile of beneficence. But it was early obſerved, that ſhe concealed under this a certain auſterity of diſpoſition, and an ambition, which was even then conſidered as exceſſive, and proved afterwards to be inſatiable.

It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, that ſhe learned all the faſhionable accompliſhments of that day. In addition to her native language, ſhe wrote and converſed in French; of muſic ſhe acquired a competent knowledge, and excelled particularly in needlework, which ſhe did not diſdain to practiſe after her elevation *.

The empreſs Elizabeth, who had pitched upon her nephew the duke of Holſtein-Gottorp-Oldenbourg for her ſucceſſor, was alſo deſirous to chooſe a conſort for him, and the princeſs of Anhalt-Zerbſt was ſelected upon this occaſion, when only fourteen years of age. She was chiefly indebted for ſo unexpected an honour to the tender regard which her imperial majeſty always entertained for the memory of her uncle, who had been

* When Peter III. was prevailed upon, partly by her threats and partly by her ſolemn promiſes, to repair to the capital, he was ſeated in an apartment, the carpet of which had been embroidered by her own hands.

her lover; and in an evil hour ſhe united the fate of the prince, better known afterwards by the name of Peter III. to that of the princeſs of Anhalt-Zerbſt. In conſequence of a ſpecial invitation, the future empreſs repaired to St. Peterſburgh, accompanied by her mother, and being admitted into the boſom of the Greek church, the ceremonial of marriage, after ſome delay *, took place; on which theſe auguſt perſonages were formally acknowledged, by her imperial majeſty and the ſenate, as grand duke and ducheſs of Ruſſia. Elizabeth, at the ſame time, preſented them with the palace of Oranienbaum, delightfully ſituated on the gulph of Cronſtadt, as a ſummer reſidence; this had formerly apertained to Menzikoff, the favourite of Peter the Great, who, in this capricious court, had been by turns a pie-boy, a prince, and an exile.

The grand duke was far from being handſome; on the contrary, his perſon was diſagreeable, and almoſt diſguſting. His education had been greatly neglected, and he was paſſionately fond of military parade. Frederick of Pruſſia was at once his friend and his model; he kept up a ſecret correſpondence with that monarch, at the time when Ruſſia was at open war with him; he was accuſtomed in his cups to kneel before a picture of his hero; and, after quaffing a bumper, he would exclaim, "My brother! we ſhall conquer the world together."

The firſt moments of this union ſeemed to be peculiarly auſpicious. The illuſtrious pair were accuſtomed to withdraw themſelves daily, as if deſirous to enjoy the pleaſure of each other's company, in preference to the giddy diſſipation of a court. It was perceived at laſt, that grandeur was not incompatible with happineſs, and that hymeneal felicity was not confined to plebeian life.

The empreſs hoped that the name and pretenſions of prince Iwan would be obliterated by the iſſue of the grand duke, and the whole empire impatiently wiſhed for and now expected an

* Between the period of her firſt interview with the grand duke, and the conſummation of their nuptials, he is ſaid to have been ſeized with the ſmall-pox; and the ravages but too incident to that cruel diſorder are thought to have given birth to diſguſt.

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heir to the throne of Peter the Great. It has ſince been diſcovered, that this young couple occupied their time in a far different manner than was then ſuſpected! His highneſs, it ſeems, retired from ſociety on purpoſe to perfect himſelf in the *Pruſſian exerciſe*, and his conſort on theſe occaſions participated in his diverſions, for he was accuſtomed to make her ſtand for hours together, as a centinel, with a muſket at her ſhoulder. This ſpecies of entertainment did not altogether ſuit the diſpoſition of a young princeſs of an ardent temperament, and her highneſs accordingly began, in her own language, to think "that ſhe was made for ſomething elſe *."

Although ſhe did not love, ſhe at this period governed her huſband, and even concealed his foibles; imagining at firſt that ſhe could not reign but by means of him, ſhe wiſely determined to make him appear worthy of a throne.

A marriage of eight years was not productive of any iſſue, and ſtrange ſuſpicions began to be entertained †. This alarmed the court, for a formidable rival, who poſſeſſed a ſuperior claim to the throne, ſtill exiſted; it is true he was in bondage, but in a country like Ruſſia, the interval might not be long between a dungeon and a throne. The birth of a ſon and daughter, ſoon after this, put an end to all apprehenſions of this kind, and tended not a little to give ſtability to the empire.

The grand duke, who at times diſcovered noble, and even magnanimous ſentiments, had about this period formed a moſt unfortunate connexion with Elizabeth Voronſoff, a lady of high rank, but neither celebrated for her beauty nor her talents. He ſeldom ſaw his conſort in private, and all the hours that were not occupied either by military exhibitions, or the pleaſures of the table, were entirely devoted to his miſtreſs.

The grand ducheſs, on the other hand, is ſaid to have ſpent much of her time in company with a young Pole, whoſe hiſ-

* "Il me ſemblait j'etais bonne à autre choſe." De Rulhiere, p. 7.

† "Et quoique la nature n'eut point refuſé au grand duc tout ſenſibilité, les gens inſtruits prouvſient par des raiſons inconteſtables, qu'on ne devait pas attendre de lui cette ligne de ſucceſſion." Hiſtoire, ou Anecdotes ſur la Revolution de Ruſſie, &c. par M. de Rulhiere, p. 9.

tory, like that of Catharine's, has ſince been interwoven with the annals of Europe. This was Count Poniatowſki, afterwards known as Staniſlaus Auguſtus king of Poland. He was the third ſon of a grandee of the ſame name, the favourite of Charles XII. of Sweden, by the princeſs Ezatoryſka, who boaſted the poſſeſſion of the nobleſt blood in Poland, as ſhe traced her deſcent from the Jagellons, the ancient ſovereigns of Lithuania. His perſon was of exquiſite ſymmetry, his air noble, his manners agreeable; in ſhort, he poſſeſſed a charming exterior, and his mind, a circumſtance extremely rare, was no leſs graceful than his perſon. At this period he was in no higher ſtation, than a gentleman in the ſuite of Sir Charles H. Williams, then miniſter plenipotentiary from England, who had formed an intimacy with his family during a former miſſion at Warſaw. Being now taught to look higher, he returned to his native country, and appeared ſoon after at Peterſburgh, as ambaſſador from the king of Poland. In this new capacity he did not forget to pay his reſpects at the little court of Oranienbaum, and the young plenipotentiary, with a view of ingratiating himſelf with the grand duke, ſmoked, drank, and praiſed the king of Pruſſia. At length Paul Petrowiſch received the Poliſh miniſter with coolneſs, and he was actually forbidden to viſit at the palace. This, however, it is ſaid, did not deter him from concealing the order of the white eagle, and diſguiſing himſelf as a mechanic, under which aſſumed quality he repaired one ſummer's evening to the gardens, in the neighbourhood of the gulf of Cronſtadt; but he was diſcovered by his highneſs, who ordered him to be brought before him, and, after affecting to reprimand the captain of his guard for his diſreſpect to the repreſentative of a crowned head, told him he was at liberty to depart.

From this moment the grand ducheſs is ſaid to have changed both her ſyſtem and her conduct. She had formerly aſpired only to *direct* the counſels of the future emperor; ſhe now reſolved, if poſſible, to obtain the crown for her ſon, and the regency for herſelf. It was an Herculean taſk, and would have diſcouraged a common mind, for it was impoſſible to achieve

achieve this without prevailing on the empreſs to conſent to dethrone her own nephew. Beſtuchef, the grand chancellor, who hated the heir apparent, joined cordially in this ſcheme; and Elizabeth, who herſelf had obtained the crown by means of a revolution, was taught to tremble for her life, in conſequence of the deſigns of her ſucceſſor, who was repreſented as having reſolved to ſhorten her days by poiſon. But a ſudden and unexpected revolution in the miniſtry put an end to theſe intrigues; for Beſtuchef was driven into exile, and Poniatowſki recalled.

A long and melancholy interval now enſued, during which the ambition of the grand ducheſs was rather ſuſpended than annihilated. She, however, had recourſe to, and ſoothed her anguiſh by means of books; it was in her ſtudy that ſhe laid the foundations of her future greatneſs, and rendered herſelf in ſome meaſure deſerving of a throne. During her leiſure moments ſhe found means to gain partiſans, and ſhe acquired the favour of the ſoldiery, who did duty around her perſon, by means of her liberality and condeſcenſion. Peter, on the other hand, to the perſonal exertions of a common ſoldier, added the orgies of a debaucheé. Surrounded by his male and female favourites, he conſumed whole days and nights in intoxication, and forgot that he was a prince. There were ſome few moments, however, when he appeared great, and even magnanimous, but unfortunately they were of ſhort duration; and it was his misfortune to have a weak woman for his miſtreſs, and an able and ambitious one for his wife.

Such was the ſituation of the court, when Elizabeth died, on the 5th of January 1762. This event, ſo productive of intereſting effects, had been long foreſeen by Catharine, who now began to act a more conſpicuous part in the theatre of public affairs. Her ſorrow, which appeared unbounded, was only equalled by her devotion. She was conſtantly employed either at her prayers in the cathedral, or occupied in public proceſſions, during which ſhe ſcrupulouſly adhered to all the ceremonious practices of the Greek church. The courtiers were aſtoniſhed at the ſudden change, and affected to ſurvey it with con-

tempt; but it impoſed on the populace, and the popes* were highly gratified with the zeal of the empreſs, more eſpecially as her conſort had always treated their myſteries with indignity.

Another deſign, meditated with no leſs art, proved unſucceſsful. She is ſaid to have made uſe of all her eloquence to perſuade Peter, that he ought to leave off the barbarous cuſtom of being proclaimed emperor by the army, in the ſame manner as his predeceſſors: inſtead of this, ſhe propoſed that his title ſhould be recogniſed by the ſenate alone, and produced a ſpeech which ſhe herſelf had compoſed for the occaſion; but Godowitz, one of the favourites and the only friend of the new ſovereign, perceived the ſnare, and, partly owing to his entreaties, and partly from an attachment to every thing military, the ſoldiery were as uſual gratified with the ceremony of ſaluting the czar.

The grand duke now aſcended the throne, by the name of Peter III. and the commencement of the new reign appeared to be peculiarly auſpicious. The cataſtrophe, which terminated a ſhort reign of ſix months, may be attributed to three apparently trifling, but, in reality, irretrievable errors; for it is allowed on all hands, that if they did not conſtitute the original cauſe, they at leaſt afforded the pretext for his dethronement and murder. The firſt of theſe was, the ſudden peace with, and marked predilection for, the king of Pruſſia, certainly the greateſt monarch of his age; the ſecond, an attempt to reform a barbarous and fanatical clergy, whoſe power Peter I. had curbed, but whoſe perſons he ſtill affected to conſider as ſacred; the third was, the war againſt Denmark.

Let it be recollected, however, in honour to his memory, that the young monarch, immediately after his elevation, threw open the ſtate priſons, recalled Munich, Biron, Leſtock, and ſeveral others, who had offended him during the late reign, from Siberia; that he limited the deſpotiſm of his officers, abridged his own power, by aboliſhing a ſtate inquiſition, exerciſed under the name of "the Secret Council of Chancery;" and that he framed the memorable decree which enfranchiſed the nobles

* The Greek prieſts are known by this name.

from

from compulſive ſervice in the army, and permitted them to travel without the royal permiſſion*.

The following anſwer to a letter from the king of Pruſſia, who had requeſted him to be on his guard againſt the plot then meditating, conveys no unfavourable opinion of his heart.

"Touching the intereſts you expreſs for my ſafety, I requeſt you will reſt contented. I am called the father of my ſoldiers—they prefer a male to a female government. I walk alone conſtantly in St. Peterſburgh—if any miſchief is meditated, it would have been effected long ſince; but I am a general benefactor. I repoſe myſelf on the protection of heaven; truſting to that, I have nothing to fear."

This falſe ſecurity proved his ruin. While his mind was occupied with plans of reform, and he aſpired to rival, and even to excel, his illuſtrious predeceſſor, whoſe name he had aſſumed, a perſon who had ſworn fidelity to him at the altar, and who owed allegiance by the double ties of a wife and a ſubject, was actually employed in planning a conſpiracy, and organizing a revolt, againſt him. It has been ſaid that he intended to have ſhut up his conſort and ſon in a convent. But did a meditated impriſonment juſtify treachery, treaſon, and muder? On the other hand, it is known that, ſo far from this being the intention of Peter, he was preparing for a journey to Holſtein, and had actually empowered his conſort to act as regent during his abſence.

The miſtakes of the emperor did not eſcape the eagle eyes of his enemies. He purpoſed to carry his guards into Holſtein, with a view to recover the poſſeſſions wreſted from his anceſtors. The regiments that had hitherto done duty at the palace, and were inured to the indulgences of the capital, revolted at the idea of a foreign war: they had been accuſtomed to be governed by women, and they were taught to fix their eyes on the conſort of the czar.

* Such was the pretended fervor of their gratitude, that the nobility propoſed to erect a ſtatue of ſolid gold in honour of their benefactor.

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It is not the leaſt wonderful part of her conduct, that, previouſly to the great cataſtrophe now meditating, Catharine contrived to appear abandoned by all the world. She knew how intereſting a female, and more eſpecially an empreſs, appeared while in diſtreſs; and ſhe took care to heighten the ſenſibility of the public, by burſting at times into a flood of tears. This artful woman had found means to attach many perſons to her deſtiny: it muſt be owned, however, that her adherents were neither ſo powerful, nor ſo numerous, as to afford her any well-founded hopes of ſucceſs. She had gained ſeveral ſubalterns, and ſome privates, of the guards: but her principal partiſans conſiſted of the princeſs d'Aſchekof, neice to the new chancellor; prince Rozamouſki, who had riſen from obſcurity, having been orignally a peaſant; Odart, an intriguing Italian; and Panin, governor to the grand duke. The arreſt of Paſſick, one of the conſpirators, ſeemed to lead to a diſcovery, which would have proved fatal to the malecontents; but this very circumſtance induced them to declare inſtantly, and in the end crowned an apparently raſh attempt with ſucceſs.

The empreſs, who was aſleep at the caſtle of Peterſhoff, received intimation of their deſign by a common ſoldier, who ſoon after returned with a carriage and eight horſes. On the faith of this man, and accompanied only by a few peaſants, a German female domeſtic, and a French valet de chambre, ſhe arrived at eight o'clock in the morning in the capital, and ſtopped oppoſite the barracks of the regiment of Iſmailoff. There ſhe addreſſed the ſoldiers in an eloquent ſpeech, intermingled with ſighs and tears, and actually found means to perſuade them that ſhe and her ſon had but that moment eſcaped from the hands of aſſaſſins, ſent by the emperor to murder them. This ſtory, by agitating the paſſions of the troops, had a wonderful effect on them, and they all ſwore, with the exception of only one regiment, to die in defence of her and the young archduke. On this the empreſs ordered a crucifix to be brought, and commanded the prieſts to adminiſter a new oath of allegiance. She afterwards repaired to one of the principal churches,

where ſhe was met by the biſhop of Novogorod and the clergy, and, having returned thanks to Almighty God, aſcended a balcony, and preſented her ſon to the people. In a few hours ſhe was again ſeen, dreſſed in the uniform of the guards, riding at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army againſt her huſband.

That unfortunate prince firſt made a ſhew of reſiſtance, and manned his Lilliputian batteries, at Oranienbaum, with his Holſtein guards, in order to oppoſe what appeared to him to be a contemptible ſedition. When it was too late, he attempted to get poſſeſſion of Cronſtadt. He might ſtill have eſcaped to Revel, but the women in his galley were apprehenſive of danger, and the courtiers ſhuddered at the propoſition of old Munich, who wiſhed them to aſſiſt the ſailors in rowing.

On the firſt intelligence of the plot this intrepid warrior had repaired to his benefactor, and adviſed him to march directly to the capital, at the head of his German troops. "I ſhall precede you," ſaid the generous veteran, "and my dead body ſhall be a rampart to your ſacred perſon." But, on the other hand, the emiſſaries of the empreſs, bathing his hands in their crocodile tears, deprecated reſiſtance, magnified the danger, and invited him to repoſe in the inviolable fidelity of his conſort. In ſhort, on the 14th of July, 1762, he was taken priſoner by the orders of his own wife, to whom he had been married fourteen years, prevailed on by the threats and entreaties of count Panin to renounce his crown, conveyed to the caſtle of Robſcha, and three days afterwards put to death. Of the titled minions, who perpetrated this daring murder, one carried the guilty marks of the czar's ſcymitar on his forehead to the grave, and another, tortured for years by the remembrance of the laſt bloody ſcene in the tragedy of his expiring ſovereign, exhibited a ſhocking ſpectacle of inſanity and remorſe.

The empreſs, on her aſſumption of the now vacant crown, notified the event to all the courts of Europe, under her new name of

of Catharine Alexiewna II *. But there was ſtill a competitor for the empire, and ſuſpicion never ſlumbers near a throne. This

* *Manifeſto of the Empreſs Catharine II. giving an Account of her Motives for taking the Reins of Government into her Hands.*

By the grace of God, we Catharine II. empreſs and ſovereign of all the Ruſſias, make known theſe preſents to all our loving ſubjects, eccleſiaſtical, military, and civil.

Our acceſſion to the imperial throne of all the Ruſſias is a manifeſt proof of this truth, that when ſincere hearts endeavour for good, the hand of God directs them. We never had either deſign or deſire to arrive at empire, through the means by which it hath pleaſed the Almighty, according to the inſcrutable views of his providence, to place us upon the throne of Ruſſia, our dear country.

On the death of our moſt auguſt and dear aunt, the empreſs Elizabeth Petrovna, of glorious memory, all true patriots (now our moſt faithful ſubjects) groaning for the loſs of ſo tender a mother, placed their only conſolation in obeying her nephew, whom ſhe had named for her ſucceſſor, that they might ſhew thereby, in ſome degree, their acknowledgments to their deceaſed ſovereign. And although they ſoon found out the weakneſs of his mind, unfit to rule ſo vaſt an empire, they imagined he would have known his own inſufficiency. Whereupon they ſought our maternal aſſiſtance in the affairs of government.

But when abſolute power falls to the lot of a monarch, who has not ſufficient virtue and humanity to place juſt bounds to it, it degenerates into a fruitful ſource of the moſt pernicious evils. This is the ſum, in ſhort, of what our native country has ſuffered. She ſtruggled to be delivered from a ſovereign who, being blindly given up to the moſt dangerous paſſions, thought of nothing but indulging them, without employing himſelf in the welfare of the empire committed to his care.

During the time of his being grand duke, and heir to the throne of Ruſſia, he often cauſed the moſt bitter grief to his moſt auguſt aunt and ſovereign, (the truth of which is known to all our court) however he might behave himſelf outwardly; being kept under her eye by her tenderneſs, he looked upon this mark of affection as an inſupportable yoke. He could not, however, diſguiſe himſelf ſo well, but it was perceived by all our faithful ſubjects, that he was poſſeſſed of the moſt audacious ingratitude, which he ſometimes ſhewed by perſonal contempt, ſometimes by an avowed hatred to the nation. At length, throwing aſide his cloak of hypocriſy, he thought it more fit to let looſe the bridle of his paſſions, than conduct himſelf as the heir of ſo great an empire. In a word, the leaſt traces of honour were not to be perceived in him. What were the conſequences of all this?

He was ſcarcely aſſured that the death of his aunt and benefactreſs approached, but he baniſhed her memory entirely from his mind; nay, even before ſhe had ſent forth her laſt groan. He caſt an eye of contempt on the corpſe expoſed on the bier; and as the ceremony, at that time required, obliged him to approach it, he did it

This was prince Iwan, ſon to the princeſs of Mecklenburg, and grand nephew to Peter the Great and the empreſs Anna Iwanowna,

it with his eyes manifeſtly replete with joy, even intimating his ingratitude by his words. I might add, that the obſequies would have been nothing equal to the dignity of ſo great and magnanimous a ſovereign, if our tender reſpect to her, cemented by the ties of blood, and the extreme affection between us, had not made us take that duty upon us.

He imagined that it was not to the Supreme Being, but only to chance, that he was indebted for abſolute power; and that he had it in his hands, not for the good of his ſubjects, but ſolely for his own ſatisfaction. Adding, therefore, licence to abſolute power, he made all the changes in the ſtate which the weakneſs of his mind could ſuggeſt, to the oppreſſion of the people.

Having effaced from his heart even the leaſt traces of the holy orthodox religion, (though he had been ſufficiently taught the principles thereof) he began firſt by rooting out this true religion, eſtabliſhed ſo long in Ruſſia, by abſenting himſelf from the houſe of God, and of prayers, in ſo open a manner, that ſome of his ſubjects, excited by conſcience and honeſty, ſeeing his irreverence and contempt of the rites of the church, or rather the railleries he made of them, and ſcandalizing them by his behaviour, dared to make remonſtrances to him concerning it; who, for ſo doing, ſcarcely eſcaped the reſentment which they might have expected, from ſo capricious a ſovereign, whoſe power was not limited by any human laws. He even intended to deſtroy the churches, and ordered ſome to be pulled down. He prohibited thoſe to have chapels in their own houſes, whoſe infirmities hindered them from viſiting the houſe of God. Thus he would have domineered over the faithful, in endeavouring to ſtifle in them the fear of God, which the holy ſcripture teaches us to be the beginning of wiſdom.

From this want of zeal towards God, and contempt of his laws, reſulted that ſcorn to the civil and natural laws of his kingdom; for having but an only ſon, which God had given us, the grand duke Paul Petrovitch, he would not, when he aſcended the throne of Ruſſia, declare him for his ſucceſſor; that being reſerved for his caprice, which tended to the detriment of us and of our ſon, having an inclination to overthrow the right that his aunt had veſted in him, and to make the government of our native country paſs into the hands of ſtrangers, in oppoſition to that maxim of natural right, according to which nobody can tranſmit to another more than he has received himſelf.

Although with great grief we ſaw this intention, we did not believe that we ourſelves, and our moſt dear ſon, ſhould have been expoſed to a perſecution ſo ſevere; but all perſons of probity having obſerved that the meaſures that he purſued, by their effects, manifeſted that they had a natural tendency to our ruin, and that of our dear ſucceſſor, their generous and pious hearts were juſtly alarmed: animated with zeal for the intereſt of their native country, and aſtoniſhed at our patience under theſe heavy perſecutions, they ſecretly informed us that our life was in danger, in order to engage us to undertake the burthen of governing ſo large an empire.

While

owna, who had deſtined him for her ſucceſſor; but, in conſequence of a former revolution, he was ſeized while yet an infant, and

While the whole nation were on the point of teſtifying their diſapprobation of his meaſures, he nevertheleſs continued to grieve them the more, by ſubverting all thoſe excellent arrangements eſtabliſhed by Peter the great, our moſt dear predeceſſor, of glorious memory, which that true father of his country accompliſhed by indefatigable pains and labour through the whole courſe of a reign of thirty years. The late Peter the third deſpiſed the laws of the empire, and her moſt reſpectable tribunals, to ſuch a degree, that he could not even bear to hear them mentioned.

After one bloody war, he raſhly entered upon another, in which the intereſts of Ruſſia were no way concerned. He entertained an inſuperable averſion to the regiments of guards, which had faithfully ſerved his illuſtrious anceſtors, and made innovations in the army, which, far from exciting in their breaſts noble ſentiments of valour, only ſerved to diſcourage troops always ready to ſpill their beſt blood in the cauſe of their country. He changed entirely the face of the army; nay, it even ſeemed that, by dividing their habits into ſo many uniforms, and giving them ſo many different embelliſhments, for the moſt part fantaſtical to the greateſt degree, he intended to infuſe into them a ſuſpicion that they did not, in effect, belong to one maſter, and thereby provoke the ſoldiers, in the heat of battle, to ſlay one another; although experience demonſtrated that uniformity in dreſs had not a little contributed towards unanimity.

Inconſiderately and inceſſantly bent on pernicious regulations, he ſo alienated the hearts of his ſubjects, that there was ſcarce a ſingle perſon to be found in the nation who did not openly expreſs his diſapprobation, and was even deſirous to take away his life; but the laws of God, which command ſovereign princes to be reſpected, being deeply engraved on the hearts of our faithful ſubjects, reſtrained them, and engaged them to wait with patience, till the hand of God ſtruck the important blow, and by his fall delivered an oppreſſed people. Under theſe circumſtances, now laid before the impartial eyes of the public, it was, in fact, impoſſible but our ſoul ſhould be troubled with thoſe impending woes which threatened our country, and with that perſecution which we, and our moſt dear ſon, the heir of the Ruſſian throne, unjuſtly ſuffered; being almoſt entirely excluded from the imperial palace, in ſuch ſort, that all who had regard for us, or rather thoſe who had courage enough to ſpeak it (for we have not been able to find that there is one perſon who is not devoted to our intereſt), by expreſſing their ſentiments of reſpect due to us, as their empreſs, endangered their life, or at leaſt their fortune. In fine, the endeavours he made to ruin us, roſe to ſuch a pitch, that they broke out in public; and then charging us with being the cauſe of the murmurs, which his own imprudent meaſures occaſioned, his reſolution to take away our life openly appeared. But being informed of his purpoſe by ſome of our truſty ſubjects, who were determined to deliver their country, or periſh in the attempt, and relying on the aid of the Almighty, we cheerfully expoſed our perſon to danger, with all that magnanimity which our native country had a right to expect in return for her affection to us. After having

and doomed to lead a life of captivity. During eighteen years of precarious exiſtence, he had been ſhut up in the caſtle of Schluſ-

having invoked the Moſt High, and repoſed our hope in the divine favour, we reſolved alſo either to ſacrifice our life for our country, or ſave it from bloodſhed and calamity. Scarcely had we taken this reſolution, by the direction of favouring Heaven, and declared our aſſent to the deputies of the empire, than all the orders of the ſtate crowded to give us aſſurances of their fidelity and ſubmiſſion.

It now remained for us, in purſuance of the love we bore our faithful ſubjects, to prevent the conſequences which we apprehended, in caſe of the late emperor's inconſiderately placing his confidence in the imaginary power of the Holſtein troops (for whoſe ſake he ſtaid at Oranienbaum, living in indolence, and abandoning the moſt preſſing exigencies of the ſtate), and there occaſioning a carnage, to which our guards and other regiments were ready to expoſe themſelves, for the ſake of their native country, for ours, and that of our ſucceſſor. For theſe reaſons we looked upon it as a neceſſary duty towards our ſubjects (to which we were immediately called by the voice of God) to prevent ſo great a misfortune, by prompt and proper meaſures. Therefore, placing ourſelves at the head of the body-guards, regiments of artillery, and other troops in and about the imperial reſidence, we undertook to diſconcert an iniquitous deſign, of which we were as yet only informed in part.

But ſcarcely were we got out of the city, before we received two letters from the late emperor, one quick on the heels of the other. The firſt by our vice-chancellor the prince Gallitzin, entreating us to allow him to return to Holſtein, his native dominions; the other by major-general Michael Iſmaïloff, by which he declared, that of his own proper motion he renounced the crown and throne of Ruſſia. In this laſt he begged of us to allow him to withdraw to Holſtein with Elizabeth Vorontzoff and Goudovitch. Theſe two letters, ſtuffed with flattering expreſſions, came to our hands a few hours after he had given orders for putting us to death, as we have been ſince informed from the very perſons who were appointed to execute thoſe unnatural commands.

In the mean time, he had reſources ſtill left him, which were to arm againſt us his Holſtein troops, and ſome ſmall detachments then about his perſon; he had alſo in his power ſeveral perſonages of diſtinction belonging to our court: as he might therefore have compelled us to agree to terms of accommodation ſtill more hurtful to our country, (for after having learned what great commotions there were among the people, he had detained them as hoſtages at his palace of Oranienbaum, and our humanity would never have conſented to their deſtruction, but, to ſave their lives, we would have riſked ſeeing a part of thoſe dangers revived by an accommodation), ſeveral perſons of high rank about our perſon requeſted us to ſend him a billet in return, propoſing to him, if his intentions were ſuch as he declared them to be, that he ſhould inſtantly ſend us a voluntary and formal renunciation of the throne, written by his own hand, for the public ſatisfaction. Major-general Iſmaïloff carried this propoſal, and the writing he now ſent back was as follows:

"During the ſhort ſpace of my abſolute reign over the empire of Ruſſia, I became ſenſible that I was not able to ſupport ſo great a burden, and that my abilities were

Schluſſelbourg, and never in all that time did he breathe the open air, or behold the ſky, but once. This prince was viſited by Peter III. who finding him in an arched room, twenty feet ſquare, determined to ſet him at liberty; but, alas! the youth, in conſequence of his long and ſolitary confinement, had been deprived of his ſenſes. In this ſituation, the emperor determined to build a houſe for him, with a convenient terrace, where he might take the air daily within the fortreſs. Such, however, are the changes of fortune, that, in three weeks, he himſelf was alſo precipitated from

were not equal to the taſk of governing ſo great an empire, either as a ſovereign, or in any other capacity whatever. I alſo foreſaw the great troubles which muſt have from thence ariſen, and have been followed with the total ruin of the empire, and covered me with eternal diſgrace. After having therefore ſeriouſly reflected thereon, I declare, without conſtraint, and in the moſt ſolemn manner, to the Ruſſian empire, and to the whole univerſe, that I for ever renounce the government of the ſaid empire, never deſiring hereafter to reign therein, either as an abſolute ſovereign, or under any other form of government; never wiſhing to aſpire thereto, or to uſe any means, of any ſort, for that purpoſe. As a pledge of which, I ſwear ſincerely, before God and all the world, to this preſent renunciation, written and ſigned this 29th of June 1762, O. S. "PETER."

It is thus, without ſpilling one drop of blood, that we have aſcended the Ruſſian throne, by the aſſiſtance of God, and the approving ſuffrages of our dear country.—Humbly adoring the decrees of Divine Providence, we aſſure our faithful ſubjects, that we will not fail, by night and by day, to invoke the Moſt High to bleſs our ſceptre, and enable us to wield it for the maintenance of our orthodox religion, the ſecurity and defence of our dear native country, and the ſupport of juſtice; as well as to put an end to all miſeries, iniquities, and violences, by ſtrengthening and fortifying our heart for the public good. And as we ardently wiſh to prove effectually how far we merit the reciprocal love of our people, for whoſe happineſs we acknowledge our throne to be appointed, we ſolemnly promiſe, on our imperial word, to make ſuch arrangements in the empire, that the government may be endued with an intrinſic force to ſupport itſelf within limited and proper bounds; and each department of the ſtate provided with wholeſome laws and regulations, ſufficient to maintain good order therein, at all times, and under all circumſtances.

By which means we hope to eſtabliſh hereafter the empire and our ſovereign power (however they may have been formerly weakened), in ſuch a manner as to comfort the diſcouraged hearts of all true patriots. We do not in the leaſt doubt but that our loving ſubjects will, as well for the ſalvation of their own ſouls, as for the good of religion, inviolably obſerve the oath which they have ſworn to us in preſence of the Almighty God; we thereupon aſſure them of our imperial favour.

Done at Peterſburgh, July 6, 1762.

a throne,

a throne, and expoſed to a violent death. This event was but the prelude to that of Ivan; for, as orders had been given, in caſe of an attempt to reſcue him, that an end ſhould be put to his life, and a real or pretended plot having been hatched for this purpoſe, the motives and details of which have hitherto been involved in the moſt profound obſcurity, the unhappy prince experienced the ſame fate as his generous protector.

Catharine being now firmly ſeated on the throne, wiſely determined to divert the thoughts of the nation from the late horrid ſcenes, and fix them on more agreeable objects. Having ſoothed Pruſſia, acquired a preponderance in the cabinet of Denmark, long become an abſolute monarchy, and entered into a league with the popular party in Sweden, not yet bereft of its liberties, ſhe caſt her eyes on Courland, then governed by prince Charles of Saxony, the ſecond ſon of Auguſtus III. king of Poland; and, finding that country admirably ſituated for the increaſe of her preſent, and the extenſion of her future power, ſhe, in 1762, expelled the lawful ſovereign, and inveſted Biron, a creature of her own, with the ducal cap. Not content with this, the new duke, ſoon reduced to the moſt abject dependence, was prevented from reſigning his precarious power, and the ſtates aſſembled at Mittau were actually interdicted from nominating a ſucceſſor. This, however, was only a prelude to far greater ſcenes, for ſhe had hardly dethroned one ſovereign before ſhe undertook to create another. Auguſtus II. or as he is called by ſome, Auguſtus III. of Poland, having died at Dreſden, in 1763, her imperial majeſty did not let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity for interfering in the appointment to the vacant throne, and even placing one of her dependents on it. Count Poniatowſki, on the elevation of Catharine, had ſent a friend to Peterſburgh, to ſound the diſpoſition of the empreſs about his return to that capital, where he naturally hoped to participate in her power, and baſk in the ſunſhine of the royal ſmiles. But the more prudent German, who was at this very moment meditating a ſplendid proviſion for him elſewhere, prohibited the journey from political motives. Accordingly, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the grand chancellor Beſtucheff, and indeed of all her miniſters, ſhe

determined to inveſt him with the enſigns of royalty. The head of the houſe of Brandenburgh, ſwayed by his hatred to Saxony and Auſtria, or, what is ſtill more likely, the Pruſſian eagle having perhaps, even now, ſcented his future prey, Catharine was enabled to ſend ten thouſand men into Poland, who, encamping on the banks of the Viſtula, overawed the deliberations of the diet, aſſembled on the 9th of May 1764, and placed Staniſlaus-Auguſtus on the throne. Thus, by the appearance of a camp filled with Ruſſian mercenaries, was violated one of the fundamental laws of the commonwealth, eſtabliſhed ever ſince the time of Sigiſmund-Auſtugus two centuries before, in conſequence of which the election of a king is deemed void while there are any foreign troops within the territories of the republic; and ſo juſtly jealous were the ancient Poles of their national independence, that the marſhal of the diet, on thoſe occaſions, was accuſtomed to requeſt all ambaſſadors to abſent themſelves, as he could not be anſwerable for the ſafety of their perſons.

Having conferred the crown of Poland, September 7, 1764, on an amiable and accompliſhed prince, who, on account of his youth, his poverty, and even his dependence on Ruſſia, would have been excluded from that painful pre-eminence had the free ſuffrage of the nation been collected; and who was, in conſequence of the hatred of his countrymen, ſtill more ſubjected to the dominion of the empreſs, ſhe began to prepare for a war againſt the Turks, which was accordingly declared in 1768. During this conteſt the Greek croſs was triumphant both by ſea and land. On the firſt of theſe elements her fleet, under count Orloff, entered the ſtrait of Gibraltar, and carried terror and deſolations among the iſlands in the Archipelago, and throughout the defenceleſs ſhores of Aſia Minor; on the ſecond, her armies, under Galitzen and Romanzoff, achieved many important victories, ſeized on the fortreſs of Choczim, and prevailed on the Greek inhabitants of Wallachia and Moldavia to acknowledge her as their ſovereign.

In the mean time, however, a dangerous inſurrection broke out in the heart of her dominions, inſtigated by a Coſſack of the name of Pugatſcheff, who pretended to be Peter III.

After displaying great valour and considerable talents, which had enabled him, at the head of raw and undisciplined levies, to contend against veteran troops and experienced generals, this unfortunate man was at length seized, enclosed in an iron cage, and beheaded at Moscow on the 21st of January 1775.

A peace had been concluded on the 21st of July, in the preceding year, with the Porte, which proved highly honourable to Russia; but it was productive of little benefit, for the liberty of navigating the Black sea, and a free trade with all the ports of the Turkish empire, which would have afforded inestimable advantages to a civilized people, was scarcely of any consequence to a nation unacquainted alike with commerce and manufactures.

Accordingly, we find her Imperial majesty still unsatisfied. Ambition, which in a female bosom is ever insatiable, stimulated her to attempt new acquisitions, and we learn with astonishment that her diplomatic artifices proved infinitely more hostile to the Turkish crescent, than even her victorious arms. Scarcely had four years elapsed, when, after an armed negotiation, a new treaty of pacification was agreed to by the reluctant sultan, on the 21st of March, 1779, in consequence of which the Crimea was declared independent: an event not calculated to close ancient jealousies, but, on the contrary, to produce fresh dissensions, as it afforded an opening into the very heart of the Turkish empire, and a ready pretext for future interference. New claims and new concessions immediately followed. Russia insisted on establishing consuls in the three provinces of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia, which she was accordingly permitted to do by the treaty of 1781. Mortifying as this compliance was, it produced but a short respite. The emperor Joseph was now brought upon the political stage, and the Roman and Russian eagles, after hovering over the carcase of the Turkish empire, and meditating to devour the whole, were at last content with a part of the prey. The empress, as it may be readily believed, was not inattentive to her own interests, and by the treaty of Constantinople, signed January 9th, 1784, to Russia was ceded the entire sovereignty of the Crimea, which then received its

ancient name of Taurica, the iſle of Taman, and part of Cuban.

It was now in the fifty-eighth year of her age, and the twenty-fifth of her reign, that Catharine may be ſaid to have attained the very ſummit of her wiſhes. There was no one who pretended to the throne, unleſs her ſon Paul Petrowitz, an amiable prince, who had attained his thirty-third year, without diſplaying the leaſt ſymptom of ambition, and who beſides was ſuperintended with the moſt watchful jealouſy. She had triumphed over a nation, ſuppoſed to be the *natural* enemy of Ruſſia, both by arms and negotiations, and ſhe dazzled her barbarous ſubjects with the blaze of her glory, for they were eager to forget her errors, in order to contemplate a grandeur which ſoothed their national vanity. Knowing the effect of ſplendour upon ignorance, ſhe uſhered in the year 1787 with a brilliant journey to Cherſon. Accompanied thither at once by a court and an army, with foreign ambaſſadors, an emperor and a king in her train, ſhe intended to have aſſumed the high ſounding titles of Empreſs of the Eaſt, and liberator of Greece. At Kiow, where ſhe remained during three months, ſhe was received under triumphal arches, and, having heard the petitions of the deputies from diſtant nations, and extended the walls of that city, ſhe inſcribed, with an arrogant anticipation, the following motto, in Greek characters, on the quarter next to Conſtantinople: "Through this gate lies the road to Byzantium."

Scarcely, however, had the empreſs, after viſiting Moſcow, returned to her capital, than the Turk thought proper to declare war. Her majeſty, long ſince prepared for an event which was far from being diſpleaſing, called forth the ſtipulated ſuccours of her ally the emperor, and the combined army under the prince De Cobourg made itſelf maſter of Choczim, at the end of a ſiege of three months. Oczakow, after a ſtill more obſtinate reſiſtance, was taken by ſtorm, by the Ruſſians alone. A diverſion, however, was made by the king of Sweden, who, ſubſidized by Turkiſh gold, and directed by Pruſſian counſels, fought his own battles at the expence of his ally. But the exertions of this monarch were principally confined to the indeciſive naval actions

actions of Stoogland, in which both parties claimed the victory, and this was ſoon after followed by a convention for peace.

Diſembarraſſed from an active, if not a powerful enemy, the empreſs no longer confined her conqueſts to the courſe of the Danube, but crowned the campaign with the capture of Iſmaël, which was taken by ſtorm on the 22d of December. On this occaſion Suwarrow, one of her favourite generals, diſplayed a horrid mixture of courage and cruelty, and thus proved, to a demonſtration, that perſonal bravery is far from being incompatible with the deadlieſt revenge. Incenſed at the gallant reſiſtance of the Turks, like Cæſar, he ſnatched a ſtandard from a ſubaltern, and planted it with his own hand on the walls of the city; like Sylla, he doomed the vanquiſhed to experience a bloody proſcription, and upwards of thirty thouſand men, women, and children, if we are to credit the boaſtful account of the barbarians themſelves, periſhed by the ſword and bayonet of the unſparing Ruſſians.

Inſtead of regaining the Crimea, as had been expected by the ſultan, the fortreſs of Oczakow, and all the territories between the rivers Bog and Dneiſter, were aſſigned to the empreſs, who now found herſelf nearer to that Byzantium, on which ſhe had ſo eagerly fixed her eye, by a whole campaign, than at the commencement of hoſtilities. England, at the inſtigation of Pruſſia, armed on this occaſion, and wiſhed to enter into a naval conteſt with Ruſſia, on the ſhores of the Baltic, in order to oblige her to reſtore Oczakow; but the nation was happily reſcued from ſo expenſive, and indeed ſo uſeleſs a conteſt, by a party in parliament, aided by the voice of the people*.

Having concluded a final treaty of peace with the Turk, on the

* The following note, written on that occaſion, but never before publiſhed, was ſent off by her imperial majeſty, at two o'clock in the morning, to a perſon reſiding in this country, in a diplomatic capacity:

"Je veux qu'on me procure le buſte de Charles Fox, en marbre blanc, pour mettre dans mon Corridore, entre celle de Demoſthne et de Ciceron, car c'eſt lui qui par ſon eloquence ſublime a delivré ſa patrie et la Ruſſie d'une *guer* dans laquelle il n'y avoit ni juſtice ni raiſon.

"CATHARINE."

A gentleman happening one evening to criticiſe the language of this note, it was facetiouſly obſerved by one of the greateſt orators of this country, "that it was odd enough that a belligerent power ſhould not be able to ſpell *war*."

9th of January 1792, by which the river Dneiſter became the boundary of the two empires, and was to be navigated by both, the empreſs had more time to apply her attention to European politics. Part of Poland had been diſmembered and partitioned during the year 1772, not only in contravention to the general rights of nations, but in direct oppoſition to the moſt ſolemn treaties on the part of Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and Auſtria. The revolution which took place in that ill fated country on May 3, 1791, and which afforded the proſpect of a happy and ſtable government to the remains of the republic, was the ſignal of its annihilation. The imperial and royal ſpoilers ſeized this opportunity to fall once more in concert on their prey, which they forced to expire under their talons; and they have ſince cut it into ſhares, and attempted to diſfigure it by new names, leſt it ſhould one day be reclaimed by the lawful owners. After this inſult to humanity, Staniſlaus, whom poſterity may acknowledge as an unfortunate, but ſurely not as a great king, was forced ſoon after to abdicate, and allowed to retire into obſcurity with his miſtreſs, his children, and a penſion.

But another great object had for ſome time engaged the attention of Catharine and her cabinet. This was the French revolution; an event pregnant with conſequences that involved the claims, or, more properly ſpeaking, the exiſtence of all the ſovereigns of Europe. With a treaſury nearly exhauſted by the war with the Ottoman Porte, which was not then terminated, and at a diſtance from the ſcene of action, the empreſs could not well engage in the conteſt; but ſhe readily entered into the coalition, and ſoon after ſubſidized her late enemy the king of Sweden; but that enterpriſing prince, who had overturned the liberties of his country, met his fate, on the night of the 16th of March 1792, by the hand of an incenſed noble.

Notwithſtanding this ſiniſter event, the head of the Greek church, compaſſionating the fate of the pretended father of the Chriſtian world, promiſed to exert herſelf for the reſtoration of Avignon to the holy ſee. She alſo launched forth a menacing manifeſto againſt France, and prepared for a new war.

The empreſs has hitherto been contemplated in her public character.

character. It may not be amiſs now to fix our eyes on the individual; to pay ſome attention to the ſex of the ſovereign, and, viewing majeſty as it were in an undreſs, behold the woman lurking behind the princeſs.

It might have been ſuppoſed, that in the neighbourhood of the Hyperborean regions, the paſſions, if not dormant, would be at leaſt moderate, and that the men would conſequently be temperate, and the women chaſte. The contrary, however, is the caſe: and it is left to the philoſopher to determine, whether the double windows and heated rooms of St. Peterſburgh, added to an affectation of oriental manners, be not to the full as critical, in reſpect to female virtue, as the climate of Naples and Turin. Certain it is, however, that, during the reign of Catharine II. no remarkable increaſe of indecorum took place, and that any occaſional indiſcretions appear to have made but little impreſſion on the public mind.

Count Gregory Orloff, diſtinguiſhed in Ruſſia by the appellation of GREGOREVITSCH, was one of the handſomeſt men in the North. Gratitude and affection both conſpired to procure him a favourable reception at court: and from an obſcure condition he ſoon roſe to the higheſt offices of the ſtate, which he, in fact, governed. His opinion in the cabinet was liſtened to with deference, and he was inveſted with the ſupreme military command. Still higher honours awaited him. The empreſs-queen was ſolicited to grant him a diploma of prince of the empire; it was next in contemplation to decorate him with the titles of duke of Ingria and Carelia, and the chancellor Beſtucheff actually propoſed to the empreſs that he ſhould be admitted as the partner of her bed and throne. But this ſcheme was blaſted by the interference of count Panin*; who, not content

* Fortune, in her wayward freaks, is ſeen frequently to humble the lofty, and elevate the humble. In our own hiſtory we find two celebrated men, of the ſame name, one the ſon of a butcher at Ipſwich, the other of a blackſmith of Putney, both of whom roſe to the firſt offices of the ſtate. In Ruſſia, and in all arbitrary governments, theſe ſudden changes are common; for it is the favour, and not unfrequently the caprice, of the ſovereign that ennobles or exiles, robs or enriches, at pleaſure.

conrent with his own remonſtances, invoked the interpoſition of Razumoffsky and Vorontzoff, and found means to divert Catharine from her purpoſe.

Soon after this the conduct of Orloff began to give diſſatisfaction: for he abſented himſelf from court; went but ſeldom to the palace; reſided principally in the country; and, being extremely addicted to hunting, dedicated whole weeks to the chace

Count Panin was of an obſcure birth, and Fame has eagerly traced him to that period when he ſerved as a trooper in the horſe-guards of the empreſs Elizabeth. This may ſeem an extraordinary introduction to the offices of ambaſſador and prime miniſter, but it actually led to both.

The protection of prince Kourakin procured him the ſituation of a gentleman of the bed-chamber, which, by giving him an opportunity of ſeeing the interior of the palace, introduced him to the notice of the ſovereign. Her imperial majeſty (Elizabeth), who was not very nice in thoſe matters, took a fancy to him, his perſon being tall and handſome; but, as ſhe wanted ſomething beſides a fine figure, he was tranſferred from the bed-chamber to the cabinet; and, in 1749, ſent to the court of Stockholm with the title of miniſter plenipotentiary.

In that country (for until the reign of the late king it appeared to be a free one) he imbibed notions of government ſomewhat republican; and the miniſter of the moſt deſpotic ſovereign on earth began to imagine that a limited monarchy and a ſenate formed the beſt of all poſſible governments.

After his return to St. Peterſburgh he was made governor to the young prince Paul Petrowitz, his preſent majeſty, and ſoon attached himſelf to Catharine, to whoſe maſculine genius, unbounded ambition, and ſecret intentions, he was no ſtranger. On the demiſe of Elizabeth he propoſed that Peter III. inſtead of being ſaluted czar by the regiments of guards, in the ſame manner as the Roman emperors were by the prætorian bands, ſhould be recogniſed by the ſenate: this was doubtleſs a ſtep in favour of Ruſſian liberty; but the new ſovereign was ſo much attached to military parade, that he could not reſiſt his deſire to be recogniſed by the ſoldiery.

The count was privy to the conſpiracy againſt Peter III. and on the death of that prince obtained the confidence of the empreſs, who treated him with high marks of reſpect. In ſhort, in the circumſtances of his low birth and ſudden elevation, he reſembled Menzikoff; but he was either more prudent or more fortunate than that prince, as, inſtead of falling, he found means to riſe, in conſequence of every revolution.

After ſuperintending the foreign department for many years, and acquiring the eſteem not only of the empreſs but of the heir to the throne, Panin died in peace at an advanced period of life. Paul Petrovitch, then Tzarevitch, and now emperor, diſplayed great ſenſibility and goodneſs of heart upon this occaſion. During his laſt illneſs he paid frequent viſits to the miniſter; and, perceiving that his end approached, he knelt by his bed-ſide, and gratefully kiſſed the hand of his dying preceptor, bedewing it at the ſame time with his tears!

of

of the bear. Panin, who had frequently experienced his arrogance, deemed this a happy opportunity to procure his diſgrace. He accordingly introduced a young officer named Viſſenſky, who, being directed by the artful miniſter, behaved in ſuch a manner as to give reaſon to believe that he would ſoon reign uncontrolled. Pride, however, on this occaſion ſupplied the place of affection, and Orloff ſuddenly altering his conduct, his rival was diſmiſſed with ſuperb preſents, and inveſted with an employment that required his reſidence in a remote province.

A new favourite ſoon after made his appearance in the perſon of Vaſſiltſchikoff, a ſubaltern in the guards, and advantage was taken of the abſence of Orloff to introduce him at the Hermitage. This officer was young and handſome; but nature, which had been laviſh to his perſon, ſeems to have been at no pains with his mind. He was immediately appointed chamberlain to the empreſs, enriched with ſplendid preſents, and treated with the moſt flattering attention. In the mean time Gregorevitſch, who had been appointed to treat with the Turkiſh plenipotentiaries relative to a peace, on hearing of this unexpected event, inſtantly returned to the capital from Fokſhiani, but was arreſted at the gates of Peterſburgh, and ſtripped of all his employments. He, however, experienced the imperial bounty, and received, as a recompence for his ſubmiſſion, the ſum of 100,000 rubles in hand, a penſion of 150,000 more, a magnificent ſervice of plate, and, to crown the whole, an eſtate, with 6000 peaſants upon it, was made over to him.

Vaſſiltſchikoff, during twenty-two months, enjoyed all the diſtinction appertaining to the reigning favourite; but at the end of that period he alſo found occaſion to lament the inconſtancy of fortune. This young man had conducted himſelf with great prudence, for he had never abuſed his influence. He poſſeſſed none of that haughtineſs ſo common to upſtarts; and he did not appear eager either to increaſe his own fortune, or to diminiſh that of his rivals. Such was his moderation, that, as his elevation excited no envy, ſo his diſgrace was unaccompanied by

exultation. His faults are ſtill unknown; and moſt probably he had ceaſed to pleaſe. His retreat, however, was accompanied by every mark of reſpect; and as he repaired to Moſcow, the place of his deſtined exile, he received preſents on his journey, which might be ſtyled imperial on account of their magnificence.

No ſooner was this change made public than Orloff appeared once more on the ſcene, and was readmitted to all his former influence. Suppoſing Panin to be the cauſe of his late exile, he extorted a promiſe from his royal miſtreſs to diſmiſs him from all his employments. Her aſſent was given with reluctance; and the prayers of the grand duke, who was too generous to ſuffer his preceptor to fall a prey to the ſuſpicions of a man he did not love, induced her to revoke her intentions.

In the mean time the manly air and elegant appearance of Potemkin made a great impreſſion on an illuſtrious perſonage. This officer had been bred in the guards; and, perceiving on that memorable day when the empreſs, mounted on a fine charger and dreſſed in regimentals, exhibited herſelf at the head of the troops, that ſhe had forgotten to place a plume in her hat, he ſnatched this decoration from his own, and preſented it to the new ſovereign. Neither this action, nor the grace with which it was performed, had eſcaped unnoticed; and the time was now arrived when his attachment was to receive an ample remuneration.

The poſt of favourite is almoſt peculiar to Ruſſia, and was during many years conſidered as an *official employment*. Ever ſince 1730 the nation had been governed by women, except during the ſhort and unfortunate reign of Peter III. In fine, it ſeemed to be ſanctioned, if not by a fundamental law of the empire, at leaſt by preſcription; as four empreſſes had ſucceſſively conſecrated it by their practice, and the age of the laſt (Elizabeth) made it be conſidered in ſome meaſure as a mere appendage to imperial grandeur*.

Potemkin

* It may not be unneceſſary here to point out the duties and diſtinctions of this ſingular office:—

"When her majeſty had fixed her choice on a new favourite, ſhe created him her general

Potemkin ſoon grew giddy with ſucceſs, and his pride and preſumption keeping pace with his elevation, he accordingly expoſed himſelf to a number of diſagreeable events. Boaſting one day of the extent of his power, in preſence of count Alexis Orloff, the brother of his predeceſſor, he received a blow which deprived him of an eye; and prince Gregory Orloff having requeſted his diſmiſſion, he was forced to repair to Smolenſk, at once the place of his nativity and exile. Such was his vexation, partly from the loſs of his eye, and partly from his diſgrace, that he actually entertained ſome ideas of turning monk; but a

general aid de-camp, in order that he might accompany her every where without reproach or obſervation. Thenceforward the favourite occupied, in the palace, an apartment beneath that of the empreſs, to which it communicated by a private ſtair-caſe. The firſt day of his inſtallation he received a preſent of 100,000 rubles, and every month he found 12,000 on his dreſſing table.

"The marſhal of the court was commiſſioned to provide him a table of 24 covers, and to defray all the expences of his houſehold. The favourite attended the empreſs on all parties of amuſement; at the opera, at balls, promenades, excurſions of pleaſure, and the like, and was not allowed to leave the palace without expreſs permiſſion. He was given to underſtand that it would not be taken well if he converſed familiarly with other women; and if he went to dine with any of his friends, the miſtreſs of the houſe was always abſent.

"Whenever the empreſs caſt her eyes on one of her ſubjects, in the deſign of raiſing him to the poſt of favourite, ſhe cauſed him to be invited to dinner by ſome lady of (in) her confidence, on whom ſhe dropped in as if by chance. There ſhe would enter into diſcourſe with the new comer, with a view to diſcover whether or not he was worthy of the favour ſhe deſigned to grant him. When the judgment ſhe formed was favourable, the confidant was informed of it by a ſignificant look, and took care to notify it to him who had the honour to pleaſe. The day following he received a viſit from the phyſician of the court, who came to inquire into the ſtate of his health: and the ſame evening he accompanied the empreſs at the Hermitage, and took poſſeſſion of the apartment that had been prepared for him.

"It was on the ſelection of Potemkin that theſe formalities began; and ſince that time they have been conſtantly obſerved.

"When a favourite had loſt the power of making himſelf agreeable, there was alſo a particular manner of giving him his diſmiſſion. He received orders to travel; and from that moment he was debarred all acceſs to her majeſty. But he was ſure of finding, at the place of deſtination, recompences worthy of the munificent Catharine." *Life of the Empreſs Catharine*, Vol. II. p. 6.

ſubmiſſive

ſubmiſſive letter produced his recal; and from that moment he ſeems to have dropped all thoughts of the cowl.

"The Devil was ſick; the Devil a monk would be;
"The Devil got well:—the Devil a monk was he."

Ambition now appears to have taken complete poſſeſſion of the boſom of Potemkin; and this was amply gratified, for his influence ſoon extended to every department of the ſtate, and he himſelf, after procuring the diſmiſſion of count Zachar Chernicheff, became vice preſident at war, with a ſeat in the council *. But his aſpiring hopes were not yet gratified, for he entertained ſtill higher expectations.

With a view to the accompliſhment of theſe, he affected to be once more ſeized with a fit of religion; and kept Lent with great ſtrictneſs, living upon roots and water during that holy ſeaſon. He alſo wearied all the ſaints in the Greek calendar with his prayers; went daily to confeſſion; and, having ſelected on this occaſion the ſame prieſt that afforded abſolution to a great perſonage, he beſought him to inform her, that his alarmed conſcience could no longer permit him to indulge in an intercourſe, which, by marriage alone, would ceaſe to become criminal.

This project, however, failed of ſucceſs; and, ſoon after the empreſs's return to Peterſburgh (for it was at Moſcow that it had been firſt conceived), a young man from the Ukraine, of the name of Zavadoffsky, was honoured with the imperial countenance, while the haughty Potemkin received the cuſtomary intimation, "that he muſt prepare to travel." Potemkin did not dare to diſobey, but he evaded the order; for, ſetting out in

* The following anecdote will afford ſome idea of the wit and preſumption of this young man, who is allowed to have poſſeſſed conſiderable talents. Happening to be once ſummoned to council, while engaged at a party of cards, he refuſed to ſtir. The aſtoniſhed meſſenger, unaccuſtomed to ſuch an inſtance of diſobedience, and afraid of being implicated in his guilt, humbly beſought Potemkin to furniſh him with an excuſe. On this the favourite referred him to the bible; and, on being requeſted to mention the paſſage, he gaily replied, "In the firſt pſalm, and the firſt verſe, there you will find it ſaid,—*Beatus vir qui non abiit in conſilio impiorum.*" (Happy is the man who participateth not in the counſels of the wicked.)

great

great form, he proceeded a few miles towards the place indicated for his exile, but returned in the courſe of next day, and placed himſelf in the evening exactly oppoſite to the empreſs as ſhe was about to ſit down to whiſt. Every one expected to behold ſome ſignal mark of the imperial diſpleaſure; but, on the contrary, Catharine, handing him a pack of cards, deſired the ex-favourite to cut in, obſerving that he had always been a fortunate player. His poſts, his honours, his influence, were all reſtored to him, and he now occupied a new ſituation about the perſon of her imperial majeſty, for he became her friend.

In the mean time the boſom of the humble Zavadoffsky began to catch the flame of ambition; and, as he was jealous of the grandeur of Potemkin, he aimed a deadly blow at his conſequence. But the miniſter at war, become wily in his turn, warded it off, and made it recoil on the head of his rival. Perceiving a handſome young Servian officer of huſſars, of the name of Zoritch, who had repaired to Peterſburgh in ſearch of promotion, he preſented him with a captain's commiſſion, and in a few days he was perceived behind the chair of the empreſs. A large eſtate, the rank of major-general, and an immenſe ſum of money, ſoon became the appanage of this fortunate youth; but the empreſs perceiving that he was ignorant, and being diſguſted at his want of accompliſhments, recommended, as he could ſpeak no language but that of the Ruſſian boors, that he ſhould be ſent abroad for improvement.

Fortune ſeems to have been in a playful mood when ſhe elevated Rimſky Korzakoff to the poſt of chamberlain, and ſucceſſor to the Servian. This man had actually been a ſerjeant in the guards; he was now declared aid-de-camp general to the empreſs, and preſented with the palace of Vaſſiltſchikoff*.

* While in the height of his favour, he began to conceive that a library was neceſſary in a palace. He accordingly applied to Weitbrecht, the bookſeller; and, on being aſked for a catalogue of the authors he wanted, the quondam ſerjeant replied,

"O, as for that matter, I am not difficult, only take care to place great books at bottom, and ſmall at top, as you do for the empreſs."

He

He proved to be a vain upſtart, whoſe dreſs exhibited a profuſion of diamonds, and whoſe conduct was ſuch as could not fail to involve him in ruin. This ſpeedily occurred; for, being detected in a ſecret correſpondence with a lady, ſhe was baniſhed from court, and he was obliged to repair to Moſcow.

The ſame day that beheld his diſgrace, witneſſed the good fortune of Lanſkoi, a Pole by deſcent, and an officer of the body guards by profeſſion. The education of this young man had been neglected; but this defect was in ſome meaſure remedied by the zeal and attachment of an illuſtrious perſonage, who ſuperintended his improvement; and in a ſhort time he became as remarkable for the ſuperior elegance of his manners, as the graces of his perſon: but, while in the flower of his youth, and th very height of his favour, he was attacked by a mortal diſeaſe, which cut him off after a ſhort illneſs. He died in the arms of his miſtreſs, who was inconſolable on the occaſion, and refuſed to take any ſuſtenance during three whole days. A mauſoleum, the plan of which was ſketched out by an Engliſh artiſt *, atteſted the reſpect of the empreſs, who burſt into tears on ſeeing it two years after. His fortune he had bequeathed to her imperial majeſty, but ſhe preſented it, with her accuſtomed generoſity, to the ſiſter of this handſome youth.

The next perſon who aſpired to the poſt of favourite was a young man educated in Scotland, and who had become a fellow of the royal ſociety of London. This was prince Daſhkoff, ſon to the celebrated princeſs of the ſame name, who had participated in the memorable revolution that levelled Peter III. with the duſt. A lieutenant of the name of Yermoloff anticipated him, however, in this poſt, to which he was raiſed by the intereſt of Potemkin; but, proving ungrateful to his benefactor, he was ſuddenly diſgraced, being replaced by Momonoff, who attended her imperial majeſty during her journey to the Crimea. He fell in love, however, with a lady of the court; and no ſooner was the empreſs informed of this circumſtance, than ſhe

* Mr. Charles Cameron.

inſiſted

inſiſted on his marrying her immediately; after which they were ſent into exile at Moſcow.

Plato Zuboff, an officer of the horſe guards, ſupplied his place. This aſpiring young man, not content with wealth and honours, affected public employments; and it is aſſerted that the idea of the ſecond diviſion of Poland originated with him. In a ſhort time he became omnipotent at Peterſburgh. He was decorated with the title of prince; received the poſt of grand maſter of the artillery; all the admirals, generals, and miniſters of the empire, were to be ſeen at his levee bending lowly before him; and, if we are to believe the author of a work of ſome reputation, paying their compliments at the ſame time, in great form, to his favourite monkey *.

Catharine hitherto had only afforded empty promiſes to the enemies of France; but, at the inſtigation of Zuboff, ſhe now formed the deſign of giving effectual aſſiſtance to the confederated kings; and, as a proof of her intentions, iſſued orders for a ſquadron of men of war to join the Engliſh fleet, and commanded a levy of 60,000 troops. She at the ſame time proſecuted a war on the frontiers of Perſia, where her army, under the command of a near relation of the grand maſter of the artillery, had experienced a moſt humiliating defeat; and ſhe was now preparing to ſend freſh ſuccours to his aſſiſtance.

Such were the projects that occupied the mind of Catharine: the overthrow of the French republic, and the ſubjugation of the diſtant Perſians, when ſhe was ſmitten by the hand of death. This fortunate princeſs had hitherto enjoyed an almoſt uninterrupted ſtate of good health during the whole of her long reign. She was ſometimes, indeed, ſubject to a cholic, and her legs were now and then obſerved to ſwell; but neither of theſe ſymptoms were alarming.

On the morning of the 9th of November ſhe roſe at her uſual hour, and breakfaſted on coffee according to cuſtom. Some time after ſhe retired to her cloſet, and her long abſence affording cauſe of ſuſpicion to her attendants, they entered the apart-

* See *La Vie de Catharine II.* This work has been attributed to the count De Segur, formerly miniſter from France at the court of St. Peterſburgh.

ment

ment and found her lying ſpeechleſs. Dr. Rogerſon, her phyſician, being ſent for, he treated her diſeaſe as an apoplexy; and conſiderable relief ſeemed to enſue after the application of the lancet. But the empreſs never entirely recovered her ſenſes; and did not utter a ſingle word during the remainder of her life, which was prolonged to ten o'clock in the evening of November 10, 1797.

Thus, with her uſual good fortune, after a very ſhort illneſs, died Catharine II. empreſs of all the Ruſſias. During her youth ſhe had been extremely handſome, but ſhe got fat as ſhe increaſed in years; ſhe, however, preſerved a certain air of gracefulneſs, intermingled with dignity, until the laſt moment of her life.

Her majeſty in perſon was not above the middle ſize, but, being well proportioned and carrying her head high, ſhe appeared tall. Her forehead was open, her noſe aquiline, her mouth agreeable, and her chin, without being ugly, was rather long. Her hair, in which ſhe took great delight, was auburn, and her eye-brows dark and thick. As to her eyes, we have different accounts; one gentleman *, who reſided at her court a conſiderable time in a diplomatic capacity, deſcribing them as blue, while another † inſiſts they were of a brown hue. Upon the whole her phyſiognomy ‡ was not deficient in expreſſion; but ſhe had

* The count De Segur. † M. De Rulhiers.

‡ The following remarks on a print of the empreſs, by the phyſiognomiſt of Zurich, exhibit the moſt unequivocal marks of empiriciſm:—

"I never had the happineſs of ſeeing this illuſtrious princeſs, diſtinguiſhed by ſo much perſonal merit, and by ſo many great qualities. I have never had the ſlighteſt opportunity of diſcuſſing the reſemblance of this profile, and yet I am certain, that if the mouth is exactly taken, the forehead cannot be entirely true; that if the upper part of this diviſion of the face is hit with preciſion, there muſt certainly be an error in the ſection which appears between the eye-brows and the root of the noſe.

"A face ſo ſublime cannot abſolutely admit of a noſtril ſo ſmall. Beſides, the chin and the noſe are ſufficiently homogeneous, that is to ſay, they uniformly announce prudence and firmneſs. The goodneſs and dignity ſo well expreſſed in the eye, are reproduced ſtill more advantageouſly in the form of the face, and in the forehead. *Lavater*, Vol. II. p. 315.

Perhaps

had ſuch a command of her countenance, that no one could there diſcover the ſecrets of her heart.

Her imperial majeſty was accuſtomed, on great occaſions, to dreſs in a ſplendid manner, and to wear a profuſion of jewels. Being particularly fond of diamonds, ſhe poſſeſſed a prodigious number; and one in particular was the largeſt that had ever been ſeen in Europe *. Catharine, however, was accuſtomed in general to affect the ancient Ruſſian faſhions, for the moſt part wearing green, out of compliment to the nation. Her hair was powdered but ſlightly. On the other hand, her face was covered with rouge; and as her imperial majeſty, like the ladies in the French court, wore it in proportion to her rank, it is not to be wondered if it was of a high colour.

The ſtricteſt temperance was regularly preſerved by Catharine, in a country, and at a court, where a little deviation would not have given occaſion to much ſcandal. A ſlight breakfaſt, a moderate dinner, and two or three glaſſes of wine (for ſhe never indulged in ſupper), conſtituted her uſual diet.

Perhaps the following lines, written by the count De Segur under a picture of the empreſs, immediately after her return from the Crimea, although replete with flattery, convey a better idea of her imperial majeſty, than the cold and formal animadverſions of Lavater:—

" Reconnois vers le Nord l'aimant qui nous attire
" Cet heureux conquérant, profond legiſlateur,
" Femme aimable, grand homme, & que l'envie admire,
" Qui, parcourt ſes Etats, y verſe le bonheur.
" Maitre en l'art de regner, ſavante en l'art d'ecrire,
" Repandant la lumière, écartant les erreurs;
" Si le ſort n'avoit pu lui donner un empire,
" Elle auroit eu toujours un trone dans nos cœurs."

* This was preſented to her imperial majeſty by count Orloff, who purchaſed it from an American for 104,166 l. The PITT DIAMOND, formerly worn in the crown of the kings of France, although it coſt the regent duke of Orleans 135,000 l. was inferior in point of ſize, as may be ſeen from the following comparative ſtatement:—

The weight of the Orloff ——	193 carrats.
Ditto of the Pitt when cut ——	135 do.
Superior weight of the Orloff ——	58 carrats.

It is far more eaſy to deſcribe the empreſs than the woman. The acts of the former have now become hiſtory, but thoſe of the latter muſt be left to the pen of genius, that can act the part of Ithuriel's ſpear, and analyze the ſprings of human action.

It muſt be confeſſed that both ſhe and the empire appear to have been frequently a prey to favouritiſm; and this part of her conduct, by being connected with the happineſs of millions of her ſubjects, is highly cenſurable *.

As a ſovereign ſhe ſtands conſpicuous. She increaſed the extent

* Here follows a liſt of the preſents beſtowed by Catharine on her favourites:

		Rubles.
The five brothers of the name of Orloff received 45,000 peaſants, and to the amount in eſtates, palaces, jewels, plate, and money, of		17,000,000
Wiſſenſky, an officer of the guards, who was about two months in favour, received		300,000
Waſielitſchikoff, a lieutenant in the guards, received as follows during the twenty-two months he remained in vogue:		
An eſtate with 7,000 peaſants, eſtimated at	600,000	
In money	100,000	
In trinkets	60,000	
In plate	50,000	
A furniſhed palace	100,000	
A penſion of 20,000 rubles, and alſo the order of St. Alexander Newſky, valued at	200,000	1,110,000
Potemkin received, during the two firſt years, about nine millions of rubles.		
He afterwards accumulated immenſe riches; he poſſeſſed large eſtates in Poland, and throughout all the provinces of Ruſſia. One of his cloſets was filled with gold, diamonds, and notes of the banks of London, Amſterdam, and Venice. His fortune was eſtimated at		50,000,000
Zawadoffsky received, in the courſe of eighteen months, ſeveral eſtates in Poland, with 2000 peaſants; others in the Ukraine with 6000; and, in Ruſſia, with 1800. His lands were eſtimated at	1,000,000	
He received, in money	150,000	
In plate	50,000	
In jewels	80,000	
The white eagle of Poland, and a penſion of	100,000	1,380,000
Carried forward....		19,840,0000

tent of Ruſſia, and added not only new countries, but new nations, to that mighty empire. As a conqueror her victories were

	Brought forward	19,840,000
Zoritz received, in the courſe of one year, the riband of the order of the ſword from Sweden, and that of the white eagle from Poland.		
An eſtate in Poland of	500,000	
Another in Livonia of fifty haaks	100,000	
A commandery in Poland, valued at 12,000 rubles annual income, and eſtimated at	120,000	
In money	500,000	
In jewels	200,000	
Korzakoff received in the courſe of ſixteen months, the riband of the white eagle of Poland, the palace of Waſiliſtſchikoff, which was repurchaſed for	100,000	
An eſtate with 4000 peaſants	400,000	
In money and jewels	150,000	
Debts paid	100,000	
Fitting him out to travel	100,000	
Gratification during his travels	70,000	920,000
Lanſkoi received in lands and money	3,000,000	
In diamonds	80,000	
To pay his debts	80,000	
A palace eſtimated at	100,000	3,260,000
N. B. The above does not include the ſums given to his ſiſter and couſin.		
Yermoloff, beſides the order of the white eagle of Poland, in ſixten months received an eſtate eſtimated at	100,000	
Another with 3000 peaſants	300,000	
In money	150,000	550,000
Momonoff received during twenty-ſix months, in lands ..	600,000	
In money	200,000	
In jewels	80,000	880,000
Plato Zouboff was decorated with the title of prince, received ſeveral ribands, and was nominated grand maſter of the artillery. His fortune was eſtimated at	2,500,000	
His moveables and jewels	200,000	2,700,000
Valerian Zouboff received a great deal of money, ſeveral eſtates in Poland and Courland, and a penſion of 12,000 rubles, payable in gold. The whole may be eſtimated at		800,000
	Carried forward	80,320,000

were numerous and brilliant; ſhe triumphed equally by ſea and by land, and, had ſhe lived but ten years longer, might have realized the proud dream of her ambition, and beheld her grandſon Conſtantine ſitting on the throne of the Ottomans. Her merit as a legiſlator, too, is great; but ſhe would have been far more worthy of our admiration, had ſhe effected the generous idea of enfranchiſing all the peaſantry of her immenſe dominions.

She was the only ſovereign of Ruſſia who ever exhibited a taſte for letters. This was not all; ſhe was an author* herſelf, and did not diſdain to compoſe little treatiſes for her grandchildren, whoſe education ſhe ſuperintended.

For muſic ſhe alſo poſſeſſed an exquiſite reliſh, and brought Gabrielli, and a number of ſingers of great note, from Italy, allowing them liberal ſalaries, and treating them with great attention.

Throughout the whole of her long reign Catharine alſo evinced a marked predilection for painting. In the midſt of a war with the Turks ſhe purchaſed pictures in Holland, to the amount of ſixty thouſand rubles, all of which were loſt in conſequence of a ſhip's being wrecked on the coaſt of Finland. This, however, rather ſerved to ſtimulate her to freſh exertions, and her agents accordingly procured whatever was to be found in Italy worthy of notice. The Houghton collection from England was alſo transferred, by an act of her munificence, to the ſhores of the

Brought forward	80,320,000
To this ſum ought to be added the annual expence of the reigning favourite, eſtimated at 1,250,000 rubles per annum, which, during the thirty-four years that Catharine ſwayed the ſceptre, amounts to.....	8,500,000
	88,820,000

This ſum is equal to about four hundred and forty millions, one hundred thouſand livres tournois. If the above ſtatement be not groſsly exaggerated, this article of expence coſt the empreſs more than double what her whole marine did, and nearly one half as much as all her armies.

* The following is a liſt of her imperial majeſty's works:

1. Miſcellaneous Pieces, or the Library of the Grand Dukes.
2. Sketch of the Ruſſian Hiſtory.
3. Tale of the Tzarevitch Chlor. And
4. Some Obſervations on the Climate of Ruſſia.

Baltick;

Baltick; and, while it added to her glory, diſgraced this nation, in the eyes of foreigners.

Her conduct to learned men was truly worthy of a woman of genius. She was proud of the correſpondence and friendſhip of Voltaire; ſhe invited Diderot to her court, and lived with him, while there, in habits of the utmoſt familiarity; to D'Alembert ſhe looked up as to a ſuperior being, and endeavoured, although in vain, to ſeduce him to reſide at St. Peterſburgh; but he poſſeſſed a haughty ſoul, was devoted to liberty, and would not conſent to degrade the mind of a freeman, by reſiding among a nation of ſlaves *.

To the honour of Catharine, ſhe was extremely attentive to the education of her people, and inſtituted a prodigious number of ſchools for their inſtruction. To remove their prejudices againſt inoculation, ſhe herſelf ſubmitted to the operation, and thus hazarded her life for her nation. Amidſt the ſchemes of grandeur, the allurements of power, and the gratification of the paſſions, ſhe found leiſure to civilize and inſtruct her ſubjects; this added not a little to her glory, as it contributed to the benefit of ſo large a

* Her imperial majeſty purchaſed the libraries of thoſe three great men. The following is a copy of a letter to Voltaire's niece, on that lady's conſenting to part with his books.

" Pour Madame Denis, nieçe d'un grand homme qui m'aimoit beaucoup.

" De Peterſbourg, le 25 Août, 1778.

" Je viens d'apprendre, madame, que vous conſentez á remettre entre mes mains ce dépôt précieux, que monſieur votre oncle vous a laiſſé, cette bibliothèque que les âmes ſenſibles ne verront jamais ſans ſe ſouvenir que ce grand homme ſut inſpirer aux humains cette bienveillance univerſelle, que tous ſes écrits, même ceux de pur agrément reſpirent par ce que ſon âme en étoit profondément penétrée."

" Perſonne avant lui, n'écrivit comme lui: a la race future il ſervira d'example et d'eœueil. Il faudroit unir le génie et la philoſophie aux connoiſſances et á l'agrément; en un mot, être Monſieur De Voltaire pour l'egaler. Si j'ai partagé avec toute l'Europe vos regrets, madame, ſur le perte de cet homme incomparable, vous vous êtes miſe en droit de participer à la reconnoiſſance que je dois à ſes écrits. Je ſuis ſans doute, très ſenſible, à l'eſtime, à la confiance que vous me marques. Il m'eſt bien flatteur de voir qu'elles ſont hereditaires dans votre famille. La nobleſſe de vos procédés vous eſt caution de mes ſentimens à votre égard. J'ai chargé Monſieur De Grimm de vous en remettre quelques foibles temoignages, dont je vous prie de faire uſage.

" CATHARINE."

portion of the human race; but it will inſenſibly operate againſt a deſpotic government, by rendering the boors unfit for their chains, which they will ſome day break, perhaps, on the heads of the *Boyars*, who at once enſlave and oppreſs them.

No woman could ſo eaſily forgive, and in this point of view her conduct muſt be allowed to have poſſeſſed a great ſhare of magnanimity. She generouſly pardoned old Munich and Godowitz; the one the counſellor, the other the favourite of Peter III. She even admitted the former of theſe into her confidence, and would have conferred honours and preferments on the latter; but he loved his late ſovereign, and with a noble ſcorn ſpurned at the proffered friendſhip of his ſucceſſor. To the miſtreſs of Peter III. although her own rival, ſhe granted her life, reſtored her fortune, and at length admitted her daughters to honourable ſituations at court *.

No perſonage in our own times has attracted a greater ſhare of cenſure and eulogium; and no woman in any age ever exhibited more of the maſculine greatneſs of one ſex, and the feminine weakneſs of another. As a female, ſhe appears at times the ſlave of paſſion, and the puppet of her courtiers; but while we behold her diminiſhing, in this point of view, into inſignificance, we look again, and contemplate the *ſovereign*, towering like an immenſe coloſſus, and with one foot placed on Cherſon, and another at Kamſtchatka, waving her iron ſceptre over the ſubject nations, and regulating the deſtininy of a large portion of mankind.

The frailties, however, of the woman will ſoon be forgotten, while the glory that encircles the brows of the legiſlator and conqueror will long continue to dazzle the eyes of an admiring world. The preſent age, however, ſhudders at the untimely fate of Peter and of Ivan †, and poſterity will not eaſily pardon the degradation of Staniſlaus, the partition of Poland, and the maſſacres of Iſmailow and of Praga.

* They were appointed maids of honour to the empreſs.

† It is but juſtice here to obſerve, that a late author denies the *privity* of Catharine to this horrid deed, and it is well known that the preſent emperor, who commenced his reign by an act worthy of a great prince (the liberation of Koſciuſko), previouſly to the interment of the corpſe of Catharine, gave orders that the body of his

his father, Peter III. ſhould lie in ſtate, with the imperial crown ſuſpended above the coffin, while the two perſons, who are ſuppoſed to have been his aſſaſſins, after being forced to attend during ſeveral days as *chief mourners*, were exiled from St. Peterſburgh.

As to the death of prince Ivan, the following ſtate paper contains her imperial majeſty's account of that tranſaction.

Manifeſto published by the Court of Petersburgh, *on occaſion of the death of Prince* Ivan.

By the grace of God, we Catharine the ſecond, empreſs and ſovereign of all the Ruſſias, &c. to all whom theſe preſents may concern.

When, by the divine will, and in compliance with the ardent and unanimous deſires of our faithful ſubjects, we aſcended the throne of Ruſſia, we were not ignorant that Ivan, ſon of Anthony, prince of Brunſwic-Wolfenbuttle, and the princeſs Anne of Mecklenburgh, was ſtill alive. This prince, as is well known, was, immediately after his birth, unlawfully declared heir to the imperial crown of Ruſſia; but, by the decrees of Providence, he was ſoon after irrevocably excluded from that high dignity, and the ſceptre placed in the hands of the lawful heireſs, Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the great, our beloved aunt of glorious memory. After we had aſcended the throne, and offered up to heaven our juſt thankſgivings, the firſt object that employed our thoughts, in conſequence of that humanity that is natural to us, was the unhappy ſituation of that prince, who was dethroned by the Divine Providence, and had been unfortunate ever ſince his birth; and we formed the reſolution of alleviating his misfortunes, as far as was poſſible.

We immediately made a viſit to him, in order to judge of his underſtanding and talents, and, in conſequence thereof, to procure him an agreeable and quiet ſituation, ſuitable to his character, and the education he had received. But how great was our ſurpriſe, when, beſides a defect in his utterance, that was uneaſy to himſelf, and rendered his diſcourſe almoſt unintelligible to others, we obſerved in him a total privation of ſenſe and reaſon! Thoſe who accompanied us during this interview ſaw how much our heart ſuffered at the view of an object ſo fitted to excite compaſſion; they were alſo convinced that the only meaſure we could take to ſuccour the unfortunate prince, was to leave him where we found him, and to procure him all the comforts and conveniences that his ſituation would admit of. We accordingly gave our orders for this purpoſe, though the ſtate he was in prevented his perceiving the marks of our humanity, or being ſenſible of our attention and care; for he knew nobody, could not diſtinguiſh between good and evil, nor did he know the uſe that might be made of reading, to paſs the time with leſs wearineſs and diſguſt: on the contrary, he ſought after pleaſure in objects that diſcovered, with ſufficient evidence, the diſorder of his imagination.

To prevent, therefore, ill-intentioned perſons from giving him any trouble, or from making uſe of his name or orders to diſturb the public tranquillity, we gave him a guard, and placed about his perſon two officers of the garriſon in whoſe fidelity and integrity we could confide. Theſe officers were captain Vlaſſieff and lieutenant Tſchekin, who, by their long military ſervices, which had conſiderably impaired their health, deſerved a ſuitable recompence, and a ſtation in which they

might paſs quietly the reſt of their days; they were accordingly charged with the care of the prince, and were ſtrictly enjoined to let none approach him.

Yet all theſe precautions were not ſufficient to prevent an abandoned profligate from committing at Schluſſelburg, with unparalleled wickedneſs, and at the riſk of his own life, an outrage, whoſe enormity inſpires horror. A ſecond lieutenant of the regiment of Smolenſko, a native of the Ukraine, named Baſil Mirovitch, grandſon of the firſt rebel that followed Mazeppa, and a man in whom the perjury of his anceſtors ſeems to have been infuſed with their blood: this profligate, having paſſed his days in debauchery and diſſipation, and being thus deprived of all honourable means of advancing his fortune; having alſo loſt ſight of what he owed to the law of God, and of the oath of allegiance he had taken to us; and knowing prince Ivan only by name, without any knowledge either of his bodily or mental qualities; took it into his head to make uſe of this prince to advance his fortune at all events, without being reſtrained by the conſideration of the bloody ſcene that ſuch an attempt was adapted to occaſion. In order to execute this deteſtable, dangerous, and deſperate project, he deſired, during our abſence in Livonia, to be upon guard, out of his turn, in the fortreſs of Schluſſelburg, where the guard is relieved every eight days; and the 15th of laſt month, about two o'clock in the morning, he all of a ſudden called up the main guard, formed it into a line, and ordered the ſoldiers to load with ball. Berednikoff, governor of the fortreſs, having heard a noiſe, came out of his apartment, and aſked Mirovitch the reaſon of this diſturbance, but received no other anſwer from this rebel than a blow on the head with the butt-end of his muſket. Mirovitch, having wounded and arreſted the governor, led on his troop with fury, and attacked with fire-arms the handful of ſoldiers that guarded prince Ivan. But he was ſo warmly received by thoſe ſoldiers under the command of the two officers mentioned above, that he was obliged to retire. By a particular direction of that Providence that watches over the life of man, there was that night a thick miſt, which, together with the inward form and ſituation of the fortreſs, had this happy effect, that not one individual was either killed or wounded.

The bad ſucceſs of this firſt attempt could not engage this enemy of the public peace to deſiſt from his rebellious purpoſe. Driven on by rage and deſpair, he ordered a piece of cannon to be brought from one of the baſtions, which order was immediately executed. Captain Vlaſſieff and his lieutenant Tſchekin, ſeeing it was impoſſible to reſiſt ſuch a ſuperior force, and conſidering the unhappy conſequences that muſt enſue from the deliverance of a perſon that was committed to their care, and the effuſion of innocent blood that muſt follow from the tumults it was adapted to excite, took, after deliberating together, the only ſtep that they thought proper to maintain the public tranquillity, which was to cut ſhort the days of the unfortunate prince. Conſidering alſo, that if they ſet at liberty a priſoner, whom this deſperate party endeavoured to force with ſuch violence out of their hands, they ran the riſk of being puniſhed according to the rigour of the laws, they aſſaſſinated the prince, without being reſtrained by the apprehenſion of being put to death by a villain reduced to deſpair. The monſter (Mirovitch), ſeeing the dead body of the prince, was ſo confounded and ſtruck at a ſight he ſo little expected, that he acknowledged, that very inſtant, his temerity and his guilt, and diſcovered his repentance to the troop which about

about an hour before he had ſeduced from their duty, and rendered the accomplices of his crime.

Then it was, that the two officers, who had nipped this rebellion in the bud, joined with the governor of the fortreſs, in ſecuring the perſon of this rebel, and in bringing back the ſoldiers to their duty. They alſo ſent to our privy counſellor Panin, under whoſe orders they acted, a relation of this event, which, though unhappy, has nevertheleſs, under the protection of heaven, been the occaſion of preventing ſtill greater calamities. This ſenator diſpatched immediately lieutenant-colonel Kaſchkin, with ſufficient inſtructions to maintain the public tranquillity, to prevent diſorder on the ſpot (*i. e.* where the aſſaſſination was committed), and ſent us, at the ſame time, a courier with a circumſtantial account of the whole affair. In conſequence of this, we ordered lieutenant-general Weymarn, of the diviſion of St. Peterſburg, to take the neceſſary informations upon the ſpot; this he has done, and has ſent us accordingly the interrogatories, depoſitions, and the confeſſion of the villain himſelf, who has acknowledged his guilt.

Senſible of the enormity of his crime, and of its conſequences with regard to the peace of our country, we have referred the whole affair to the conſideration of our ſenate, which we have ordered, jointly with the ſynod, to invite the three firſt claſſes, and the preſidents of all the colleges, to hear the verbal relation of general Weymarn, who has taken the proper informations; to pronounce ſentence in conſequence thereof; and, after that ſentence has been ſigned, to preſent it to us for our confirmation of the ſame.

The original is ſigned by her imperial majeſty's own hand.

CATHARINE."

MEMOIRS OF THE

REV. WILLIAM MASON.

"THE lives of men of letters," ſays Maſon, in his Introduction to the Memoirs of Gray, "ſeldom abound with incident:—I will promiſe my reader, that he ſhall, in the following pages, ſeldom behold Mr. Gray in any better light than that of a ſcholar and a poet."

I prefix to this ſhort ſketch of the character of Maſon his own obſervation. Maſon was a man of letters, a poet, and, moreover,

moreover, a country clergyman, who thought it incumbent on him to devote a conſiderable portion of time to his profeſſional duties. The incidents of his life, therefore, muſt be neceſſarily confined, and thoſe, ſuch at leaſt as belong to his poetical character, will be collected, for the moſt part, from his own works *, from Gray's letters †, and the various literary publications connected with Maſon's writings.

William Maſon was the ſon of a reſpectable clergyman, vicar of St. Trinity Hall, in the Eaſt Riding of Yorkſhire, where he received his firſt grammatical inſtructions. His ſtudies, preparatory to his going to college, were rather favourable to claſſical than philoſophical purſuits: he had an early paſſion for poetry and painting; as appears from his epiſtolary addreſs to his father in 1746.

> Alike when active fancy try'd to trace
> The rural landſcape, and th' impaſſion'd face;
> How to my aid he brought each written rule
> And free deſign of Painting's various ſchool;
> How when my thoughts firſt flow'd in tinkling chime
> He ſmooth'd the verſe, reform'd each faulty rhyme.
> Nor check'd the muſe juſt waking in the ſtrain,
> Leſt love of verſe ſhould check the love of gain;
> But ſmil'd aſſenting, fann'd the kindling fire,
> And ſunk the critic in the partial ſire ‡.

At the proper time he was entered of St. John's college, Cambridge, when Dr. Newcombe was maſter, and Powel one of the tutors: the latter was author of a volume of ſermons, that are more particularly on ſubjects of diſcipline, and became afterwards a zealous opponent of thoſe members of the univerſity who wiſhed to have ſubſcription to the thirty-nine articles removed at the time of taking degrees.

It does not appear that Maſon devoted himſelf much to mathematics, the favourite ſtudy at Cambridge. His merit, how-

* The edition of his works printed in 1796 and 1797.

† In Maſon's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Gray.

‡ Maſon's Works, Vol. III. p. 109.

ever,

ever, and his talents, procured him the eſteem of his tutor, to whoſe advice it was owing that Muſæus was publiſhed, the firſt in the order of Maſon's poems.

While an under-graduate our author was diſtinguiſhed by a ſtudious caſt of mind, though by no means deſtitute of ſocial manners, nor reckoned an indefatigable ſtudent.

> Here too each ſocial charm, that moſt endears;
> Sincerity with open eye,
> And frolic Wit, and Humour ſly,
> Sat ſweetly mix'd among my young compeers:
> When o'er the ſober bowl,
> That but diſpell'd the mind's ſeverer gloom,
> And gave the budding thought its perfect bloom,
> Truth took its circling courſe, and flow'd from ſoul to ſoul *.

While of St. John's college he took his bachelor's and maſter of arts degrees; but never advanced further. He left St. John's in 1746, and returned to his father in Yorkſhire. On leaving college he wrote an ode, of conſiderable merit, in which he expreſſes the higheſt reſpect for his tutor.

> There ſtill ſhall Gratitude her tribute pay
> To him who firſt approv'd my infant lay,
> And fair to Recollection's eyes
> Shall Powel's various virtues riſe †.

In the year 1747, principally through the influence of Gray, who, on account of certain incivilities ſhewn him at Peter-houſe, had retreated to Pembroke-hall ‡, he was nominated to a vacant fellowſhip in Pembroke-hall, but was not elected till 1749: this was owing to a diſpute between the maſter and fellows; for the maſter refuſed his aſſent, and claimed a negative; nor was the

* Ode on expecting to return to Cambridge in 1747. Vol. III.

† Ode on leaving St. John's College in 1746. Vol. III.

‡ Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Gray, p. 241.

affair

affair compromiſed till after a litigation of two years. His poetical taſte firſt introduced him to the acquaintance of Gray; to whoſe correcting hand he had ſubmitted his monody on the death of Pope, and two juvenile poems, poſſeſſed of much merit. Theſe were Il Bellicoſo and Il Pacifico, both in the collection of Maſon's works, written in imitation of Milton's L'Allegro and Il Penſeroſo.

The monody was written at the time of Pope's death, in 1744, but was not publiſhed till 1747. Independently of its being a ſucceſsful imitation of the various ſtyles of Chaucer, Spenſer, Milton, and Pope, this monody poſſeſſes much of the true poetical character, though juſtly cenſurable on account of the vaſt profuſion of claſſical imagery, ſcarcely intelligible to a mere Engliſh reader. The ſame objection may juſtly be brought againſt other of his poems; more particularly his Ode to a Water Nymph, publiſhed about this time in the firſt volume of Dodſley's Miſcellany.

His acquaintance with Gray, as might be expected in ſuch congenial minds, grew into a warm friendſhip, which only terminated with the life of the latter.

It may not be unpleaſing to the reader, if he has not peruſed it before, to read the following extract from a letter of Gray's to Dr. Wharton, written July 5, 1748, as it gives the true character of our author during this period. "Mr. Maſon is my acquaintance; I liked that ode much, but have found no one elſe that did. He has much fancy, little judgment, and a good deal of modeſty. I take him for a good and well-meaning creature, but then he is really in ſimplicity a child. He reads little or nothing, writes abundance, and that with a deſign to make a fortune by it*."

The ode alluded to was that to the Water Nymph. Maſon's obſervation on this letter is as follows:—"Men of the world will not blame me for writing from ſo prudent a motive as that of making my fortune by it; and yet the truth, I believe, at the time was, that I was perfectly well ſatisfied if my publica-

* Memoirs of Gray, p. 190.

tions

tions furniſhed me with a few guineas to ſee a play or an opera."

In another letter Gray obſerves of Maſon as follows:—"He is very ingenious, with great good nature and ſimplicity; a little vain, but in ſo harmleſs and comical a way that it does not offend one at all; a little ambitious, but withal ſo ignorant of the world and its ways, that this does not hurt him in one's opinions; ſo ſincere and ſo undiſguiſed, that no mind with a ſpark of generoſity would ever think of hurting him, he lies ſo open to injury; but ſo indolent, that if he cannot overcome this habit, all his good qualities will ſignify nothing at all *."

Our author, during this period, was diſtinguiſhed not more by his other amiable qualities, than by his attachment to the cauſe of liberty; a paſſion of the higheſt importance to the intereſt of ſociety, and eminently favourable to poetic enthuſiaſm. This character ſtrongly pervades moſt of his poems; more particularly his Iſis, printed in 1748, in which he oppoſes the ſpirit of jacobitiſm, which was by no means extinguiſhed in either of our univerſities at that time: the attack, however, is directed againſt the univerſity of Oxford. This poem was not deſigned for publication. A parody on it, however, was printed in a country newſpaper, and reprinted in the London Evening Poſt, aſcribed to the late Dr. Byrom of Mancheſter. Maſon forbore to reprint it in any former edition of his poems, thinking it too ſatirical †.

Thomas Warton, afterwards poet-laureat, took fire at this poem, and printed, what Maſon ingenuouſly called an *elegant anſwer* to it, the Triumph of Iſis, a poem in point of harmonious verſification, and pointed indignation, ſuperior, perhaps, even to Isis. This was printed, together with Maſon's, in Dodſley's Miſcellanies; our author, therefore, gives the Iſis a place in the complete edition of his works, altering, however, the title from an elegy to a monologue, as not being in alternate rhyme.

* Memoirs of Gray, p. 207.

† Maſon's Works, Vol. III. p. 118.

Maſon

Maſon had by this time obtained conſiderable reputation as a poet, and, when the duke of Newcaſtle was inſtalled chancellor of the univerſity, July 1, 1749, was requeſted to compoſe an ode on the occaſion, which was ſet to muſic by Dr. Boyce, and performed in the ſenate-houſe. This ode poſſeſſes the true fire of lyric poetry. Gray ſpoke of it as follows, "Maſon's ode was the only entertainment that had any tolerable elegance; and for my own part I think, with ſome little abatement, uncommonly well *on ſuch an occaſion**."

A little after the death of his father, our poet went into orders. His father died, in 1753, of an infectious fever, which at the ſame time carried off a moſt intimate friend, with whom Maſon had been brought up from infancy, Dr. Marmaduke Pricket, a young phyſician.

Maſon felt this affliction ſeverely, for his heart was formed for domeſtic endearments. Gray, in a letter on this occaſion to Maſon, ſpeaks in this ſtrong manner: "I have ſeen the place you deſcribe, and know how dreadful it is. I know, too, I am the better for it. We are all idle and thoughtleſs things, and have no ſenſe, no uſe in the world, any longer than that ſad impreſſion laſts: the deeper it is engraved the better†."

Our author went into orders in 1754, and found a patron in the earl of Holderneſs. Through his influence he was advanced to be a chaplain to the king, and obtained the living of Aſton, which was of conſiderable value. Much chaſtity and elegance characterize Maſon's ſonnet, addreſſed to the earl of Holderneſs.

> D'Arcy, to thee, whate'er of happier vein,
> Smit with the love of ſong, my youth eſſay'd,
> This verſe devotes from Aſton's ſecret ſhade,
> Where letter'd eaſe, thy gift, endears the ſcene‡.

An obſervation ſhould be here made.

Notwithſtanding Maſon and Gray have addreſſed odes to two or three noble characters, they are not to be confounded with the tribes of poetical flatterers. They poſſeſſed a conſcious

* Gray's Memoirs. † Ibid. p. 238.

‡ Dedicatory Sonnet to Maſon's Poems.

ſenſe

ſenſe of talents, with a dignified ſuperiority to fulſome adulation. The ſonnet addreſſed to lord Holderneſs is penned with the greateſt delicacy and modeſty, and evidently flows from the heart. The inſtallation ode was written at the ſolicitation of the vice-chancellor *; Gray's ode on the inſtallation of the duke of Grafton, independently of the importance of the occaſion, was written unaſked, and received ſome of its moſt glowing colouring from a ſenſe of recent obligation: nothing can exceed the elegant, yet pointed manner in which Gray expreſſed himſelf on this occaſion. "I do not ſee why Gratitude ſhould ſit ſilent, and leave it to Expectation to ſing †."

Pindar ‡, Horace, and afterwards poor Dryden, were extravagant admirers of greatneſs. But Maſon, and more particularly Gray, carried their ſpirit the oppoſite way, and, in the judgment of many, to a degree of faſtidiouſneſs and affectation: they only not deſpiſed artificial greatneſs; and, indeed, on moſt occaſions Gray, as may be ſeen throughout his memoirs, takes opportunity of ſneering at it.

Beneath the GOOD how far, but far above the GREAT.
GRAY'S PROGRESS OF POESY.

This pride of language, however, (for in Gray more particularly it muſt be called by this name) aroſe rather from a conſciouſneſs of talents, than a well-principled and philoſophical diſlike of hereditary rank. "I love men of diſtinction," ſays Gray, ſpeaking of Cartiſmandua's ſons, in Caractacus: "they were men before, whom nobody knew; one could not have made them a bow, if one had met them at a public place §!" But ſuperior minds ſometimes throw out important truths, when they are little aware of it.

In 1756 our author publiſhed four odes, all of them excellent. It would be difficult to ſay which is moſt to be admired, whether the ſtructure of the verſe, the vividneſs of the conception, or the ſpirit of liberty and the ardent love of independence throughout. The addreſs to Milton, in his Ode to Memory,

* Maſon's Works, Vol. III. p. 9.
† Gray's Memoirs.
‡ Pind. Od. Ol. 1. Sub fin.
§ Ibid. p. 252.

and to Andrew Marvel, in that to Independence, cannot be too much admired. In his fine lines on Melancholy, his fondneſs for alliteration is too obſervable.

Theſe and other odes of Maſon's, together with Gray's, gave birth to two odes to Obſcurity and Oblivion, written by Colman and Lloyd, as parodies on Gray's and Maſon's. Dr. Anderſon*, ever ready to beſtow on each poet his appropriate praiſe, juſtly calls them admirable parodies; and even Gray could not but acknowledge their humour. "He (Colman) makes tolerable fun enough where I underſtand him, which is not always."

But what Lloyd over his bottle might think obſcure, men in their ſober ſenſes have thought ſublime and luminous:—nor have Johnſon's criticiſms deſtroyed their reputation †.

In ſpeaking, however, thus of Lloyd, "I by no means would be thought to underrate his wit, or to ſet at nought his critica diſcernment. He poſſeſſed much of both, and all poet laureats, profeſſors of poetry, and young bards, from both our univerſities, though at the very top of Parnaſſus, may receive much inſtruction, as the town has entertainment, from his "poetry profeſſors ‡." Even Gray and Maſon might have been taught from it to drop ſome of their bloſſoms, or more properly their ſchool-boy and univerſity prejudices. But it is time to return to Aſton.

The vicarage of Aſton was peculiarly agreeable to our poet. It brought him to reſide in his native county, and placed him in a genteel independence; it, moreover, found him employment agreeable to his diſpoſition. He was fond of the paſtoral office, and, as a preacher, generally admired: among his pariſhioners he was much eſteemed; and, though he diſplayed a ſufficient degree of elegance and hoſpitality among his more intimate friends, he overlooked not the poor. When appointed precentor of York, he compoſed a book on church muſic, which was of uſe alſo to his pariſhioners, whom he preſented with an organ. In ſhort, as a country clergyman he maintained a very reſpectable character.

* Life of Lloyd, in the Lives of the Engliſh Poets, by Dr. Anderſon, Vol. X.

† See Johnſon's Life of Gray. The critic ſtudies throughout to ſink the character of the poet; ſome of his criticiſms, however, are accurate, but mixed with perſonal diſlikes and jealouſies.

‡ His works complete are in Dr. Anderſon's edition of the Engliſh Poets.

That

That he was a believer in Chriſtianity cannot be doubted, whatever may be ſaid of Gray. His poems, however, never manifeſt the violence of a bigot, or the wrangler for metaphyſical niceties; a circumſtance which, poetically conſidered, ſhew the ſolidity of his judgment; for ſuch a ſpirit gives littleneſs to poetry, though great poets have fallen into it.

This agreeable retreat was favourable to our author's genius for poetry, and his love of pictureſque ſcenery, on which, from his early youth, he was accuſtomed to exerciſe his imagination. This love, at length, diſplayed itſelf at large in his Engliſh Garland, and was the foundation of his long and laſting friendſhip with Gilpin *.

Our author was fortunate in his matrimonial connexion; truly fortunate, if perſonal charms and moral excellence could have rendered him ſo; but truly unfortunate, in being deprived of them ſo immaturely. He was married, in 1765, to a moſt amiable woman, whoſe health was but indifferent at the time of their marriage; ſhe fell at length into a rapid conſumption, when Maſon went with her to the laſt retreat of hopeleſs decline, Briſtol hotwells, where ſhe died in 1767. Gray's letter to Maſon, while at that place, is full of eloquence; upon which the latter obſerves, "I opened it almoſt at the preciſe moment when it would be neceſſarily moſt affecting." Our poet wrote on the occaſion the firſt and the moſt affecting of his ſonnets †.

We muſt now ſpeak a word or two concerning his two dramatic works, Elfrida and Caractacus.

It may perhaps be agreeable to the reader to receive Maſon's own account of his object in the dramas, as explained in a letter to a friend.

"Had I intended to give an *exact copy* of the ancient drama, your objections to the preſent poem would be unanſwerable. But my deſign was much leſs confined: I meant only to purſue the ancient method, ſo far as it is probable a Greek poet, were he alive, would now do, in order to adapt himſelf to the genius

* Author of the Eſſay on Pictureſque Beauty, Obſervations on the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Weſtmoreland, &c.

† Maſon's Works, Vol. i. p. 65.

of our times, and the character of our tragedy. According to this notion, every thing was to be allowed to the preſent taſte, which nature and Ariſtotle could poſſibly diſpenſe with; and nothing of intrigue or refinement was to be admitted, at which ancient judgment could reaſonably take offence. Good ſenſe, as well as antiquity, preſcribed an adherence to the three great unities; theſe, therefore, were ſtrictly obſerved. But, on the other hand, to follow the modern maſters in thoſe reſpects, wherein they had not ſo faintly deviated from their predeceſſors, a ſtory was choſen, in which the tender, rather than the noble paſſions, were predominant, and in which love had the principal ſhare*."

This is the character of Elfrida; the obſervation will alſo apply to Caractacus; except, that the principal character of the latter is heroic.

It appears, then, that Maſon's ambition was to ſteer between the irregularity of Shakeſpeare, and the claſſical ſeverity of Milton. The former, not more from a conſciouſneſs of his mighty genius, than a deſire to humour the falſe taſte of the age, broke through all the ancient rules; the latter was not inferior to Shakeſpeare in talent, but diſdained the lawleſs practice of his own times. Too proud to court fame, he left her to follow at her own leiſure: I allude to his conduct in his admirable drama†, formed, without any conceſſion to Engliſh cuſtom, on the ſtrict laws of Ariſtotle.

Of theſe two dramas, the former gained the greateſt ſhare of public applauſe; but the latter, and it ſhould ſeem juſtly, the greateſt approbation from ingenious criticiſm: for public admiration, and the truth of criticiſm, are not always the ſame, though they are apt to be confounded.

Theſe poems have eſtabliſhed the character of Maſon as a poet, beyond any other; the principal object of both was to make an experiment, how far the irregularity and intrigue, too obſerv-

* Letter I. on Elfrida, in Maſon's Works, Vol. i. p. 273.

† Samſon Agoniſtes.

able

able on the Engliſh ſtage, might be remedied by the introduction of the chorus, ſo eſſential a part of the Greek drama.

"You may ſay what you will," ſaid Gray, "but the contrivance, the manners, the intereſts, the paſſions, and the expreſſion, go beyond the dramatic part of your Elfrida, *many, many leagues*. I even ſay, though you will think me a bad judge of this, that the world will think it better *."—But that faſtidious critic was miſtaken.

On another occaſion, ſpeaking of theſe two plays, Gray obſerves, "Caractacus is the work of a man; whereas Elfrida is that of a boy: a promiſing boy, indeed, and of no common genius; yet this is the popular performance, and the other little known in compariſon."

Maſon's ſucceſs, however, with both his dramatic poems was beyond his moſt ſanguine expectation. They are his firſt attempts at blank verſe before the public, except a few lines on Muſæus, and are correct, harmonious, energetic, abounding frequently with double endings, like our other dramatic writings; not ſo mellifluous as Milton's, nor ſo negligently conſtructed as Shakeſpeare's; of a character ſomewhat between both, and ſometimes coming ſo near each, as ſtrongly to reſemble their principal excellencies. Elfrida was ſet to muſic by Dr. Arne, and performed with great applauſe at Covent-Garden theatre, and in 1779 was prepared again for the ſtage, with new muſic by Giardini; in 1776 Caractacus was adapted to muſic.

The plots of theſe dramas are well-conducted, the incidents ſtriking; and, though they are profeſſedly written on the Greek model, the eye is never ſhocked with thoſe diſguſting repreſentations that were allowed on the Greek ſtage. At the ſame time, the author never falls into thoſe conceits, and what Voltaire calls *theatrical indecencies* †, which had been ſo frequently introduced into the Engliſh tragedy.

With reſpect to the introduction of a chorus, the diſtinguiſhing feature of theſe dramatic poems, various objections have been advanced; and we have been told it ſuits but ill with the

* Memoirs of Gray, p. 251.

† Voltaire's Critical Eſſays on Dramatic Poetry.

Engliſh ſtage: the author of the Poeticals Prælections *, and even the ingenious Voltaire, the great admirer of the ſimplicity of the Greek tragedy, agree to diſclaim it. One excellence, however, without going farther, the Greek drama poſſeſſed in the uſe of their chorus, which has not been ſupplied by modern art. Biſhop Hurd judiciouſly obſerves, "the importance of the office of the chorus, to the *utility* of the repreſentation, is ſo great, that, in a *moral* view, nothing can compenſate for the deficiency †."

To this obſervation alſo ſhould be added Gray's: "I am ſtruck with the chorus, who are not there merely to ſing and dance, but bear throughout a principal part in the action, and have (beſide the *coſtume*, which is excellent) as much a character of their own, as any other perſon."

Gray is here ſpeaking in reference to Ariſtotle's rule for the chorus, that it ſhould be a member of the dramatic compoſition, as in Sophocles, and not a ſtring of ſongs unconnected with the ſubject ‡, as it was in Agatha.

Another characteriſtic feature of theſe dramas is the excellence of their deſcriptions, which are ſometimes bold and glowing, yet ſimple, much in the manner of Shakeſpeare. The fabulous or mythological colouring alſo is natural, becauſe Britiſh, of a piece with the ſtories, and thrown into the mouth of proper dramatic perſonages. Gray and Maſon themſelves were aware of the neceſſity of preſerving this diſtinction here, though in other inſtances, in conformity to their claſſical taſte, and the coſtume of modern poets, going, however, faſt out of faſhion, they violated the principle.

Where the whole is ſo excellent, it will not be neceſſary to

* Prælectiones Poet. Auctore Joſepho Trapp, A. M.

† Ille bonis faveatque et concilietur amicis,
Et regat iratos, et amet peccare timentes.
Ille dapes laudet menſæ brevis, ille ſalubrem
Juſtitiam, legeſque, et apertis otia portis.

Hor. Ars Poet. 195.

See Biſhop Hurd's Notes to the Art of Poetry.

‡ Ariſtot. Περὶ Ποιητ. 18.

point

point out particular beauties. The pindaric ode in Elfrida, beginning

Say, will no white-rob'd ſon of light,
Swift darting from his heav'nly height, &c.

has been much admired. The ode in which the following ſtanza is contained, is truly ſublime: its ſublimity, however, does not proceed from Maſon's favourite conceit, the alliteration.

Hark! heard ye not yon footſtep dread,
That ſhook the earth with thundering tread?
'Twas death:—in haſte
The warrior paſt:—
High tower'd his helmed head:
I mark'd his mail; I mark'd his ſhield;
I ſpy'd the ſparkling of his ſpear;
I ſaw his giant arm the falchion wield;
Wide wav'd his bickering blade, and fir'd the angry air.

Gray uſes alliterations not ſo often as Maſon. Johnſon properly obſerves, "The critical reſemblances, or alliterations, are below the grandeur of a poem that aims at ſublimity *."

Two other dramatic pieces have been written by our author; the firſt a lyrical drama, in three acts, entitled Sappho; the latter, called Argentile and Curan, a legendary drama. The Sappho contains ſome good poetry, more eſpecially in the preliminary ſcene; and two or three very pretty ſongs. The ſcene lies in Sicily, and the ſtory is Grecian. Venus, Cupid, and a Naiad, therefore, are here very proper perſonages, not contrary to the rule

Denique ſit quidvis, ſimplex duntaxet & unum.

"Poſſeſſing ſimplicity of deſign, and a oneneſs of mythology."

* Johnſon's Life of Gray.—The alliterations I allude to, however, are not thoſe marked by Johnſon: for where they go not beyond two words, as

Ruin ſeize thee, ruthleſs king,

they are not ſo cenſurable as the following:—

As down the ſteep of Snowdon's ſhaggy ſide,——
Weave the warp, and weave the woof.——

The legendary tale, written on the old Engliſh model, poſſeſſes conſiderable merit, and deſerves to be better known.

The elegy (for an account is next to be given of his elegies) admits not the ſublimity, but requires ſomething of the elegance of the ode. Horace calls this meaſure *exiguus elegos*, ſlender elegies: it is well adapted to ſerious and melancholy ſubjects, but not excluſively. The cheerfulneſs of ſpring, the communicativeneſs of friendſhip, and the tenderneſs of love, move as agreeably in elegiac meaſure, as the horrors of death, or the querulouſneſs of diſappointment. The epiſtles of Ovid, no leſs than his Triſtium, are elegiac, and Tibullus and Catullus are called elegiac, no leſs in their ſportive, than in their ſerious moments.

Our author has written ſix poems, to which he affixes the name of elegy, ſome of a melancholy, all of a ſerious and moral caſt. The firſt, addreſſed to a young nobleman on leaving the univerſity, was written in 1753: the advice throughout is eloquent, and the cloſe of it more particularly weighty and ſententious. The ſecond elegy, in the garden of a friend, was written in 1758: the ſentiments in this are intereſting, the deſcriptions natural, the arrangement is agreeable, "the expreſſion," I here borrow Gray's words, "ſometimes too eaſy." This was written in the garden of an Engliſh friend, who might, therefore, fairly enough have aſked the poet who the lady and gentleman mentioned, or beings, more than mortals, are?

> How ſoon obedient *Flora* brought her ſtore,
> And o'er thy breaſt a ſhower of fragrance hung;
> *Vertumnus* came; his earlieſt blooms he bore,
> And thy r ch ſides with waving purple hung *.

The third is addreſſed to the preſent biſhop Hurd, then vicar of Thurcaſton in Leiceſterſhire, to whoſe critical judgment he had ſubmitted his poetical compoſitions: the introduction and ending of this ode are very excellent ſentiments. His fourth, written in 1760, on the death of lady Coventry, has been much admired; and, in point of novelty of deſign, elegance of

* Maſon's Works, Vol. I.

compoſition,

compoſition, and manly tenderneſs, may be conſidered as his *chef d'ouvre*.

For ſhe was fair beyond your brighteſt bloom,
(This envy owns, ſince now her bloom is fled),
Fair as the forms, that wove in Fancy's loom,
Float in light viſions round the poet's head.

The ſtructure of theſe lines is truly elegiac, and the ſentiment beautifully poetic, a fair ſpecimen of the whole. I muſt obſerve, however, though it is but noticing a ſpeck of dirt on a mirror, that this poem abounds too much with antitheſis, which does not agree with the ſolemn, dignified, and tender character of this elegy:

In life to laviſh, or in death to ſpare,
Or ſhades with horror what with ſmiles ſhould glow.

The elegy addreſſed to Miſs Pelham on the death of her father (I take theſe elegies in the order in which they ſtand, in the laſt edition of Maſon's works), was written in 1754, though not printed till the year 1796, on account of Mr. Garrick's ode on the ſame ſubject, which (I borrow Maſon's words) "got the ſtart of his; for a poem, whoſe merit reſted chiefly on pictureſque imagery, and what is termed pure or mere poetry, was not calculated to vie, in point of popularity, with what was written in a plainer and leſs figurative mode, and conveyed in a more familiar ſtyle and ſtanza." This elegy poſſeſſes conſiderable merit, but is in many degrees inferior to the preceding.

The laſt of his elegies was written in the year 1787, in a church-yard in South Wales, which, though it ſavours of old age, being ſomewhat prattling, tame, and disjointed, yet is it the old age of Maſon, and poſſeſſes conſiderable excellence: the principal feature in it is derived from the cuſtom in South Wales, of planting flowers and herbs on the graves of their relations and friends. It is well characterized, by a friend of Maſon's, thus:—"In the general church-yard (he alludes to Gray's elegy in a country church-yard) contemplation is more widely extended; in the other, particular concern is more nearly im-

preſſed. His verſes inſpire ſolemnity, which awes and arreſts the mind. Yours breathe a tenderneſs, which ſoftens and attracts the heart. There are ſtanzas, in Gray's elegy, of what I venture to call ſublime melancholy; in yours of extreme ſenſibility."

It ſhould be juſt obſerved of this elegy, that ſome of the endings of the lines, where the principal ſtrength ſhould reſt, are, ſometimes, by the dactylic termination, weakened; and that the four laſt lines, where the principal weight of the moral reflections ſhould have reſted, are too antithetical, and even epigrammatic, a turn for ſo ſenſible a poem.

Unfeeling Wit may ſcorn, and Pride may frown,
Yet Fancy, empreſs of the realms of ſong,
Shall bleſs the decent mode, and Reaſon own,
It may be right:—for who can prove them wrong?

Our author has written many ſhorter pieces at different periods, and on different occaſions, in a ſpirit ſomewhat ſimilar to that diſplayed in his elegies: ſuch as ſonnets, epitaphs, inſcriptions, &c. But we ſhall not detain the reader by entering on an examination of them.

July 1771 was an era the moſt diſtreſſing in the life of our author. In 1770 he was viſited at Aſton by Gray, for the laſt time. The health of the latter was then precarious. He returned to Pembroke-hall, whence his laſt letter to Maſon is dated, written at the end of May 1771, when he removed to London. He returned thence to college, where this fine genius paid the debt of nature. He died of a gout in the ſtomach. Thus was Maſon deprived of his guide, philoſopher, and friend.

When Maſon received this ſad intelligence he was at a diſtance from the direct poſt, on the eaſtern ſide of Yorkſhire. He haſtened to Cambridge; but did not arrive there till the corpſe had been interred. The funeral obſequies had been performed under the direction of Dr. Brown, maſter of Pembroke-hall; but Maſon united in the performance of the other truſts, having

having been made joint executor with the doctor. The following epitaph was written by Maſon, and inſcribed on a monument in Weſtminſter Abbey, erected at the joint expence of Dr. Brown, Richard Stonehewer, auditor of the exchequer, and our author;

No more the Grecian muſe unrivall'd reigns;
To Britain let the nations homage pay;
She felt a Homer's fire in Milton's ſtrains,
A Pindar's rapture in the lyre of Gray.

We have already noticed our author's early attachment to the ART OF PAINTING: this is conſpicuous throughout his writings, but more particularly in his tranſlation of that admirable work, Du Freſnoy's Art of Painting; a work with which no painter or poet ſhould be unacquainted.

The poem being preceptive, is to be conſidered, like Horace's Art of Poetry, more as a diſplay of rules, than an attempt at poetic excellence. The tranſlation alſo muſt, in like manner, be taken with theſe grains of allowance:

Non mihi Pieridum chorus hic, nec Apollo vocandus,
Majus ut eloquium numeris, aut Gratia fandi
Dogmaticis illuſtret opus rationibus horrens;
Cum nitida tantum & facili digeſta loquela,
Ornari præcepta negent, contenta doceri *.

Notwithſtanding this declaration, ſome parts poſſeſs great ſpirit and elegant poetry. The following is an example of this kind. Du Freſnoy is ſpeaking concerning the gothic ignorance of the barbarous ages:

Queis ubi bella, famem, et peſtem, diſcordia, Luxus,
Et Romanorum Res grandior intulit orbi,
Ingenuæ periere artes, periere ſuperbæ
Artificum moles; ſua tunc miracula vidit
Ignibus abſumi Pictura; latere coacta
Fornicibus, ſortem et reliquam conſidere Cryptis;
Marmoribus que diu Sculptura jacere ſepultis.

* De Arte Graphica, V. 25.

Maſon's

Maſon's tranſlation ranks not among his firſt works; as a whole, the poem itſelf is truly excellent.

There is one principle contained in it which it would be hazardous, perhaps, to controvert. It has obtained the ſanction of the venerable critics, and the ſublimeſt poets of antiquity; and of courſe is received as ſacred truth by many moderns.—It is this:

Iſta labore gravi, Studio monitiſque Magiſtri
Ardua pars nequit addiſci rariſſima: namque,
Ni prius æthereo rapuit quod ab axe Prometheus
Sit jubar, infuſum menti cum flamine vitæ,
Mortali haud cuivis divina hæc munera dantur:
Non uti Dædaleam licet omnibus ire Corinthum.

This belief may, perhaps, have urged ſome ſublime geniuſes to take great and ſucceſsful flights; but even they have occaſionally been led by it, to borrow Johnſon's expreſſion, "to phantaſtic fopperies." And it has too often led others, who have not drank ſo deep at the Caſtalian ſpring, to ridiculous conceits and hazardous experiments.

Some clerks, fore-doom'd their fathers' ſouls to croſs,
Who pen a ſtanza, when they ſhould engroſs *.

Maſon's tranſlation is rendered valuable by excellent notes, written by ſir Joſhua Reynolds, with whom Maſon was intimately acquainted. Dryden has alſo given an excellent paraphraſtic proſe tranſlation of the ſame poem, with notes ſubjoined †.

But the Engliſh Garden is the poem on which Maſon more particularly prided himſelf; and it is unqueſtionably an excellent performance. It is of the didactic form; written in blank verſe; and, like the Georgics of Virgil, of which it is a profeſſed

* Pope's Prologue to his Satires.

† Art of Painting by C. A. Du Freſnoy, with Remarks; tranſlated into Engliſh, with an original preface, containing a parallel between painting and poetry, by Mr. Dryden.

imitation,

imitation, contained in four books; begun in 1767, a little after the death of Mrs. Maſon.

——————To ſoothe
That agony of heart which they alone
Who beſt have lov'd, who beſt have been belov'd,
Can feel or pity——————*

The deſign of the Engliſh Garden is to apply "the rules of imitative art to real nature †;" and, by proper ſelections, and agreeable combinations, in the relative poſition of hedges, buildings, trees, and water; by an accurate arrangement of lands, in reference to hills, vallies, and the like, to produce beautiful and picturesque ſcenery; an art but little known in Greece and Rome, and in which the Engliſh have ſurpaſſed all modern nations. Hence the title, The Engliſh Garden.

In this poem, in oppoſition to the falſe taſte of our fore-fathers, "the dull uniformity" of viſtas, "the contrivance quaint" of Chineſe gardens, and the laboured littleneſs of taſteleſs wealth, our author propoſes to tranſplant from art to nature, proceeding on the principles of painting:

——————The contraſts broad,
The careleſs lines, whoſe undulating forms
Play through the varied canvas——————‡.

The principles are ingeniouſly and poetically laid down in the firſt book; the other three deliver precepts for the application of them. The different parts were written and publiſhed at different periods, but are now thrown together, and form an agreeable whole.

Some of the principles of the firſt book, however, have been thought by ſome critics, enemies to the improvements of Brown, to incline too much to this ſyſtem. Of this number more particularly is the author of an Eſſay on the Picturesque §.

* Maſon's Works, Vol. II. p. 2.
† Dr. Burgh's Commentaries on the Engliſh Garden.
‡ Engliſh Garden. § Mr. Price.

The

The author differs in his definition of picturesque from Gilpin * and Mason, though he does not mention the name of the latter. But Brown he attacks without reserve. After noticing the distinction between the painter and improver, and maintaining the principles of both arts to be the same, he proceeds to shew, that Brown's system of improving is at variance with both. But we must not enter into the merits of the dispute, nor pursue such nice discriminations.

Mason seems to have been not a little mortified by this writer, and has expressed his indignation in two sonnets †, in which he also includes Knight ‡. The latter writer he addresses also in a distinct piece of the same species of composition.

The lines addressed to a gravel walk are very pretty, but the sonnet is ill adapted to express the angry passions; and Mason has shewn more zeal than judgment, in attacking a history of well-authenticated facts §.

After the plan of the Mantuan poet, of whose Georgics, as before observed, the English Garden is a professed imitation, and to relieve from the monotony of precept, Mason diversifies the style of his work in the fourth book, and forms it into an entire story. In the management of it, however, if an opinion may be ventured, he shews less judgment than the Roman poet, in proportion to the length of the story. In Virgil ||, the history of Aristæus and Orpheus is not continued too long, and indeed forms a most interesting and expressive kind of epilogue. In Mason, the didactic form of his poem is lost sight of too long. The story of Nerena and Alcander

* Essay on Picturesque, chap. 3. and Appendix. The term *Picturesque beauty* Price rejects as improper, and considers the picturesque and beautiful as distinct terms, like rough and smooth.

† Sonnet 9, occasioned by a late attack on the present taste of English gardens, and Ode 10, to a gravel walk.

‡ Author of a didactic poem on the progress of civil society, and of the landscape.

§ The facts contained in this history are uniformly confirmed by a work less obnoxious to public prejudice. See Maurice's Indian Antiquities, Vol. vi.

|| Georg. Lib. iv.

embraces

embraces a whole book; and the length and intereſt of the dialogue give it too much the form of the drama.

His other poems, that have not yet been mentioned, muſt barely be noticed; for we have already exceeded our bounds: An Ode to the Naval Officers of Great Britain; a Secular Ode for 1788, and one or two others, with ſeveral ſonnets already alluded to, of different degrees of merit; three of which are addreſſed to his friend biſhop Hurd; The Birth of Faſhion, and Protogenes and Apelles, deſerve diſtinct mention; but we muſt not proceed; for we muſt make an obſervation or two on our author's political character.

It has been already obſerved, that his writings have a ſtrong bias towards the principles of liberty. It ſhould be farther obſerved, that he uniformly avowed himſelf a Whig, and, by his public conduct, no leſs than by his private declarations, acted from thoſe principles. He firſt made his appearance on public buſineſs when the important queſtion concerning the Middleſex election was agitated; the deciſion on which he conceived to be a great violation of the rights of the people. He therefore united with thoſe independent freeholders, who, by declarations and petitions throughout the nation, oppoſed corruption, and claimed a reform of parliament. When the county of York aſſembled in 1779, he was of the committee, and had a great ſhare in drawing up thoſe ſpirited reſolutions which were adopted by the other aſſociated bodies. The animated vindication of the conduct of the freeholders, and various other papers, though printed anonymouſly in the newſpapers, and ſo printed in Mr. Wyvill's collection of political tracts, are well known to be Maſon's production*. He is ſaid to have been concerned in the paper called the "Yorkſhire Freeholder," in which king Stephen's Watch is ſaid to be his compoſition.

This conduct rendered him obnoxious to the court-party, who charged him even with maintaining his principles with violence. He was at this time one of the king's chaplains, but, when it became his turn to preach before the royal family, the queen appointed another perſon to ſupply his place. Maſon told lord

* See Wyvill's Political Tracts in three volumes.

Oxford,

Orford, when the ſubſtitute began the ſervice, that he ſtarted at the ſame time. Which got the better was not mentioned; Maſon, however, reſigned the chaplainſhip.

Of late years, however, his language was changed. He took a decided part in oppoſing Mr. Fox's India bill in 1785, and was probably the cauſe of Lord Holderneſs's zealous oppoſition. He even wrote to lord Orford, telling him that every one ought to ſupport the king on this occaſion, and ſtrongly ſolicited him to uſe all his influence againſt the bill. From that time "lord Holderneſs became a dangler at court, and lady Holderneſs was appointed lady of the bed-chamber to the queen; and Maſon himſelf, as lord Orford expreſſed it, became a *kind of courtier*."

His ſentiments may indeed be collected from his poems, which in the latter period of his life take a colour leſs favourable to liberty. Whether alarmed at the march of the French revolution, and apprehenſive of its principles in this country; whether influenced by the timidity of age, or the ſecret influence of friendſhip; or whether (a paſſion that frequently ſways men of genius) from a deſire of keeping fair with the reigning party, and of being ſpoken of more honourably among the Britiſh poets, I undertake not to determine; whatever the cauſe, in his latter days he lowered his high tone, left the cauſe of reform to ſhift for itſelf, and the reformers of England to complain of his inconſiſtency, telling one of the moſt conſiſtent among them, "that if he perſevered they muſt entirely ſeparate."

I am ſorry to add, that Maſon even diſcovered a degree of violence in oppoſition to his former friends, and that his note concerning Charles Fox, ſubjoined to his addreſs to William Pitt*, argues great illiberality. As to the ode itſelf, the two firſt ſtanzas paſſeſs a fine vein of deſcription, and much poetical ſpirit; the four remaining ſtanzas are made up from two fine odes of Gray's:

* Ode viii. written in 1782, Vol. iii.—In the former edition the laſt verſe reads,

Be thine the Muſe's wreath; be thou the People's Friend.

Which in the laſt edition reads,

To claim thy Sovereign's Love, be thou thy Country's Friend.

For which alteration Maſon aſſigns a contemptible reaſon.

they

they have no claim to originality, and are entitled to but moderate commendation. His Palinodia, written March 1794, and printed for the firſt time in the laſt edition of his works, breathes a ſimilar ſpirit; though the writer ſtrongly contends for his own conſiſtency*.

Lord Orford, indeed, obſerves, "I do think that Maſon changed his ſentiments from a ſilly hope of ſeeing his favourite ſcheme of parliamentary reform proſper in Mr. Pitt's hands, but which that giddy boy afterwards ſo notoriouſly juggled.—I muſt nevertheleſs regard the change as flat apoſtaſy, for Pitt was then acting in formal oppoſition to the conſtitution of his country, being the only miniſter who ever withſtood the houſe of commons."

Be this as it may, the cauſe of reform is the cauſe of human improvement, and will work its own way, whatever becomes of timid poets and ſhort-ſighted politicians: truth ſtands on a ſolid baſis, and courts the patronage of none; ſhe has found, and will continue to find, ſteady and conſtant advocates among the moſt enlightened ſtateſmen, the profoundeſt philoſophers, the ſublimeſt poets, the firſt, the brighteſt ornaments of their ſpecies. If poets weighed more than other men, and truth ſtood in need of ſupporters, Milton might be called in:

> ——————— Overply'd
> In Liberty's defence, his noble taſk,
> Whereof all Europe rings from ſide to ſide.

Concerning the theological character of Maſon, what has already been ſaid muſt ſuffice. Theſe memoirs have been confined almoſt excluſively to his poetic capacity, as well to give an air of variety to the Necrology (Maſon being the only poet contained in it), and to throw a few hints to the votaries of poeſy, as to leave almoſt untouched that part of his character to his private friends, perſons better qualified properly to exhibit it. His life is to be written by a reſpectable friend, and a volume of his ſermons to be made public.

While ſpeaking, however, of his theological character, I am conſtrained to obſerve (and of one who diſplays in his poetical

* See his Palinodia, Vol. iii. p. 44.

writings an amiable and liberal ſpirit, I am ſorry to obſerve it,) that he was not a little tinctured with bigotry, if not with intolerance, as well againſt the Methodiſts, as againſt Socinians and unbelievers: and this obſervation is not made raſhly, but after ſerious inquiry, and of perſons who have been in habits of cloſe intimacy and friendſhip with him. We muſt then conſider Maſon in his twofold character, as a poet and as a clergyman. In poetry, illiberality is inelegance, but is not always conſidered as ſuch in theology. From the height of the pulpit, the head is apt to turn giddy; men begin to dictate and domineer, and are led to conſider their creed, taken up frequently after little examination, and with ſlender knowledge, as a ſtandard for the whole world.

Maſon wore his faculties well, lived to a good old age, and produced his annual ſonnet to the laſt; and died, at length, not of old age or diſeaſe, but overtaken by an accident. While getting into his carriage, his foot ſlipped and received a bruiſe; he took no notice of it for ſeveral days, but on the 3d of April a mortification enſued, which in forty-eight hours put a period to his life, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age. The character with which he ought to be handed down to poſterity, is that of a man virtuous in his morals, amiable in his manners, and ornamental in the republic of letters; but, as a divine, deſtitute neither of bigotry nor prudence.

It muſt appear to candour, that ſome pains have been here taken to do juſtice to his ſuperior merit. There are few, perhaps, who place Maſon in the firſt rank of poets, ſome queſtion his claim to original genius; but without inquiring into the character of original genius, or denying, for brevity's ſake, that any ſuch thing exiſts, I ſuppoſe it not diſputable, whether Maſon poſſeſſed great poetical powers, or highly cultivated them. His taſte was not ſo exact, his rhyme ſo melodious, nor his learning ſo extenſive as Gray's; but he ſelected greater variety, and, as a writer, was more perſevering. He has excellencies enough to delight us: but let us not admire what is unnatural, or be pleaſed with puerilities; nor let us take up after him what he himſelf ſhould have left behind him at ſchool, or at college.

Green-haired water-nymphs*, ſilver-ſlippered Thetis †, Daughter of Jove ‡, Venus' train §, nereids, and dryads, and fawns, with all the other claſſical perſonages, are properly aſſociated in the myſtical Imitations of Orpheus, the Hymns of Callimachus, or the Odes of Pindar and Horace. A believer alſo in the ancient mythology may call in their aſſiſtance, and addreſs his hymn to Venus, to Cupid, to Neptune: further ſtill, if the ſcene be dramatic, and the ground itſelf claſſical, Cytherea may be ſet a dancing, the graces may pay their homage, and roſy-crowned Cupids glance their many-twinkling feet ‖. But when Chriſtian or deiſtical ** poets, in moſt ſerious mood, invoke ſuch celeſtials, can we be ſurpriſed at theſe queſtions being put: Who are the green-haired nymphs with drooping heads? Why is a goddeſs of Cyprus introduced on Engliſh plains? And where is the lady with the ſilver ſlipper? If to pleaſe be the great object of poetry, let nature be purſued through all her agreeable varieties. If to imitate be the very eſſence of poetry, let character, paſſion, manners, be imitated ††; let the aſſiſtance of fancy be called, and invention be ſkilfully directed. But the poet ſhould ſtudy proportion in his very fictions, and, when making excurſions in the regions of fancy, be cautious how he proceeds, and know where to ſtop. He ſhould be aware of being unneceſſarily obſcure, unnaturally oſtentatious; and cautious leſt, inſtead of enriching his country with ideas luminous, varied, and original, he ſhould introduce frivolous conceits, and claſſical monotonies; he ought to follow the truth of imitation, and not become an imitator of imitators.

Nothing here inſinuated on imitation, intends to oppoſe what the great writer, and many others after him, on the ſublime §§

* Maſon's Ode to a Water Nymph, Vol. i. † Ode to Muſæus, Vol. ii.

‡ Gray's Ode to Adverſity. § Gray's Ode to Spring.

‖ The fine Ode on the Progreſs of Poetry, is, in ſome ſort, dramatic, and therefore leſs objectionable, on account of its machinery.

** Lord Orford was ſaid to be a deiſt. See Walpoliana, in the Monthly Mag. for Oct. 1798.

†† Ariſtot. Poet. Cap. i. 2—14.

§§ Longinus de Sublimitate, Sect. xiii.

ſay on the ſame ſubject; on the contrary, it ſuppoſes it all true. The poet may place before his eyes his illuſtrious predeceſſors, the moſt diſtinguiſhed poets. He may be borne along as it were by their enthuſiaſm, and rival, if he can, their greateſt excellencies; he may aſk how Homer would expreſs the ſame ſentiments, or how he would approve the ſentiment or idea, as repreſented by himſelf. One poet may, in ſhort, imitate the manner of a great predeceſſor, but not copy his words, or borrow his fable. Homer muſt have condemned the practice here alluded to, if Longinus's rules of imitation are admitted.

Ancient mythology, and indeed every aſſociation, whether ancient or modern, may enliven and enrich poetry, but this muſt be in the way of illuſtration, or alluſion, not of appropriation. In proceeding further, the poet goes into regions foreign to nature. There is a way in which ancient mythology (and indeed every aſſociation in nature, whether ancient or modern) may enliven and enrich poetry, which is in the way of illuſtration or alluſion, but not of appropriation. If, indeed, the ſcene lies on claſſic ground, the machinery ſhould be ſo alſo claſſical. In like manner, if the poet, or the actor, be a believer in ancient mythology, whether poetically or religiouſly, it may be fairly appropriated. In proceeding further, he goes into regions foreign to nature, unſupported by any rule of criticiſm; and here Maſon is often found, and ſometimes Gray.

Some poets may, perhaps, think that theſe obſervations go to ſtrip poetry of its moſt beautiful ornaments. By no means; it goes to enrich it.

I cloſe with an obſervation of Gray's. "But the objects I ſpeak of to compenſate (and more than compenſate) that unavoidable poverty, have one great advantage, when they fall into good hands. They leave an unbounded liberty to pure imagination, and fiction (our favourite province), where no critic can moleſt, and no antiquary gainſay us. And yet (to pleaſe me) theſe fictions muſt have ſome affinity, ſome ſeeming connexion with that little we really know of the characters and cuſtoms of the people*."

* Gray's Memoirs, p. 259.

The

The above remark will go further than this unrivalled Engliſh lyriſt intends, and it is admirable as far as it goes.

——————— Pictoribus atque poetis
Quidlibet audendi ſemper fuit æqua poteſtas.
Scimus, et hanc veniam petimuſque damuſq. viciſſim:
Sed non ut placidis coeant immitia, non ut
Serpentes avibus geminenter, tigribus agni.

COLONEL FREDERICK.

If it be true, as was once ſhrewdly obſerved by an admirable judge, that the life of any man, provided it were written by himſelf, would furniſh intereſting materials for biography, this remark muſt apply with double force to one who had viſited all the nations of Europe, become acquainted with their languages and manners, and poſſeſſed at once the means and the capacity of acquiring information.

Perhaps the adventures of few of his contemporaries would afford a greater variety of entertainment, or exhibit a longer or more diſaſtrous ſeries of misfortunes, than thoſe of the late colonel Frederick, had they been faithfully committed to paper by his own hand, or entruſted to the pen of a man of talents. But as neither of theſe events has occurred, all that now remains is to glean a few ſcanty particulars, reſpecting a man who reſided upwards of forty years in London; whoſe figure was familiar to thouſands; whoſe company was courted by many; and whoſe misfortunes, during the latter portion of his exiſtence, were but too well known to the world:—for it would be in vain to deny that the early part of his life is involved in inexplicable myſtery, and that few are acquainted with any of the particulars of it *.

Were

* The following paper has been tranſmitted to the Editor, and he deems it his duty to publiſh it here, as it throws ſome faint light on this ſubject.

"Colonel Frederick, whoſe melancholy fate has engaged the attention of the

Were it permitted to one long acquainted with his perſon to gueſs as to the period of his birth, he would be inclined to fix it

public, was the only ſon of the unfortunate baron Neuhoff, afterwards better known to the world as Theodore king of Corſica. Frederick followed the fortunes of his father, when the former was obliged to abandon a crown with which he was inveſted by the free conſent of the people. They took refuge in England, and Frederick remained with his father during the whole of his reſidence in this country, and principally contributed to ſupport him while the Corſican king was confined for debt in an Engliſh priſon.

"He was afterwards patroniſed by the late duke of Wirtemberg, to whom he was diſtantly related; and he was allowed a penſion from the court of Wirtemberg till the duke's death. Before he threw himſelf wholly on the patronage of the duke of Wirtemberg, he lived at the court of Berlin as a kind of reading ſecretary to the late king of Pruſſia; but not being treated with the kindneſs he had reaſon to expect, he attached himſelf to the duke. When he aſked his majeſty's permiſſion to enter into the ſervice of the duke of W. the king made a faint attempt to retain him; but, finding that he was reſolved, he haughtily ſaid, "Well, it is right that one beggar ſhould live with another."

"The colonel, if we are right in our recollection of his own ſtory, married a maid of honour to the great Maria-Thereſa empreſs of Germany. Frederick had made application to the court of Vienna for ſome employment through the medium of a recommendation to this lady, who was ſo ſtruck by his perſon, manners, and good ſenſe, that, as ſhe afterwards acknowledged, ſhe had purpoſely delayed to urge his application, in order to prolong his attendance, and have more frequent interviews with him. At length they married: but the union did not tend to advance his intereſt; on the contrary, it ſeemed likely to overwhelm him with the cares of a family. The lady did not long partake of his misfortunes, but died ſoon after having produced a ſon and a daughter. The ſon was killed in America as he was gallantly fighting in the ſervice of this country. He was a very handſome and intelligent youth. The daughter is ſtill alive; and is the heireſs of nothing but the misfortunes of her family. She has been married many years, and is now in very untoward circumſtances with three daughters to ſupport. The daughters are very fine and accompliſhed young women; and one of them is ſaid to poſſeſs literary talents of no inferior order."

Here follows the tranſlation of a ſhort account of colonel Frederick, drawn up by himſelf, in his "Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire de Corze:"

"Genoa prevailed. Theodore loſt his own liberty, becauſe he had endeavoured to defend that of the Corſicans. He was confined for a long time in a diſgraceful priſon, where he ſuffered a thouſand humiliations without a ſingle murmur. He knew how uſeleſs it was to complain, and was conſcious of the neceſſity of ſubmitting to his fate. Deprived of his ſceptre, fortune, and friends, his ſole reſource was in Providence, and the tender pity of his ſon, who repaired to England on purpoſe to accompany him to Corſica, whither Theodore flattered himſelf to be able to return once more, and that too through the aſſiſtance of Great Britain.

"This

it at between 1727 and 1730*; for, notwithſtanding his hale appearance, muſcular figure, and firm tread, he muſt have been nearly ſeventy at the time of his demiſe. So well, indeed, did

" This ſon, like himſelf, was entirely deſtitute of the gifts of fortune, and he was but ill adapted for the acquiſition of wealth, as his temper was little ſuited to the frivolity of an age avaricious of pleaſure, and anxious for the attainment of riches and honours, even on the moſt diſhonourable terms. Avoiding feſtivals, and public entertainments of all kinds, he was modeſt in his manners, ſimple in his dreſs, tenacious of his words, reſerved and cloſe in his mode of life; in ſhort, he retired as it were within himſelf, in order to live with that virtue of which he ſcorned to make a parade. He was accuſtomed to ſay, " That it was proper to know, but not expedient to tell, every thing." *Omnia ſcire, non omnia exequi*, was his favourite maxim. Aſpiring to independence, he was incapable of ſacrificing at the ſhrine of ſervility, or of purchaſing favour by offering up incenſe to the ridiculous vanity of grandeur and opulence. He paid his court only to merit, and was buſied ſolely in perfecting himſelf in the duties of a man, and in rendering himſelf worthy of eſteem, leaving to others the taſk of doing him juſtice.

" He honoured letters, and conſecrated his life to them. He even became an author, and endeavoured to gain a livelihood by his pen during his diſtreſs; he alſo taught the Latin, Italian, and Spaniſh languages, that he might be enabled to maintain his own children, and ſuccour his unfortunate father.

" If he did not haughtily brave his deſtiny, he at leaſt ſupported it with courage and firmneſs. He was never heard to blame Providence, to execrate mankind, or attribute to them his neceſſities and misfortunes. For whatever wrongs he might have experienced at their hands, he never permitted hatred to enter into his breaſt, knowing the difficulty of eradicating it, after it had once got poſſeſſion. In fine, he ſubmitted himſelf to his fate with perfect reſignation, for his heart was always obedient to the decrees of heaven; and in order the more fully to teſtify his ſubmiſſion, and accommodate himſelf to his deſtiny, he abjured the tinſel of titles, and aſſumed only his baptiſmal, which he converted into a family name. He then, alſo, endeavoured to obviate that ſcorn to which nobility, when deprived of wealth, is always expoſed; and it was on the ſame account he decked himſelf only in his own natural qualities, which were the ſole patrimony, that neither the fury of fortune nor the malice of mankind could diveſt him of."

* His family, with better opportunities of information, ſay he was born in 1725, which makes him 72 years of age at the time of his death; and this is not at all unlikely, as he lived a temperate life, and avoided every exceſs. Indeed he himſelf ſeems expreſsly to aſſert this in his Memoirs:—

" Enſuite il (le baron de Neuhoff) épouſa lady Sarsfield, fille de lord Kilmalock, & demoiſelle d'honneur de la reine. Le baron conçut d'abord des grands eſperances de cette alliance; mais voïant dans la ſuite qu'elles ne répondoient pas á ſon attente, il abandonna ſa femme, *étant enceinte d'un fils, qu'elle mit au monde l'an* 1725."

he *wear*, that, after fifteen years acquaintance, there ſeemed to be no viſible change in his countenance, body, or habits of life; and thoſe who remember him during the laſt thirty-five years aſſert, that but little alteration had taken place even in that period.

The following account, which he was accuſtomed to give of himſelf, affords ſome inſight reſpecting the place of his birth:—

"I am the child of misfortune. Theodore king of Corſica was my father; after a variety of adventures, he repaired to the court of Spain; obtained the rank of colonel in that ſervice; and married lady Sarsfield, of the noble houſe of Lucan in the kingdom of Ireland, who had been appointed maid of honour to the queen, in conſequence of the misfortunes of her father, and his attachment to the houſe of Stuart.

"I am the fruit of that union. My father, after ſpending a great deal of money, and getting into debt, left us; and, in conſequence of various changes of fortune, both acquired and loſt the crown of Corſica; he then repaired to England, where I his ſon followed him, in order to ſhare his misfortunes, and adminiſter to his neceſſities."

It would appear then, that he was born in Spain*; but the particulars of his infancy are wholly unknown. He is ſaid, however, to have been brought up at Rome, and to have received his education, which was certainly a liberal one, in that city. Indeed, from many circumſtances obſervable to thoſe who have converſed with him, it was pretty plain that his early youth had been ſpent in a college, and he himſelf committed to the care of the prieſthood. He was accuſtomed to aſſert, that he had been placed for ſome time under the tuition of profeſſor Lobcowitz, a man of ſome celebrity, and who had attained conſider-

* The place of his birth, and the laſt deplorable act of his life, are more nearly connected, if we are to believe a celebrated poet, than is perceptible at firſt ſight—

"Prodiga gens animæ, & properare facillima mortem,
"Namque ubi tranſcendit florentes viribus annos
"Impatiens ævi ſpernit noviſſe ſenectam,
"*Et fati modus in dextra eſt.*"

able

able eminence by a treatiſe on aſtronomy, written, according to the faſhion of that day, in the Latin tongue.

The only account we have of his youth is gathered from one of his own publications *; in which he ſays he was bred a military man, and "had made ſeveral campaigns under the moſt experienced generals of the age." He further remarks, that when the brave Corſicans made ſo gallant a ſtand in defence of their liberties, "he himſelf, with Buttafuoco and Colonna, two Corſican gentlemen, who had ſerved with diſtinction in the regiment, compoſed of their countrymen, in the ſervice of France, offered to join Paoli in ſo glorious cauſe; but he rejected the offer."

He is alſo reported to have occupied a literary department in the cabinet of Frederick II. of Pruſſia.

But whatever might have been his profeſſion, or ſituation in life, certain it is that he united a knowledge of military tactics to great ſkill in the civil and canon law, and attained an uncommon facility in all the languages of Europe. He ſpoke French, German, Italian, and Spaniſh, with great fluency; and he acquired a conſiderable degree of perfection even in Engliſh †, which is allowed to be extremely difficult to a foreigner, and more eſpecially to a native of the ſouth of Europe. He, however, converſed in it with conſiderable eaſe, and was particularly attentive to the grammatical conſtruction; but it was ſoon perceived, by his accent, that it had not been familiar to him from his birth.

On his firſt arrival from the continent, about the year 1754, he betook himſelf to the teaching of Italian, and ſubſiſted for ſeveral years by that means. At this period of his life he got

* See "The Deſcription of Corſica," p. 34.

† He drew up all his memorials to the treaſury, &c. in Engliſh, and then ſubmitted them to the inſpection of a friend. The author of this account has corrected many of them; they were in general couched in very animated language, and all of them related to troops contracted for in Germany, either in behalf of government, or the Eaſt India company. The colonel would never permit a ſingle word to be obliterated from the text, or a new one to be ſubſtituted, until he had argued the ſubject with all the pertinacity of a theologian. He, however, at length ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, and always relinquiſhed the conteſt with a joke.

acquainted with many men of conſiderable celebrity, and Macklin and Garrick are ſaid to have been his ſcholars. By the latter he was promiſed great things; the former he introduced to Mr. Wedderburne, the preſent lord chancellor, who at that time wiſhed to get rid of his northern accent, in which he has moſt effectually ſucceeded. He himſelf was alſo his lordſhip's inſtructor.

With Mr. Murphy, of whom he always ſpoke with great regard, he remained in habits of intimacy until his unfortunate cataſtrophe; and with the late Dr. Shebbeare he was exceedingly familiar for many years: but at laſt the rough and diſguſting manners of the latter occaſioned a breach which was never cloſed. He alſo lived, for ſome time, in terms of familiarity with general Paoli, until an unlucky circumſtance put an end to their acquaintance.

During the confinement of Theodore he viſited him frequently, and is ſaid to have ſhared his ſcanty pittance with that unfortunate monarch in a manner that would have done credit to the moſt affectionate ſon.

By a German lady whom he married abroad he had two children: the one a ſon, the other a daughter. The firſt periſhed at the battle of German town *, the other is ſtill alive. I have been repeatedly aſſured by himſelf, that he had more than once taſted the bounty of the late princeſs dowager of Wales, who compaſſionated his misfortunes and thoſe of his family. There is alſo ſome reaſon to believe that her Royal Highneſs was partly induced, from certain *political motives*, to patronize him; for it was rumoured at that time, that the duke of York, brother of his preſent Majeſty, had conceived the idea of becoming king of Corſica; and although this was treated as a vague report, in a tract publiſhed at that period, yet it appears evident that colonel

* Anthony Theodore Frederick, a handſome ſprightly youth, was introduced by the late ſir John Dryden, bart. then an officer in the guards, to the preſent admiral ſir John Borlace Warren, who was exceedingly kind to, and, at length, actually purchaſed a commiſſion for him. On his arrival in America he was noticed by general Howe, then commander in chief, and advanced to the rank of lieutenant; but he was ſoon after cut off during that bloody and unfortunate war.

Frederick

Frederick had drawn up a manuſcript account of the iſland, for the inſpection of his Royal Highneſs*.

After an abſence of a few months on the continent, Frederick returned to London with a ribband in his hat. He alſo occaſionally appeared in a green uniform, richly laced with ſilver, and long German epaulets; and, as he was ſaid to have obtained the *brevet* rank of colonel from the late duke of Wurtemberg, and alſo the *croix de merite*, he was ever after recogniſed by that appellation. Although not formally acknowleged as his ſerene highneſs's agent in this country, it is well known, however, that he tranſacted buſineſs of a diplomatic nature in his name; and helped him to diſpoſe of a regiment of his ſubjects to the Engliſh Eaſt India company. Towards the latter end of the American war, the colonel alſo tendered the ſervice of a body of Wurtemburgers, ready diſciplined and accoutred; and he was accuſtomed to aſſert, that the premier having cheerfully acceded to the propoſition, the troops were actually put in motion, and conſiderable expences incurred. On being countermanded, ſoon after this, by an order from Great Britain, the colonel preferred a claim for bat and forage money, pay and ſubſiſtence, amounting to many thouſand florins; and his pretenſions were backed by repeated memorials, addreſſed to all the different adminiſtations that have ſucceeded each other ſince that period until 1797 †.

In

* In the colonel's preface to his "Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire de Corſe," he expreſſes himſelf thus;—

"Ces Memoires n'avoient point eté ecrits pour êtres donnés au public. Ils étoient deſtinés à l'uſage S. A. R. le feu duc d'York, qui avoit marqué un grand déſir d'être inſtruit de l'hiſtoire de Corſe, juſqu' ici defigurée par tant de recits fabuleux, Et ce fut de la, qu'on fits courir le bruit, que ce prince avoit conçû le deſſein de ſe faire Roi de cette iſle."

† Here follow three of his letters, printed from the originals; the firſt is addreſſed to the lord chancellor, the other two to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate. It may not be amiſs, however, to remark, that they are publiſhed ſolely with a view of explaining the ſituation, and pretenſions, of this unfortunate gentleman, and without the remoteſt deſign of attaching any blame to either of the noblemen in queſtion.

TO

In the year 1791 an affair which promiſed to be of ſome ſervice to his finances occurred. The prince of Wales, and ſome of

" TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

" 26 *September*, 1793.

" Your lordſhip's conſtant ſilence to my repeated ſupplications for ſome redreſs to the grievances which I humbly ſtated in the petition to the king, gives me the concern it ought; for as my claim is founded on the principles of honour and equity, and I am perſuaded that no paſſion has any influence over your lordſhip's rectitude, I attribute your ſilence to wrong ſuggeſtions.

" I beg, therefore, in the name of what is ſacred in heaven, and moſt dear to you on earth, that your lordſhip will be pleaſed to order a fair inquiry into the facts ſtated in that petition, which, if they ſhould be found true, as I truſt they will, there is no doubt but his majeſty, on your lordſhip's repreſentation, as the keeper of his conſcience, would be graciouſly pleaſed to grant me ſuch relief as in his great goodneſs he ſhall deem me entitled to.

" The voice of humanity, my lord, pleads alſo the cauſe of a man well born, liberally educated, and whoſe conduct he hopes to be without reproach; a man who, in conſequence of the ſervice rendered to the king, ſtated in the petition alluded to, is reduced ſo low as to want literally bread, who has had the honour to be your inſtructor, has given proofs of his diſintereſted attachment to your perſon, and is with profound reſpect,

" Your lordſhip's, &c."

" A MONSIEUR LE DUC DE PORTLAND.

" *Le* 18*me Juillet*, 1794.

" L'éloge, que la voix publique fait de ſa majeſté á l'occaſion de vous avoir confié le gouvernail de l'etat dans un temps ſi orageux, fait le votre d'une maniére la plus forte, et la plus éclatante, de façon que votre nom, my lord, melé avec calui du roi eſt bien ſûr de l'immortalité qu'il merite.

" Sa majeſté ayant daignée á la fin d'accorder ſa hauteprotection à la Corſe, aprés tant des démarches, que depuis tant d'annees j'ai fait auprés de cette cour á ce ſujet, je vous prie, my lord, de vouloir agreer ma deſcription de cette iſle, et me permettre de vous répteſenter, que mes démarches (pas une étrange fatalite) m'ont attirés des opprobres injuſtes dans ce royaume, tandis que d'autres, à qui la perfidie et les fauſſetés ſont familleres en recueillent des louanges. Mais ces triſtes retours loin d'aigſir l'amertume de ma ſituation, me conſolent de ne les avoir pas merité, car je puis dire hardiment, que j'ai toujours fait ce qui m'a paru juſte et honnete. Je n'ai jamais eu des procedés ſouterrains. Mon coeur me rende ce temoignage; et ſi je pouvois mettre ce cour ſur mon viſage, on n'y trouveroit point de fard. C'eſt pourquoi j'ai mépriſé, et je mépriſe les calomnies, que la malice, et l'ignorance ont debitées ſur mon compte; et j'ai ſoumis ma cauſe au jugement de cet etre ſupreme, á qui rien n'eſt inconnu. Je ſouhaite de tout mon cour, my lord, que ces nouveaux

of the younger branches of the royal family, had conceived the idea of obtaining a conſiderable loan on the continent, by means of their joint ſecurity; and colonel Frederick was actually ſent to Antwerp to negociate the buſineſs. His majeſty, how-

veaux ſujets veuillent etre plus paiſibles, et plus fidels á ſa majeſté qu'ils ne le furent à Theodore premier, leur roi légitime, qui les gouverna en pere.

" A propos de Theodore, permettez moi, my lord, de rappeller dans votre ſouvenir, que ce roi infortuné etoit attaché à votre famille, et cet attachement étant parvenu juſqu' á moi pour heritage, je me ſuis fait, et je me farai toujours un devoir de vous le temoigner. Je vous ſupplie donc de vouloir mettre mon zéle á l'epreuve, et de ne me laiſſer pas languir dans le oiſiveté.

" A fin de rendre la deſcription de la Corſe plus complete, et plus ſatisfaiſante, j'y ai ajouté un extrait du dénombrement général de cette iſle, avéc le nombre des feux, ou familles, et celui des habitans, fait l'an 1740 par ordre du marechal de Maillebois, qui y commandoit de la part du roi trés chretién.

" Je y ai ajouté ainſi copie du memoire, qui fut préſenté à l'aſſemblee natiopale de France l'an 1790, ſur l'exploitation des bois dans la dite iſle, et ſur les avantages qui reſulterolent de cette exploitation. Comme ce memoire renferme des connoiſſances, et donne des idies, qui me paroiſſent bien intereſſantes, je me ſuis hâté à vous le remettre, a fin que la ſageſſe du gouvernement puiſſe prendre de bonne heure les meſures convenables pour le bien de l'une, et de l'autre nation.

" J'ai l'honneur d'etre, &c."

" Au Même.

Le 25me Juillet, 1794.

" Les complimens reſpectueux, que j'eus l'honneur de vous offrir dans ma lettre que j'eus celui de vous écrire le 18me du courant, furent dictés par la pure verité, et mon eſquiſſe de la deſcription de la Corſe, conjointement avéc le memoire, qui fut préſenté á l'aſſemblée nationale de France ſur l'exploitation des bois dans la dite iſle, etoit une nouvelle preuve de mon zéle pour le ſervice du roi, et de mon attachement à votre perſonne.

" Trés faché, my lord duc, que vos collegues dans le miniſtere ne daignerent pas acceptes mes ſervices au commencement de cette guérre, offre que ja'i reiteré plus d'une fois, mais toujours en vain. Si non obſtant ce refus, les faibles talens, dont le ciel m'a doüé; l'éducation que j'ai recu du meilleur de peres, et celle que je me ſuis donnée á moi même; ſi le peu d'experience que j'ai acquis dans le métier de la guérre ſous les ordres des plus illuſtres capitaines du ſiécle; ſi une teinture de politique, et de l'état préſente de l'Europe, avec la connoiſſance de pluſieurs cours, et celle des langues modernes, meritent l'honneur des vos bonnes graces, je vous prierai de vouloir me fournir des occaſions d'employer ces qualités, telles qu'elles peuvent l'étre, dans le ſervice de ſa majeſté, vous aſſurant que je n'omettrois aucun moyen poſſible pour juſtifier votre choix.

" J'ai l'honneur d'etre, &c."

ever, diſliking the ſcheme, openly interpoſed by means of his agents; and prevailed not only on a reſpectable banking-houſe abroad to withdraw its countenance, but alſo prevented the ſubſcribers from advancing the money according to agreement. On the failure of this unproſperous affair he returned to England, much chagrined and diſappointed; and never mentioned the ſubject without a conſiderable degree of emotion*. Soon after this he drew up a ſtatement of the caſe, which death alone prevented him from publiſhing.

His finances, during many years, were in a deranged ſtate; and, for ſome time before his demiſe, he had been occaſionally ſupplied with little ſums from various friends. Being a great economiſt, his expences were ſmall; but, notwithſtanding this, he had contracted ſeveral trifling debts, and one in particular to an amount which ſubjects a man's body to the rigours of a jail. In ſhort, he was in daily danger of being arreſted; and thus became prevented from frequenting thoſe places and perſons rendered dear to him by cuſtom.

Another object, of no ſmall concern to a feeling mind, occupied and agitated his thoughts. This was the ſituation of his daughter, Mrs. Clarke, a lady who had alſo her full ſhare of misfortunes. His amiable grand-daughters too were grown up, but remained wholly unprovided for. It had been the colonel's cuſtom to viſit them frequently, and on all occaſions, when it ſuited his convenience, he was ſure to make little preſents to the family. Unable to adminiſter to their relief, he had not repaired to their reſidence, in St. Mary-le-Bone, for a conſiderable time previouſly to the melancholy cataſtrophe that ſoon after

* A little before this he had been employed in a tranſaction which proved more fortunate in its termination. A young Iriſh lady, of family and fortune, having eloped with a clergyman, to whom ſhe was united on the continent, her mother knowing that colonel F. poſſeſſed uncommon addreſs, ſent him abroad on purpoſe to get the marriage annulled: he effected this to the complete ſatisfaction of the family, but it is apprehended not to his own; as the remuneration he received was not adequate to his expectations. The mother, after the reſtoration of her daughter, faithfully promiſed to remember him in her will;—but forgot her engagement.

enſued;

enſued; and he ſent word, "that he would never ſee them again, until he could do it in a ſatisfactory manner *."

As it now became dangerous to remain any longer at his lodgings in Northumberland-ſtreet, in the Strand, where he had reſided during many years, he repaired to Waghorn's coffee-houſe, under the houſe of lords, and communicated his fears to Mrs. Seagoe, who permitted him, during that night, to ſleep in another houſe belonging to her in the neighbourhood. In the morning he repaired to the attorney of the plaintiff, who had ſued out a writ againſt him, to ſolicit a little delay, but he was refuſed this in a brutal manner. He then aſked a friend for the loan of twenty pounds; but receiving an equivocal anſwer, became diſtracted at his ſituation. His misfortunes now multiplied every hour, and his calamities became, at length, ſo great, that he determined to put an immediate period to his exiſtence. It was at this critical period that he is ſuppoſed to have written the following melancholy note, on a ſlip of paper:——

"All the curſes in the tragedies are fallen upon me; without a houſe, without a country, without a friend; having for enemies even thoſe men whom I have obliged. Incumbered with

* It would appear from the following paſſage, that the colonel had ſuperintended the education of his eldeſt grand-daughter:

"I ſhould, however, be ungrateful, indeed, if I did not mention, painful as it muſt be to my heart, that I had a grand-father, whoſe learning and accompliſhed manners qualified him to inſtruct all, and who found it a pleaſure, as he felt it a duty, to inſtruct me.

"But he is no more.——In the courſe of the laſt year he fell a prey to ſorrow and diſappointment, leaving nothing to me but the example of his virtues, which it will be my conſtant endeavour to imitate, and the ſad regret for his end, which I ſhall not ceaſe to feel, till my laſt ſigh has eſcaped me.

"My grand-father was colonel Frederick; a character whoſe amiable qualities made him beloved; and whoſe independent ſpirit kept him poor. Who after having been thought worthy of diſtinguiſhed confidence by perſonages of the firſt rank, and conſcious that he had fulfilled every duty connected with it, fell a ſacrifice to that nice ſenſe of honour which has ſometimes forced deſponding virtue to ſeek a premature grave."

Preface to "Ianthe, or the Flower of Caernarvon," a Novel, "by Emily Clark, Grand-Daughter to the late Colonel Frederick, and Great Grand-Daughter to Theodore King of Corſica."

debts, and ſo poor that I live only from day to day, and ſometime I have nothing to live.

" To theſe I have oppoſed magnanimity to diſtreſs, nature to law, and reaſon to the troubles of the ſoul."

On this awful occaſion (his purpoſe being at length fixed) his conduct afforded a ſingular ſpecimen of calm intrepidity; and there is perhaps no inſtance on record, in which ſuicide has ever been committed with more cool determination. Indeed he ſeems, on this occaſion, to have reſolved the long agitated problem, whether ſelf-deſtruction be not always produced by inſanity?

Having procured and loaded a piſtol, and being no longer apprehenſive of the myrmidons of the law, whoſe power he could now ſet at defiance, he aroſe at the uſual hour in the morning of Wedneſday February 1, 1796, and walked out in his cuſtomary manner, without exhibiting any ſigns of agitation, or betraying any ſymptoms of his dreadful purpoſe, to thoſe whom he accoſted.

Towards the afternoon he proceeded to Storey's-gate coffee-houſe, Weſtminſter, a place often frequented by him, where he dined. He then called for his half pint of port, a quantity he rarely exceeded; looked over the morning papers; aſked for and peruſed an evening one; and departed, at eight o'clock, with his accuſtomed ſerenity.

Having then repaired ſtraight to the gate of Weſtminſter-abbey, which is in the immediate vicinage, he pulled out the inſtrument of deſtruction from his pocket, and applying it to his temple, drew the fatal trigger, and in a moment ceaſed to exiſt *.

Several people in the neighbourhood heard the exploſion; but the cauſe was not diſcovered until ſome ſhort time afterwards, when a boy, perceiving the body lying proſtrate on the

* It is not a little remarkable, that a gentleman who had heard of colonel Frederick's diſtreſs, mentioned it to ſeveral others of his acquaintance, and they had actually met in Gerrard-ſtreet, Soho, and were deliberating on the means of preſenting him with a ſmall ſum of money, in ſuch a delicate manner as not to *wound his feelings*, at the very moment the dreadful cataſtrophe, juſt mentioned, occurred.

ground,

ground, advanced and took up the piſtol. The alarm was now given; for it was inſtantly ſuppoſed that a murder had been committed. On this the lad, who gave a very unſatisfactory account of what he had ſeen, was taken into cuſtody; and being carried before a magiſtrate, was cloſely interrogated, when the truth was diſcovered, and all the particulars made known.

No ſooner was the event mentioned in the newſpapers, than ſeveral friends of the deceaſed met, and determined not only to ſubſcribe towards the expence of his burial, but alſo to attend in perſon, and pay the laſt tribute of reſpect to a man who had ſeen better days; in whoſe company they had paſſed many cheerful hours; and whoſe misfortunes they all compaſſionated. The body was accordingly carried to an undertaker's, and on the evening of Monday, February 6, was depoſited in the church-yard of St. Anne, Soho, by the ſide of Theodore king of Corſica.

The late lady James, who had long acted the part of a zealous and ſincere friend to the family, exerted herſelf on this occaſion, and procured about two hundred pounds by public ſubſcription. She alſo left ten guineas for a monument, to record the colonel's unfortunate end; and his daughter has given the neceſſary orders for its erection.

The following is the Inſcription intended to be placed over his Grave:

HERE LIE
THE MORTAL REMAINS OF
COLONEL FREDERICK,
SON OF THEODORE KING OF CORSICA.
IN HIS DEPORTMENT HE WAS A FINISHED GENTLEMAN;
HIS PRINCIPLES OF HONOUR, HONESTY, AND TRUTH,
EVER UNDISPUTED, WERE TRULY PRINCELY.
HE WAS POOR IN CIRCUMSTANCES,
BUT RICH IN THE POSSESSION OF EVERY VIRTUE:
AND
SUCH WAS HIS BENEVOLENCE, THAT HIS GREATEST DISTRESS
AROSE FROM THE WANT OF ABILITY TO RELIEVE THE DISTRESSES OF OTHERS.
GOD BE WITH HIM*.

* It is a curious fact, that the firſt part of the epitaph was penned by his hair-dreſſer, and pinned above his grave at the time of interment.

Here

Here FREDERICK lies, Misfortune's early ſon—
Deſerving moſt, yet meeting leaſt from fate:
To him the griefs of Theodore were known;
Careſs'd, and then abandon'd by the great.

How int'reſt promis'd, and how pride deceiv'd,
Of ſmall importance to their aſhes now:
By men neglected, yet by God receiv'd,
Their ſpirits reſt beyond the reach of woe.

This laſt ſad tribute from a daughter flows,
To whom the cup of bitterneſs deſcends;
The mournful heireſs to their mingled woes!
Perhaps the victim of imagin'd friends!

Thus periſhed, in the 72d year of his age, and was buried in a foreign land, Frederick, who, in alluſion to his deſcent, was accuſtomed jocularly to call himſelf Prince of Capraja, a little iſland in the Mediterranean, ſubject to Corſica. He was a man of conſiderable reading, and poſſeſſed extenſive information relative to foreign affairs, and the particular intereſts and intrigues of the various ſtates of Europe. No one was better acquainted with the *fineſſe* of negociation; the etiquette of courts, particularly thoſe of Germany; the views and intentions of the continental princes; and the claims and pretenſions of the papal ſee. He would enter into diſquiſitions reſpecting the pope's diſputes with Venice, quote Fra. Paolo on the council of Trent, and deliver an elaborate diſſertation on the feudal ſubjection of Naples, and the much agitated claim about the palfrey! In ſhort, no man was better calculated for diplomacy, or more fitted to have become a miniſter to, or from, one of the Italian or German principalities.

In addition to the qualifications already deſcribed, few military men had ſtudied the art of war with more ſucceſs. The colonel was minutely acquainted with all the tranſactions that had occurred during the continental contentions of the preſent century. He could deſcribe the poſitions of the great Frederick, Browne, Daun, and Loudohn, the celebrated generals of Maria-Thereſa, with wonderful preciſion; and, recurring for example and elucidation to antiquity, ſupport his arguments by quotations from Cæſar and Polybius.

In

In perſon he was of the middle ſize, being about five feet eight inches high; muſcular, vigorous, and admirably proportioned. All thoſe who had ſeen him while a young man, aſſert that he had been uncommonly handſome. The olive hue of his complexion teſtified him to have been born under a ſouthern ſky, and his white hair gave him a venerable appearance; but he bore no marks of the debility or decrepitude of age.

His dreſs was plain, but neat; he uſually wore a blue coat with a red cape, white cloth waiſtcoat and breeches, and in winter a pair of military boots, with a looſe blue great coat. Sometimes he put on a black ſuit, manufactured abroad, the dye of which he was accuſtomed to commend, as infinitely preferable to that of England; and it muſt have poſſeſſed ſome extraordinary properties, as it had retained the undiminiſhed luſtre of its original tint for at leaſt ten or fifteen years.

On extraordinary occaſions he wore a Wurtemberg uniform *, and moſt probably accompanied the late duke of Wurtemberg in that dreſs when he was in this country a few years ſince †.

His

* The colonel once told the writer of this, with great good humour, that having paid a viſit to ſir William James, formerly chairman of the Eaſt India company, in Gerrard-ſtreet, the footmen miſtook his regimentals, on account of their colour and long epaulets, for a livery. He, in conſequence of this, could get no further than the hall, until introduced by the baronet in perſon, who made many apologies for the blunder of his domeſtics.

† As the colonel's connexion with the duke of Wurtemberg has been doubted by ſome, the following dedication to a book printed in England, and circulated publicly both here and on the continent, will, in ſome meaſure, tend to put that matter beyond ſuſpicion.

" A ſon Alteſſe Sereniſſime Monſeigneur Le Duc Regnant De Würtemberg & De Teck, Comte de Montbelliard, Seigneur De Haydenheim, Juſtingen, &c. &c. Chevalier de l'ordre la Toiſon d'Or, & Feld-Marechal de l'Empire, &c. &c.

" Monſeigneur,

" Le livre que je prens la liberté de préſenter à Votre Alteſſe Sereniſſime, lui appertient de droit.

" Ce ſont des Memoires pour ſervir à l'hiſtoire d'un peuple, chez qui un prince de Votre Auguſte Maiſon *, deja renommé par ſes exploits militaires, ſe diſtingua par ſes lumieres politiques, & par ſon humanité. Mon pére lui dût auſſi la celebrité,

* *Le prince Louis De Wurtemberg.*

His cane, which was ſometimes adorned with a green ſilk ſtring, interwoven with gold, was generally hung at his breaſt, after the manner of a Pruſſian major's.

There is ſcarcely a coffee-houſe in the city of Weſtminſter, in which the Colonel's face was not familiar, and he viſited two, and ſometimes three, every day, particularly the Salopian, the Cannon, and Mills's in Gerrard-ſtreet. He lived for many years in Northumberland-ſtreet, in the Strand, and had a number of little harmleſs peculiarities. He never put on a pair of ſhoes until the maid had ſcrubbed the houſe in them, and worn them for a fortnight. If he dined at one place, he was ſure to take his tea at another. He was wonderfully abſtemious both in eating and drinking; his reckoning was accordingly proportionately ſmall, ſeldom exceeding two ſhillings and ſix-pence. He never was ſeen with more than half a guinea at a time; and, on being aſked the reaſon by a friend, he replied, "that this great town was full of diſtreſſed men, many of whom he knew; and if he was diſcovered with any thing worth borrowing, he ſhould be aſked for it, and could not refuſe."

Being induced by his wants to contract many debts, and even to raiſe money on his notes of hand, it was neceſſary that both

que lui aut attiré ſes malheurs. Son attachement, lorſqu'il étoit en Suede, aux interêts du prince Maximilien *, qui jeune encore s'acquit tant de gloire auprès de Charles XII. lui merita la bienveillance du prince Loüis.

"Cet bienveillance fut la ſource de ſa prémiére liaiſon avec les Corſes, & enſuite de ſon exaltation au trône. Ainſi, monſeigneur, la protection de l'auguſte Maiſon du Würtemberg envers nous aïant de ſi hauts principes, mon attachement pour ſes interêts eſt bien naturel, puis qu'il eſt héréditaire.

"J'oſe donc me flatter que votre Alteſſe Sereniſſime, le regardant comme tel, me fera l'honneur de me continuerles occaſions de lui prouver mon admiration pour ſes grandes qualités, mon zele, pour ſa gloire, ma reconnaiſſance pour les graces diſtinguées, dont elle m'a honnoré, & les trés profond reſpect avec le quel je ſuis,

Monſeigneur,

De votre alteſſe ſereniſſime,

Les trés humble

Et trés obeiſſant ſerviteur,

FREDERICK."

* *La prince Maximilien De Wurtemberg.*

chriſtian

chriſtian and ſurname ſhould appear to his obligations. He accordingly aſſumed that of FELIX, in addition to FREDERICK, and was accuſtomed to exclaim, "O infelix Felix!" aſſerting at the ſame time, that every one who had uſed it, from the beginning of the world until his time, had proved eminently unfortunate.

As to his religion, there is reaſon to believe that he had been, and perhaps ſtill remained, a catholic. This was a ſubject, however, which he always conſidered in a political point of view; and he has been often heard to remark, that of all others the faith and ceremonial of the catholic church were beſt ſuited for a monarchy, being an excellent ſtate engine, in conſequence of the paſſive obedience it recommended, and the diſcloſures likely to be produced by confeſſion.

In reſpect to his poverty, a ſubject of great delicacy with others in the ſame ſituation, he was accuſtomed to make merry, and even to recapitulate his own embarraſſments. One of theſe occurred during the reſidence of count Poniatowſky in this country. That nobleman, he ſaid, had often heard of "Dolly's beef-ſteak houſe," and wiſhed to dine there. The colonel accordingly accompanied him, and after a frugal repaſt, which was concluded by a bottle of port, the bill was called for—when lo! neither of them having wherewithal to pay it, the prince of Capraja retired, leaving the future king of Poland in cuſtody for the reckoning, until he had releaſed him by means of a ſum of money, for which he depoſited his watch at a neighbouring pawnbroker's!

Colonel Frederick indulged, during his leiſure hours, in literary avocations, and is ſuppoſed to have left ſeveral manuſcripts behind him. There are but two books known to be his, and they are both on the ſame ſubject; viz.

1. "Memoirs pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire de Corſe," publiſhed in 1768.

And 2. "The Deſcription of Corſica, with an Account of its Union to the Crown of Great Britain. Including the Life of General Paoli, and the Memorial preſented to the National Aſſembly of France upon the Foreſts in that Iſland, with a

plan highly beneficial to both ſtates. Illuſtrated with a Map of Corſica. Dedicated to his Majeſty. 1798."

He has left behind him a daughter, Mrs. Clark, whoſe huſband holds a ſmall place in the cuſtom-houſe at Dartmouth. That lady has four children; a ſon, Frederick-Anthony, who by the kindneſs of Lord Euſton is at preſent a lieutenant in the Weſt Suffolk militia, now ſerving in Ireland. The names of her daughters are, Emily, Ann-Louiſa, and Elizabeth. The eldeſt has lately written a novel, called "Ianthe, or the Flower of Cærnarvon," 2 vol. 12mo, &c. and is now employed on another, about to be printed by ſubſcription.

She alſo paints * miniatures, and is already a promiſing artiſt. The ſecond not only excels in a particular manner in botanical ſubjects, and draws admirably, but alſo teaches thoſe of her own ſex.

A family, thus deſcended, thus reduced, and thus employed, ought aſſuredly to excite the attention and patronage of a generous nation.

Having ſaid ſo much of colonel Frederick and his family, it now remains to take notice of ſome of the papers left behind him. It is evident, from ſuch of theſe as have been put into the editor's hand, that he carried on a very extenſive correſpondence, with various perſons, in different countries in Europe.

Many of theſe are dated "Heilbronn, 1780-1781;" they ſeem to be written by a young lady of great ſenſibility, who had abjured the Catholic religion, and after adopting the Lutheran, appears to

* The following card is publiſhed here, not only on account of its extreme ſingularity, but alſo from a far better motive—the wiſh of attracting the attention of the public, and more eſpecially thoſe of her own ſex, to the ſituation of a deſerving young female.

"MISS CLARK,
GRAND DAUGHTER OF THE LATE COLONEL FREDERICK,
Son of Theodore, King of Corſica,
Paints Likeneſſes in Miniature, from two to three Guineas,
No. 136, New Bond-ſtreet.
Hours of attendance from twelve in the morning until four."

have

have taken refuge in Germany. The extreme ſimplicity of this accompliſhed female would ſerve to excite a ſmile, were it not checked by the melancholy reflections ariſing from her unfortunate ſituation. At one time ſhe ſolicits the colonel to eſtabliſh her in a boarding ſchool in London; at another ſhe requeſts him to preſent ſome German verſes to lady Charlotte Finch, for the inſpection of the queen of England, in whoſe ſervice ſhe hopes to be entertained. In the mean while, having accidentally ſeen a German prince at the houſe of a friend, ſhe enters into a negociation to procure a regiment for the colonel, and is herſelf, at the very ſame time, almoſt deſtitute of an aſylum, and trembling at the idea of being once more ſhut up in a convent*.

The next correſpondence we ſhall take notice of is that of a celebrated divine, who more than expiated the offence of forgery by an ignominious death. It would appear that the colonel viſited him in Newgate, converſed with him relative to his melancholy ſituation, and adminiſtered much comfort and conſolation.

* " J'ai des ennemis qui me perſecutent avec autant plus de fureur, qu'ils ont a rougir de l'etre! Je me flattois envain d'appaiſer leur in juſte courroux, par une conſtante patience, par une fermeté inebranlable. Incapable de toute vengence, j'eſperois les forcer a la fin, d'avouer leur torts! Mais que je connoiſſais peu une certain genre d'hommes!! Tant perſecuteur de mauvaiſe cauſe a abjuré l'humanité. Eſperer de le gagner—Oh eſperons plutot de pouvoir tranſplanter des montagnes.

" Il eſt vrais que j'ai maintenant un azile ſur, que Mr. and Madame De B—— ſe content de me jugèr par mes actions, que ce digne couple m'aime, m'eſtime, mais le pere de mon ami, qui n'ignore pas, que je ne ſuis point de leur religion—me deteſte; il accable ſes enfans de reproches, et les exhorte de ſe defaire de moi—le bon viellard! —cependant, aprés cela, vous ſentés, mon reſpectable ami! que dans des circonſtances pareilles mon ſejour ne peut pas etre de longue durée ici..... J'etois reſolu de me ſauver pour quelques tems chez un miniſtre Lutherien mais Madame De B——— s'y oppoſa avec tant d'amitie, que je lui promis de ne la point quitter l'hyver.

" Mais ce terme expiré, le beau pere voudroit etre ecouté etre obei!..... *Et que faire donc? Dans ma patrie, je ne puis que chercher un couvent, et m'y enterrer aiant paſſée mon enfance dans une telle priſon*, j'en connois aſſez, pour en trembler! Haine, envie, ſuperſtition, et mille autres maux m'y attendent. Il eſt bien naturel, qué je cherches d'echapper à une telle vie, à une condition ſi dure á une etat ſi miſerable.

Voitre tres humble et tres obeiſantes ſervante,

N—— V———."

Copy of a letter from Dr. Dodd, written while in priſon, to Colonel Frederick.

"Accept, dear ſir, my beſt thanks for your very humane and conſolatory viſit, and permit me to aſſure you that I have converſed with few whoſe ſentiments have been ſo ſatisfactory to me, and ſo ſimilar to my own. Life has no charms amidſt this dreadful ſhipwreck which I have brought upon myſelf; and death, through my unſhaken confidence in redeeming mercy, few terrors.

"Yet I think it my duty to do all I can to preſerve that life; and I will, from the depth of my ſoul in ſincereſt truth declare to you—that my firſt and chief wiſh for its preſervation ſprings from an ardent deſire to perfect my repentance, and to ſhew to mankind the ſincerity of that repentance by a conduct the moſt humble, holy, and exemplary. Deeply convinced and humbled to the duſt for my manifold offences, nothing wounds my heart ſo much as the ſad ſenſe of public ſcandal and offence to our divine religion! And I unceaſingly beg of God to grant me a little time to ſhew to all the world, that I am, indeed, not more ſenſible of my ſins, than ſolicitous to wipe away every ſtain they have occaſioned.

"Pardon, dear ſir, this effuſion of my ſentiments drawn forth by a ſympathetic intereſt you kindly diſcover for my welfare. At ſuch a dreadful hour as this, it is impoſſible to diſſemble; and I bleſs God, that I live every moment, as I wiſh to live every future moment, always in his preſence, and always moſt thankfully reſigned to his will. I ſhall be extremely happy to ſee you again, ſir, whenever your humanity will permit you to viſit ſo doleful a manſion as this; and if in the mean time you would be ſo indulgent to me as to favour me with a copy of the king of Pruſſia's lines, which you repeated (and to aſk for which was indeed the only cauſe of this trouble), you will greatly oblige,

My good Sir, one of the moſt unfortunate
and truly diſtreſſed of men,

April 27, 1777. W. D."

It

It would appear from two letters ſigned "Van Eupen," and dated at "Bruxelles," October 5th and 15th, 1790, that colonel Frederick was not only privy to the proceedings of the inſurgents in Flanders, during the reign of Joſeph and Leopold, but was even conſulted by the celebrated author of thoſe commotions.

In the firſt of theſe *, which is drawn up ſomewhat in the manner of a juſtificatory memorial, the author inſiſts,

1ſt,

* This ſtate paper (for ſo it may be called) is too curious to be omitted here; and it is accordingly printed from the original.

"MONSIEUR,

"Tres en peine de n'avoir pû avoir la ſatisfaction de m'expliquer avec vous, et penetré de la plus vive reconnoiſſance pour l'attachement que vous portez à notre cauſe, je deſire ardemment de ſuppleer par la plume au defaut d'entretien de Bouche; j'aime a rendre compte de nos afaires a de perſonnes ſenſées, libres de prejugés, et ſur tout amis de notre patrie.

"La Maiſon d'autriche a perdu le droit, qu'elle pouvoit avoir ſur nous, droit qui n'a jamais eu que le nom de la ſouveraineté. Par nos antiques conſtitutions la milice appartenoit aux etats, et ce n'eſt que ſous Marie Thereſe que les intrigues de la cour et la foibleſſe des etats ont ravi à la nation cette precieuſe reſerve; jamais notre chef n'a eu ledroit de battre monnoie ſans le conſentement des etats, il ne pouvoit ſans eux ni faire la guerre ni faire la paix, il ne pouvoit porter aucune loi pas même pour les douanes, ſans la ſanction du conſeil de la Province; il ne pouvoit aliener ni grever les biens dominiaux, ſans la permiſſion de la nation, il n'etoit en un mot qu'un gouverneur titré, aïant une portion circonſcrite dans le pouvoir executif, et toute la ſouveraineté reſidoit dans la nation ou ſes repreſentans. En vertu de cette ſouveraineté les etats de Brabant deporterent Jean IV. chaſſerent le duc D'Anjou et les Provinces-unies depoſerent Philippe II. aucun de ces princes n'avoit été tyran au point que l'a été Joſeph II. aucun de ces princes n'a été plus ſolemnellement et d'après de motifs plus graves declaré dechu de tout ſon pouvoir, que Joſeph II. dans aucun cas la nation ne s'y eſt pris avec plus de moderation; jamais elle n'a fait des remontrances plus reſpectueuſes, plus preſſantes et avec plus de patience. Elle a été forcée enfin a uſer de ſes droits enconteſtables..... Joſeph II. au lieu de revenir de ſes erreurs, nous a declaré la guerre, nous avons été vainqueurs, et etant libres de droit en vertu de nos loix, nous nous ſommes donné la liberté de fait, par la force de nos bras. Nous l'avons donc conquiſe par une guerre auſſi juſte de notre côté, qu'inique de la part de notre ennemi. Nous l'avions conquiſe de droit et de fait, lors que celui qui nous l'avoit diſputé, ſans pouvoir revendiquer ſon droit, qui n'etoit plus qu'imaginaire, vint à mourir; de quel droit ſes heritiers viennent ils reclamer un droit comme heritage, que le defunt en mourant n'avoit plus, et qu'il avoit perdu de droit et de fait. Pourquoi ne reclament ils pas la Sileſie, et les heritiers de Philippe II. Pourquoi ne reclament ils pas les ſept Provinces-unies. Telle eſt notre cauſe, le ciel, et l'Europe en ſont temoins, et elle ſe trouve ſans appuy.... ſoit. Elle a de puiſſans ennemis....

1ſt, That the ſovereignty of the houſe of Auſtria over the Belgic provinces was merely nominal.

2dly,

ſoit encore. Mais ſeroit il poſſible Monſieur, que les Anglois, qui au commencement de ce ſiecle nous ont tant ſollicité et nous ont engagés par l'organe du duc de Marlbourough, ſous les ſtipulations les plus ſacrées de nos loix et de nos conſtitutions, ſous la garantie la plus formelle, a rentrer ſous la domination de cette infidieuſe et ingrate Maiſon,* meconnuſſent aujourd'huy les droits inviolables d'une nation libre et digne de l'être. Seroit il poſſible que la nation Angloiſe, cette illuſtre nation devint un jour, ſous les mains de ces miniſtres, l'inſtrument fatal de notre Eſclavage! c'eſt ce pendant de quoi nous ſommes menacés. Le cabinet de Londres eſt peut être notre plus redoutable ennemi et pourquoi—en voici les motifs.

1. " Ils craignent pour leur commerce.

2. " Ils craignent une coälition de nos Provinces avec la France.

3. " Ils croïent qu'avec la Maiſon d'Autriche, ſi elle domine ici, ils n'auront rien a craindre de tout cela.

" Pardonnez ſi je ſuis un peu long, j'aïmerois de vous mettre au fait, et par la dans le cas de defendre notre cauſe, en plaidant celle de votre patrie.

" Notre commerce ne peut jamais donner ombrage au commerce de l'Angleterre qu'en ebranlant en même tems celui de la Hollande, et ceci ne peut jamais avoir lieu que par la navigation, tant en ouvrant l'eſcaut que par le port d'Oſtende, &c. pour couper court aux details, n'y auroit il pas moien de donner à ces deux puiſſances telle aſſurance à ce ſujet, qui peut exclure toute inquietude—et même les raſſurer d'avantage, car tout ce que la Maiſon d'Autriche a ſtipulé juſqu'ici, relativement à l'eſcaut, en commencant du traité de Munſter de 1648 eſt parfaitement nul de droit, par une raiſon, que la politique de la Maiſon d'Autriche et la crainte de la Nation Belgique n'ont pas permis à l'une et à l'autre de toucher, lors de la derniere difficulté entre Joſeph II. et les Provinces-unies. Cette raiſon eſt néanmoins la ſeule bonne qu'on pouvoit oppoſer à la Hollande, contre le traité de Munſter, et qu'on peut encore oppoſer au dernier traité.

" La voici cette raiſon: Par nos conſtitutions notre chef n'avoit aucun pouvoir à faire la guerre ou la paix ſans l'intervention des etats, il ne pouvoit ceder, engager, grever ou gener en maniere quelconque aucune des poſſeſſions Belgiques, ſans un conſentement exprès des etats. Or bien loin que les etats aïent conſenti dans l'enchainement de l'Eſcaut, ils s'y ſont expreſſement oppoſés. Et il eſt certain que cet engagement eſt abſolument nul. Ne croyez vous pas que les Anglois, que les Hollandois plaideroient leur propri cauſe, en contractant avec la nation même; ſa candeur et ſa Loyauté reconnues de tout tems, par les Romains mêmes, leur ſeroient des garants bien plus sûrs, que toute les aſſertions d'une cour, qui n'a jamais ceſſé depuis Charles V. de tromper ſes peuples et ſes alliés. Qu'on faſſe donc avant tout un traité de commerce avec nous, qu'on le garantiſſe par tous les moïens imaginables, qu'on le faſſe a l'indefini ou a terme, comme on l'a fait jadis avec l'Eſpagne, qu'il ait lieu même en cas de guerre. Qui ſerons nous jamais pour l'enfriendre, ſoit par infidelité ſoit par avarice. Sans

* *La preuve s'en trouve dans les differentes capitulations et pieces y relatives.*

marine,

2*dly*, That by the ancient conſtitution the ſtates had the ſole direction of all military affairs, which they retained until the time

marine, contre deux puiſſances maritimes et formidables—eblouis d'ailleurs par le bonheur de nôtre liberté, retenus par la reconnoiſſance, il y coulera un ſiecle ſans qu'aucune de nos provinces ne penſe, ne ſonge ſeulement a etendre un commerce nouveau, bien moins encore a en entamer un contre la foi d'un traité conclu et arreté par la nation méme; mais après cent ans me direz vous. Helas Monſieur cent jours en politique eſt preſque un phenomene; ne nous ſoucions pas de ce qu'il arrivera après cent ans, qui ſait ce que le ſyſt hême de l'Europe ſera après un ſiecle ecoulé. Profitez Anglois du moment, faites valoir vos fabriques, oter en toutes les entraves, ſoiez juſtes envers nous, et forcez notre reconnoiſſance a être liberale et genereuſe envers vous; ſervez vous de notre foibleſſe et pour nous ſoutenir et pour en profiter vous mêmes; faite nous un ſort heureux et jouiſſez vous mêmes de notre bonheur. Exigez de nous tout ce que vous pourriez eſperer de la Maiſon d'Autriche, et je vous aſſure que vous l'aurez. Expliquer nous vos craintes, nous vous raſſurerons; manifeſtez nous vous deſirs et nous les remplirons; la bonne foi ſera votre garant et la droiture notre guide.

"Ne craignez pas une coalition avec la France, leurs principes ſont trop oppoſés aux nôtres, pour jamais ſe rencontrer; et plus tôt les Anglois s'uniront aux François que les Belges. Prêts à laiſſer à tout le monde pleine et entiere liberté de voir les choſes comme il voudra les voir, nous ne diſputerons jamais aux François leurs maximes et leurs principes, mais nous ne les adopterons jamais; il eſt d'ailleurs impoſſible que nous les adoptions, une nation ne change pas dans une journée de principes et d'opinion, il faut de ſiecles pour cela; nous ne ſerons après tout jamais aſſez impolitiques, jamais aſſez imbecilles, pour aller partager et païer de païr avec les François, leurs immenſes dettes. Nous ſerons amis de François mais ſans offenſer nos autres voiſins, avec qui nous ſerons egalement amis. D'ailleurs les François ont adopté comme maxime d'etat de ne jamais conquerir, il ſeront eux mêmes les garants de nos ſtipulations avec vous, ſi vous nous aidez à eloigner de chez nous la Maiſon d'Autriche, auſſi ennemi des François, quoique amie intereſſée de la France, que les Belges. Au moins prenez la preference, eſſaiez nos ſentimens avant que de les proſcrire. Et ne vous laiſſez pas ſeduire par de pretextes frivoles de nos diviſions internes, qui n'exiſtent que dans l'imagination de ceux, qui ſont intereſſés à les faire naître, et qui s'efforcent a les ſuppoſer d'autant plus certainement, qu'ils ſont plus intimement convaincus qu'elles n'exiſtent pas; ils font craindre un pretendu penchant de quelques provinces vers democratie illimitée, Sottiſes Monſieur, que la politiques ruſée de certains gens met en jeu, pour couvrir ou un interêt particulier qui les determine, ou une haine richement paiée, qu'ils doivent nourir contre nous, aux depens même de leurs commettans. Je ſuis ſûr que l'integre l'incorruptible Pitt ſait comme moi, que ces pretextes ſont vains et illuſoires. Jamais aucun etat, aucun de nos provinces, n'a balance encore ſur la diſtinction inalterable de trois ordres, conformement a nos conſtitutions; quelques uns ont ſenti qu'il etoit juſte de rendre au tiers ordre, les prerogatives que la conſtitution lui donne, et que la tyrannie et l'oppreſſion ſeules lui avoient otées; jamais on n'a penſé à une aſſemblée nationale, jamais a un gouvernement democratique,

time of Maria-Thereſa, when they were deprived of this precious right by the intrigues of the court.

3dly,

tique, et jamais on n'y penſera. La nation n'en ſouffre pas le nom, et le peuple s'eſt lui même oppoſé à ceux des etats, qui par une complaiſance peut être malvue, mais certainement bien intentionée, ſe ſont enoncés comme ſouverains provoiſoirement.

"Mettez en paralele les motifs et les maximes de la revolution Françoiſe avec les principes et les motifs de la notre, l'eau et le feu, s'uniront plus aiſement que ces deux nations, au moins pour le fond de leur gouvernement.

"Je vous envoye Monſieur, deux imprimés qui vous donneront quelques eclairciſſemens. Notamment ſur le point de la garantie de l'Angleterre par raport à la poſſeſſion de la Maiſon d'Autriche du gouvernement de nos provinces. Il y a du verbiage dans ces imprimés par example le jeu de mots de lieutenant gouverneurs et autres, ſemblables, que vous ſaurez bien diſcerner de ce qu'il y a de bon.

"Il eſt evident que l'Angleterre n'a pas pû garantir cette poſſeſſion à la Maiſon d'Autriche que conformement à nos loix conſtitutives qu'elle avoit garanties en premier lieu, et ce n'eſt que par cette garantie que l'Angleterre nous a induits et determinés pour notre malheur a ſubir une ſeconde fois ce joug inſupportable. Elle n'a pû d'ailleurs garantir cette poſſeſſion à l'Autriche que contre une invaſion injuſte de toute puiſſance étrangere, mais jamais contre les droits jurés et inconteſtables du peuple qu'ils avoient garantis eux mêmes avant que de garantir la poſſeſſion au chef. He Monſieur ſoyons vrais tant que nous étions les plus foibles la juſtice du cabinet de Londres n'a pas dit le mot, elle ne ſe ſoucioit aucunement de la garantie qu'elle avoit donnée ſi ſaintement à nos conſtitutions, elle nous a abandonnés à notre malheureux ſort, elle a vû nôtre oppreſſion et elle s'eſt tue, elle a entendu nos reclamations mais ne les a pas ecoutés. Et maintenant que nous ſommes les plus forts par la protection viſible du ciel elle ſe rangeroit cette juſtice du côte de nos oppreſſeurs, pour maintenir un droit qu'ils n'ont plus.... ! et ce feront les Anglois qui maſqueront ainſi cette eſtimable vertu, la protectrice des nations et la Mere du droit de gens..... ! Ô juſtice !

"Je dois finir ici le courier m'echaperoit, et il y va d'un interêt trop cher pour perdre un ſeul moment, je continuerai par le courier ſuivant, et vous démontrerai Monſieur, la dangereuſe influence que l'Autriche a encore ſur la France; l'Angleterre ne ſauroit agir plus impolitiquement, que de ſoutenir cette Maiſon, contre nous; de nous elle n'aura jamais rien a craindre, mais de la France ſoutenue par l'Autriche enrichie par nos depouilles elle aura tout a craindre; veuiller peſer Monſieur, ce peu des mots et vous en aurez aſſez.

"Mr. Werbrouck vous parlera de l'autre objet. Defendez nous Monſieur, donner nous de defenſeurs, et je ferai briller votre nom dans les faſtes de notre hiſtoire, notre cauſe eſt juſte et digne de la protection des Anglois.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre très parfaitement,

Bruxelles, Monſieur,

5 *Octobre*, 1790, Votre tres humble et tres obeiſſent ſerveteur,

"R. S. VAN EUPEN."

"À Monſieur Le Colonel Frederick, à Londres."

3dly, That the prince could not coin money without the conſent of the ſtates:

4thly, Or declare war, or enter into any treaty for peace:

5thly, Or regulate even the fees of the cuſtom-houſe, without the leave of the council of the province.

6thly, He could neither alienate nor burden the domains, without the permiſſion of a nation, of which he was nothing more than governor.

And, *7thly*, That he poſſeſſed only a circumſcribed portion of the executive power, while the ſovereignty reſided in the nation, or its repreſentatives.

In the ſecond it is attempted to prove, that if the houſe of Auſtria ſhould be able to reconquer the Belgic provinces, it would aſſiſt the king of France to reſume "the poſſeſſion of his ancient monarchical power, or rather tyranny," and that country would once more become the enemy and the rival of England.

Van Eupen, who wiſhes to remove every idea of commercial jealouſy in reſpect to the opening the navigation of the Scheldt, is anxious above all things to form a cloſe and intimate connexion with England, which, in his opinion, appeared at that time but too deſirous to ſupport the pretenſions of the houſe of Auſtria in an unjuſt aggreſſion, in expreſs oppoſition to her own deareſt intereſts. This and the former letter are evidently written for the purpoſe of being ſhewn by colonel Frederick to a perſon in a high ſituation here.

The next paper propoſed to be taken notice of is the following draught of a Latin letter from the king of England to the emperor on the execution of Louis XVI. The reader will perceive that colonel Frederick entertained ideas on this ſubject ſimilar to the other princes of Europe:—

G. R.

IMPERATORI

SALUTEM.

"Nunciatum mihi eſt, Ludovicum fratrem noſtrum, ſanctiſſimis moribus Regem, in virtutum præmium, a rebellibus ex ſententia

ſententia in publico foro trucidatum, quaſi nec Deus in cœlis, nec tanti nefas nullus eſſet ultor in terris.

" Scelus impune patratum ſceleribus viam emollit. Rebelles igitur nullo vinculo retenti ab incepto non deſiſtunt. Reginam ob innumeras animi dotes apprime colendam, una cum liberis et germana in triſtiſſimum carcerem ſecludere auſi ſunt, famulis et ancillis ſubmotis, calamo ac libris interdictis et ac ſi infimæ et abjectæ conditionis eſſent, nulla obſequia nullum pené officium illis præbent, imò verò contumeliis morte gravioribus continuò torquent. At Regina invictum gerens animum exemplo docet, in omni vita nil eſſe ad Laudem illuſtriùs quàm ipſa calamitas. Ejus tamen fatum non ſatis defleri, nec ſubitas fortunæ mutationes ſatis mirari.

" Sævitia per urbis viſcera quaſi contagione, vel peſtilentia quadam graſſante, turba procerum et civium partis regiæ, metu perculſi cauſam deſerunt pro qua mori pulchrum fuiſſet, et ſe vitam fugæ turpiter committunt; nunc vero in pœnam inopes et deſpecti per varias regiones vagantur, ſuppliciter panem petentes. Qui autem diſcedere è loco indignum putarunt, catenati in carcerem perducti ſunt, et inauditi et indefenſi pecudum more mactantur. Nec conſanguineis, amicis vel propinquis tutò viſum juſta perſolvere, vel mœrorem oſtendere: eò enim ventum eſt ut commiſeratio ipſa pro crimine haberetur.

" Non aliter ſævitum eſt in matronas ornatiſſimas, antiquiſſimi generis, et multarum imaginum, nec non notæ probitatis et pudicitiæ, in quarum numero erat Lamballea omnium nobiliſſima, et magno in honore apud Reginam. Iſtæ verò immotæ diris, placida fronte aperiunt ferro pectus, et acerbiſſima morte pro Rege, et patriæ legibus viriliter occumbunt, grande fidelitatis exemplum, et eternæ laudis inſigne quidem, ſed triſte monumentum.

" Poſt hæc facta, rebelles crudeſcente furore, cadavera nuda, velut omen et ſigna triumphi per vicos et plataas pertrahunt, et pro majori ludibrio (O nullo ſcelus credibile in ævo! quicquid pudos non viſendum vetat), ſpectatoribus digito notatur. Inſuper Lamballeæ caput obtruncant, et cruore conſperſum aſpectu que horridum, pro munere offerunt Reginæ. Quis enim

enim Imperator auguſte tàm expers humanitatis eſt, ut iſt hæc non graviter ferat, et dolore, et indignatione non afficiatur?

" Pro comperto eſt, Imperator auguſte, flagitia quæ ſigillatim memoravi, et quam plurima alia, quæ animus meminiſſe horret, et quæ cum tibi ſat nota ſint, hîc enarrare ſupervacaneum foret, ab Orleanſio molita, vir diſciplinarum omnium rudis, malis verò artibus imbutus, procax, crapuloſus, neque conſilio nec manu fortis, promiſſi parùm tenax, in perfidia ſtrenuus, beneficii immemor, erga Regem ingratiſſimus, et cædis ejus particeps.

" Regni cupiditate vehementer accenſus, ſanguinis vinculum, omnia jura lacerat nil impollutum relinquit ut perveniat quo ineptè intendit.

" Quotieſcumque iſtius flagra mente revolvo, indignatione capior in illum, cùm verò ejus tecturas perpendo, contemptu permoveor; nàm ut ſumma attingat deſcendit ad ima; regiam dignitatem concupiſcit, regiis atavis ſe editum negat, pro probro habet, et amigæ ſive ſtabularii alicujus filium eſſe, cum quo mater, ut ille palùm faſſus eſt, concubitum habebat. Pace ſit dictum matris, Orleanſii vita evidenter oſtendit, illum vili patre genitum, nàm vile ingenium, viles ſocii, quibuſcum ætatulam agit, viliſſimi mores, nulla virtus, nulla religio, nullum dicit Deum adeſſe. Eri viſum galliæ ſceptro, et chriſtianiſſimi cognomine dignum.

" Avorum inſignia et titulos publicè repudiavit, divitias tamen avitas retinere non indignum cenſuit, et ut vulgi gratiam firmiùs, ineſcaret non ſolùm infirmi, et peſſimi generis viris ſe æquari, ſed quod pluris eſt, mutato nomine, æqualitas ipſa appellari voluit.

" Is verò qualis ſit, divitiarum ope plurimùm valet in rebellium coctu, quam *conventionem* appellant, ubi boni et mali cives diverſa volentes ſimùl ſedent, mali tamen bonis longè numeroſiores, et multò potentiores ſunt. Ubi jus vi obſutum, gloria in flagitiis ponitur, et flagitior habitus eſt potior. *Conventionarii* igitur novi homines, novarum rerum cupidi, gubernandi ſcientiæ imperiti, ſed malo publico facundi, imperium

imperium optimis Legibus erectum, et tot tantisque sæculis firmatum, momento destruunt. Libertatis specie et pietatis in patriam, jugum servitutis imponunt, acerbissimam tyrannidem exercent, et patriam pessumdant. Regiam dignitatem principio gentium pro se sanctissima, et populis saluberrima institutam, sub cujus cura ac tutela rerum summa semper fuit, divinis et humanis Legibus contrariam prædicant, et non solùm domi, verùm etiam foris funditùs tollere minantur. Sabaudiam, Sardiniam, Belgium, Bataviam, Imperium romano, germanicum manu ac dolis invadunt; Principes sedibus pellunt, populos voce ac scriptis erecta semita inturpem vitam turpiùs illidunt; edocent ne præpositis debitam fidem, et obedientiam præstent, falsis pollicitationibus circumveniunt, æraria dissipiunt, pecunia publicè, et privatim extorquent, domos, templa, aras denudant, sacrilegia, strages, et homicidia commendant, divina et humana subvertunt, nil sancti habent.

" Cum igitur perduelliones isti audacter et pertinaciter bellum gerant Deo, Regibus, Principibus, Statibus, et omnibus denique probis hominibus, et nec monitis, nec exhortationibus pareant validiora remedia adhibenda sunt; armis compescendi ut è rabie scelerum discedant, idque quantociùs ne rebellio ist hæc cunctando tumescat, totam Europam contaminet, nostramque in perniciem et exitium ruat. Nàm Illà periculosior vitæ pars est Imperator Auguste quam nimia securitas reddit imparatam, et nemo celeriùs opprimitur quàm qui nil timendum putat.

" Tantis motus de causis suppetiæ meæ prætò sunt terra marique. Equites et pedites et quibus labores et pericula consueta sunt, et nullus hostis formidolosus est, sub filio duce, pro gentium, nationumque salute, certabunt.

" Divinum Numen scelerum vindicem enixis præcibus obscero, ut frænatis his rebellibus, humani generis dedecus, et pestis, et ad pristinam obedientiam revocatis, majorum leges sapienter institutæ, justitia animi gubernatrix, nec non religio virtutum omnium parens, vera dominantium firmamenta, redeant in Gallia, et toto terrarum orbe indesinenter regnent.

" Vale."

The

The laſt paper conſiſts of a memorial to the king. It will ſerve to explain the tranſactions of this unfortunate gentleman with government; and would have been noticed before, had it come into poſſeſſion of the editor at an earlier period. It is impoſſible to reflect on the untimely fate of colonel Frederick, without wiſhing either that a trifling penſion had been granted to him, or that he had been clapped, as a *rider*, on ſome German ſubſidy.

" MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

" Impreſſed with an awful reſpect for your majeſty's public and private virtues, I preſume to approach your ſacred perſon with an humble petition, on a ſubject in which your juſtice and munificence are equally intereſted.

" On the earl of Shelburne, now marquis of Lanſdown, being appointed prime miniſter, it was confidently reported, and univerſally believed, that war would be proſecuted with the utmoſt vigour. But as theſe kingdoms were almoſt exhauſted of men fit to bear arms, and the German allies could no longer fulfil their engagements, actuated by a zealous ſenſe of loyalty to your majeſty, of which I have had the honour to give ſeveral proofs, and in whoſe ſervice my only ſon fell, at the battle of Germantown, I made an offer to his lordſhip of three thouſand well diſciplined men, two thouſand of whom were in the ſervice of his moſt ſerene highneſs the duke of Wurtemberg, and one thouſand in that of the prince of Hohenlohe.

" Not long after this offer, the States General, then at war with your majeſty, applied to the above-mentioned princes for theſe very troops, to be taken into their ſervice. I communicated this intelligence to the earl of Shelburne in a letter which I delivered to Mr. Morin, his private ſecretary. This gentleman, in his lordſhip's name, deſired me to wait on Mr. Orde, who likewiſe requeſted me, by a line, to call on him the next morning, which was on the 22d of November, 1782. Mr. Orde then expreſſed his wiſhes to me, that theſe troops might be prevented from engaging in the ſervice of their High Mightineſſes, and retained for your majeſty. In compliance with

theſe wiſhes I wrote to Germany that very evening, in a manner proper to ſecure ſucceſs.

" On the 9th of December I received an anſwer, which was perfectly conformable to Mr. Orde's wiſhes and my own. On the 10th I ſignified it to this gentleman by letter, and begged for a conference reſpecting the ſubſiſtence of the troops, during the time they were to be kept at your majeſty's requiſition. This requeſt I repeated on the 16th and on the 25th of the ſaid month.

" It was the 10th of January, 1783, before I had an interview with Mr. Orde, when I repeated, what I had written to him, that their Serene Highneſſes, as a matter of courſe, expected that the troops ſhould be ſubſiſted by your majeſty, and that the ſubſiſtence ſhould begin from the 22d of November, to which he made no objection.

" On the 15th of the ſaid Month of January (five days before the preliminaries of peace were ſigned), Mr. Orde acquainted me that the troops were not wanted by your majeſty. On the 17th, being poſt-day, I informed their Serene Highneſſes of this notification. My letter reached the princes the 27th.

" In anſwer they tranſmitted to me the abſtract for the ſubſiſtence of the troops, from the 22d of November 1782, to the 27th of January 1783, on which day, as I have obſerved above, their Serene Highneſſes received my letter.

" I laid a copy of the abſtract before Mr. Orde, who told me that he would take the firſt opportunity of laying it before lord Shelburne. Some time after he acquainted me that his lordſhip objected to the claim, becauſe no mention had been made of any ſubſiſtence on my firſt retaining the troops, but thought me entitled to ſome conſideration for that ſervice.

" I confeſs, moſt gracious ſovereign, that this mode of reaſoning, as it was new to me, ſo it filled me with aſtoniſhment and concern. For having always underſtood that retention naturally implied ſubſiſtence, and that this was a rule univerſally eſtabliſhed in like caſes, and never controverted, I conceived that

that any mention of it, on my firſt retaining thoſe troops, was utterly unneceſſary. And as Mr. Orde, from the beginning to the end of that tranſaction, had never objected thereto, I took it as an aſſent; and *bona fide* aſſured their Serene Highneſſes, that their expectations would be complied with. The non-compliance, royal ſir, muſt of courſe have prejudiced me in their opinion.

" But the earl of Shelburne reſigning the ſeals before this matter was adjuſted, it was agreed, between Mr. Orde and your majeſty's moſt humble ſuppliant, that I ſhould preſent a memorial to the new board of treaſury, at which the duke of Portland then preſided, and Mr. Orde would ſupport the facts. The memorial was worded by this gentleman, but he clouded the juſtice of my claim by the following words:—" As it appeared to your memorialiſt, ſeemed to wiſh, &c." To which words I objected, but Mr. Orde perſiſting that the terms were ſufficiently ample, I was obliged to conſent."

COPY OF THE MEMORIAL.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.

The Memorial of Colonel Frederick

Humbly ſheweth,

" That your memorialiſt has always given undeniable proofs of zeal and attachment to the king.

" That during the late war your memorialiſt diſpoſed ſeveral princes in Upper Germany to ſupply his majeſty with troops.

" That in July laſt your memorialiſt made an offer of three thouſand men to the then miniſter, the earl of Shelburne, two thouſand of whom belonged to his moſt Serene Highneſs, the duke of Wurtemberg, and one thouſand men to the prince of Hohenlohe.

" That in November laſt, your memorialiſt being informed

formed that the States General had applied for thoſe troops to the above-mentioned princes, he gave notice of it to the earl of Shelburne.

" That on the 22d of the ſaid month your memorialiſt, by his lordſhip's order, had a conference with Mr. Orde on that important object, who, as it appeared to your memorialiſt, ſeemed to wiſh that thoſe troops could be prevented from engaging in the ſervice of the enemy, until it could be aſcertained whether his majeſty would require them.

" That your memorialiſt that very day wrote over to Germany, in terms that promiſed ſucceſs. On the 9th of December he received a favourable anſwer. On the 10th he acquainted Mr. Orde with it; and afterwards by letters, of the 16th and 25th, he applied to that gentleman for a conference on the terms and conditions tranſmitted to your memorialiſt relative to the ſaid troops.

" That peace having rendered no longer neceſſary ſuch prudent meaſure of depriving the enemy of that conſiderable body of men, and of ſecuring them to his majeſty if wanted,

" Your memorialiſt begs leave to crave the payment for the maintenance of the ſaid three thouſand men, as the account here annexed will ſhew, from the 22d of November, when they were prevented from entering the ſervice of the enemy, and retained at the king's option, to the 27th of January, when your memorialiſt's letter was received by the princes, that his majeſty had no occaſion for ſuch troops.

" And your memorialiſt will ever pray."

" The board of treaſury declined to take cognizance of this memorial. Their lordſhips gave for reaſon, that the affair of the troops having been tranſacted by lord Shelburne, it ought to have been ſettled by himſelf, before he went out of office. Beſide this objection, their lordſhips could not find any minutes of that tranſaction. To this I replied, that Mr. Orde would vouch for the fact, but the board refuſed to apply to this gentleman for information.

" I acquainted Mr. Orde with this anſwer, and requeſted his

recommendation to their lordſhips. Mr. Orde, in a letter from Cambridge, of the 3d of Auguſt 1783, expreſſed himſelf in theſe words: "I ſhall be very ready, when called upon, to give the moſt favourable account in my power, of the tranſaction upon which your memorial is founded, but it is not poſſible for me to be of any uſe in haſtening the proceedings of the treaſury."

"I reiterated my requeſt, and Mr. Orde replied, that he could not obtrude himſelf on the board with any officious teſtimony which was not called for, but he gave me hope of redreſs if things ſhould take another turn. Thus, royal ſir, by the board of treaſury refuſing to refer the matter to the information of Mr. Orde, and by this gentleman as firmly refuſing, unleſs officially called upon, to inform their lordſhips of the nature of my claim, I have been brought into a ſeries of troubles, which (with your majeſty's permiſſion) I ſhall relate.

"It was inſinuated to his moſt Serene Highneſs the duke of Wurtemberg, that I had received the pay for the ſubſiſtence of the troops, and had appropriated the money to my own uſe. As I could produce no proofs to the contrary, on account of the lords of the treaſury having refuſed to give me an anſwer in writing, the fallacious inſinuation gained credit. The conſequence was, that I loſt the favour and confidence of a prince who had always been extremely gracious and benevolent to me, together with my appointments under him, and my future expectations received a mortal wound. This unforeſeen revolution in my affairs forced me to contract debts for my ſupport; and not being able to diſcharge them, to avoid the diſgrace of a priſon, I took refuge in the verge of the court, where I remain to this hour in a ſtate of indigence, and without any other reſource but a full confidence in your majeſty's juſtice and great goodneſs. I requeſted, therefore, Mr. Orde to deſcribe my preſent ſituation to lord Shelburne, making no doubt but his lordſhip would confirm thoſe prepoſſeſſions which I had always entertained in his favour.

"Upon this Mr. Orde favoured me with the following obliging letter, of the 12th of December 1783. "I have been in expectation of ſeeing lord Shelburne, and have therefore not written to him. If he does not come ſoon I will certainly write.

I know not, however, how it can be at preſent in his power to aſſiſt you; but I ſhall not fail to acquaint him of your requeſt. I wiſh heartily that I could contribute to relieve you from your diſtreſſes, which indeed I can only do by any private effort in my power, and worth your acceptance. As to the voucher, that you have not received any conſideration for the troops, about which you applied, you may ſurely be furniſhed with, if you think it neceſſary or uſeful to you.

"I have the honour, &c.

"THOMAS ORDE."

To Colonel Frederick, No. 3, Buckingham-court.

"On the change of adminiſtration, which happened ſoon after, I begged of Mr. Orde, that he would acquaint Mr. Pitt with my demand on government. Mr. Orde obligingly replied, that he would not only inform him of it, *but recommend it in the moſt liberal manner.* In fact, Mr. Roſe aſſured me ſince, that Mr. Orde had ſpoken to him very feelingly of me, and that he (Mr. Roſe) had repreſented my caſe to Mr. Pitt as feelingly. Upon this aſſurance I made myſelf certain of a ſpeedy redreſs, and waited for it with perfect tranquillity. But, contrary to my expectations, I received this very diſtreſſing anſwer, fraught, however, with a reſpectful commiſeration.

"*Treaſury Chambers, March 8th*, 1784.

"Mr. Roſe preſents his compliments to colonel Frederick, and is extremely ſorry to acquaint him, that in a very full and attentive conſideration of his caſe, it is determined to be impoſſible to afford him any other relief, than giving him a certificate of his having received no money for the troops of Wurtemberg, &c. notwithſtanding an earneſt wiſh to do good to a gentleman in his unhappy ſituation."

Copy of the Certificate.

"*Treaſury Chambers, 15th March*, 1784.

"Colonel Frederick having made application to this board for the pay of two thouſand men, in the ſervice of his Serene Highneſs

the duke of Wurtemberg, and one thouſand men, in the ſervice of the prince of Hohenlohe, from the 22d of November 1782, to the 27th of January 1783, for reaſons ſtated by him, which the lords commiſſioners could not comply with, and he having repreſented it to be of importance to him, that he ſhould have a certificate of his not having received any pay for them, I hereby certify all whom it may concern, that no money whatever has been iſſued to him for ſuch ſervice.

"GEORGE ROSE."

"But this certificate not proving ſatisfactory to their Serene Highneſſes, I did myſelf the honour to write to Mr. Pitt, on the 23d of April 1784, and in that letter I ſtated the whole tranſaction at large, of which he had only been informed viva voce, and prayed again for the payment for the ſubſiſtence of the troops, or that the board of treaſury would be pleaſed to grant me a more explicit certificate, a rough draught of which I drew up myſelf, in the following words:

"Colonel Frederick having, by order of government, prevented two thouſand men in the ſervice of his Serene Highneſs the duke of Wurtemberg, and one thouſand men in the ſervice of the prince of Hohenlohe, from engaging in the ſervice of the States General, and retained them for his majeſty, and he having made repeated applications to this board for the pay for their ſubſiſtence, from the 22d of November 1782, to the 27th of January 1783; I hereby certify, that no money whatever has been iſſued to him for ſuch ſervice."

"Receiving no anſwer from Mr. Pitt, I wrote the following letter to Mr. Roſe.

"SIR,

"Dire neceſſity compels me to give you this trouble, and to entreat that you will procure me an anſwer to the letter which I had the honour to write to Mr. Pitt the 23d of laſt month. As by loſing the favour of his moſt Serene Highneſs the duke of Wurtemberg, I have loſt my appointments under him, and in ſhort my all, delay and uncertainty muſt naturally increaſe my diſ-

treſſes, in ſo much, that I would rather ceaſe to be, than continue to drag ſuch a wretched exiſtence. I do not mention this with a view to move the compaſſion of the miniſter; I am fully perſuaded of his humanity; it is the favourite virtue of great minds. I crave, however, his juſtice, and your generous ſolicitations.

" I have the honour to be

No. 3, Buckingham-court, your moſt obedient
11th May, 1784, and moſt humble ſervant,
To George Roſe, Eſq. " FREDERICK."

" On the 13th of the ſaid month, Mr. Roſe informed me that the board of treaſury ſtill objected to any allowance being made by them for the duke of Wurtemberg's troops, &c. nor would their lordſhips grant me another certificate, but they would take my caſe into their conſideration.

" The refuſal of a more explicit certificate affected me moſt ſenſibly, not only becauſe it confirmed the ſuſpicions which I was ſo anxious to remove, but becauſe it precluded me from any future endeavours to ſerve your majeſty, either at Wurtemberg, or any other court where that houſe has or may have any influence.

" Driven to extremity by theſe determinations of the board of treaſury, my only hopes were in a perſonal explanation of the whole tranſaction to their Serene Highneſſes; I therefore requeſted that their lordſhips would be pleaſed to enable me to leave this country with honour, and defray the expences of my journey to Wurtemberg, where it was neceſſary I ſhould repair, in order to vindicate my character. To this I alſo added, that ſhould I not be ſo fortunate as to recover the favour of that prince, I muſt, from an abſolute neceſſity, return to this kingdom, and ſupplicate for that protection which my zealous endeavours to ſerve your majeſty had deprived me at Wurtemberg. Mr. Roſe deſired to know the amount of my debts. I replied, that having lived with a Spartan frugality, the debts which I had contracted here, from November 1782 to May 1784, amounted to no more than four hundred and thirty odd pounds, and that with one hundred and ten pounds more I could proceed to Wurtemberg.

" Some time after this Mr. Roſe acquainted me, that the board

of

of treaſury had granted me one hundred pounds. In vain I repreſented its inſufficiency to leave this country with honour, and to repair to Wurtemberg. Mr. Roſe gave me for anſwer, that the lords of the treaſury could afford me no further relief. However inadequate this ſum was for the purpoſe ſtated above, the very embarraſſed ſtate of my affairs forced me to accept of it, but without any ways prejudicing my claim for the maintenance of the troops.

" The day after I had received this ſum, I informed Mr. Roſe of my intending, with Mr. Pitt's permiſſion, humbly to lay the whole tranſaction before parliament, as a matter of national concern, hoping that the miniſter would not object to my ſubmitting the caſe to the deciſion of that very ſenate to whoſe wiſdom he himſelf ſubmitted the meaſures he intended to take for the intereſt, honour, and dignity of this empire.

" To this propoſal Mr. Roſe ſent me the following anſwer.

" SIR, *Treaſury Chambers, June 22, 1784.*

" The ſame reaſon which induced Mr. Pitt to object to any allowance being made for the duke of Wurtemberg's troops, &c. by the treaſury, muſt compel him to object to the claim, if it is made in parliament. He does not think it admiſſible in any ſhape, which I have had the honour of explaining to you repeatedly; and I am perſuaded that he will find it impoſſible to extend his majeſty's bounty to yourſelf beyond the ſum of one hundred pounds paid you yeſterday.

" I have the honour, &c.

" GEORGE ROSE."

To Colonel Frederick, No. 3, Buckingham-court,

" I replied, that I was a ſtranger to the reaſon which induced the board of treaſury to object to any allowance being made for the duke of Wurtemberg's troops, &c. nor could I conceive why a claim founded upon principles which have always been holden moſt ſacred, *ſhould not be admiſſible in any ſhape, if made in parliament*; and why it ſhould be found impoſſible to extend your majeſty's bounty to a man who had ſacrificed every thing to loyalty, and loſt his only ſon in your majeſty's ſervice.

"No notice having been taken of this reply, I had an interview with Mr. Orde, who again promiſed to ſpeak to Mr. Pitt.

"Urging for an anſwer, Mr. Orde ſent me the following note:

"*St. James's-ſtreet, 8th July, 1784.*

"Mr. Orde preſents his compliments to colonel Frederick, and deſires to acknowledge the receipt of his letter of yeſterday, and to repeat to him, that he has mentioned the circumſtances of his caſe, as he promiſed, to Mr. Pitt, which he has already aſſured colonel Frederick is all that is in his power to do."

"Yet, Royal Sir, being very anxious to leave nothing untried, to effect my juſtification with their Serene Highneſſes, to whom I had been accuſed of having ſacrificed their intereſt to ſelfiſh views, and a partiality to this nation, and it being ſuggeſted to me, that if the whole ſeries of that tranſaction were authenticated by perſons of known reſpectability in this country, it would ſtrongly operate upon their princely minds in my favour, I, on this flattering advice, applied again to Mr. Orde, and requeſted that he would conſent to our committing the determination of the caſe to two gentlemen of diſtinguiſhed character, one to be named by him, and the other by me; but Mr. Orde rejected the propoſal in the following letter:

"SIR, *St. James's-ſtreet, 9th July, 1784.*

"I have this moment received your favour of yeſterday's date, and would not delay to inform you, that I cannot immediately comprehend for what reaſon you would propoſe an arbitration of two gentlemen, the one to be named by you, and the other by me. I am not aware of any thing which requires that ſort of reference. As you have repeated allowed, that you have founded your claim on adminiſtration, on the ground of voluntary zeal, at all events I have no concern in ſuch mode of proceeding, as the matter does not reſt with me.

"I have the honour, &c.

"THOMAS ORDE."

To Colonel Frederick, No. 3, Buckingham-court.

"Unwilling

"Unwilling further to intrude on your majeſty's indulgence, by my entering into a minute diſcuſſion of Mr. Orde's letter, I content myſelf with his freely acknowledging, in the moſt unequivocal terms, my voluntary zeal for your majeſty's ſervice. I beg leave therefore to revert with all humility to the original claim for the maintenance of the troops, and to ſubmit to your royal deciſion,

"Whether troops perfectly neutral, prevented from engaging in the ſervice of the enemy, and retained for your majeſty, are not entitled to ſubſiſtence during the time of their being kept at your royal requiſition, notwithſtanding that no mention had been literally made of any ſubſiſtence on their being firſt retained.

"2*dly*, After thoſe troops had been retained, on condition that they ſhould be ſubſiſted by your majeſty during the time they were to be kept at your royal requiſition, whether Mr. Orde's not objecting to it from the beginning to the end of that tranſaction, was not a ſtrong reaſon for me to conſider it as an aſſent to the above condition, and for my aſſuring their Serene Highneſſes of your majeſty's agreeing to their terms, eſpecially as I humbly conceived, that thoſe terms were perfectly conſiſtent with juſtice, the nature of things, and a ſtanding rule univerſally eſtabliſhed in like caſes.

"Should your majeſty from the premiſes, faithfully ſtated, not deem me entitled to any other claim but that of my voluntary zeal, I moſt humbly entreat that, in conſideration of that voluntary zeal, ſhewn at a very dangerous period, and the ſevere hardſhips under which I actually labour on that account, your majeſty will vouchſafe to grant me ſuch relief as your high wiſdom, great goodneſs, and the innate dignity of your royal character, ſhall ſuggeſt.

I am,
with the moſt profound reſpect,
your Majeſty's
moſt obedient,
moſt devoted,
and moſt humble ſervant,
(Signed) "FREDERICK."

SIR

SIR JOHN DRYDEN, BARONET.

THE late Sir John Dryden, Bart. was the third ſon of Sir Edward Turner of Ambroſeden, in the county of Oxford, Bart. a gentleman of an ancient, reſpectable, and very opulent family; two of whoſe children, after his death, became baronets, and both his daughters peereſſes, of Great Britain *.

Sir G. Page, his maternal uncle, who betook himſelf to commerce, acquired an immenſe fortune, and lived with great ſplendour and hoſpitality at his noble manſion of Blackheath: indeed, the princely magnificence of his reſidence, his park, and his domeſtics, ſurpaſſed every thing, in point of grandeur, that has been exhibited, by a citizen of London, ſince the days of the munificent Sir Thomas Greſham, and almoſt equalled the ſplendour of the Italian merchants of the ducal houſe of Medicis.

Sir Edward Turner, on the other hand, was poſſeſſed of a large eſtate, and being a man of conſiderable conſequence in Oxfordſhire, where he wiſhed to ſecure a certain degree of political influence to himſelf and his deſcendants, alſo erected a ſtately edifice for his family reſidence; but ſuch is the verſatility of human affairs, that his eldeſt ſon, who inherited the landed property of both his father and grand uncle, ſoon after obtaining poſſeſſion, pulled down the two large and elegant manſions, which it had been the pride of his relatives to rear, and, as if deſirous to deſtroy even the veſtiges of them, the materials were ſold firſt by private contract, and afterwards by public auction †.

It

* Lady Hawke, and Lady Say and Sele.

† The heir ſeems to have been ambitious on this occaſion to realize the predictions of Pope reſpecting Cannons, the magnificent ſeat of the duke of Chandos:

"Another age ſhall ſee the golden ear
"Imbrown the ſlope, and nod on the parterre;
"Deep harveſts bury all *that* pride has plann'd,
"And laughing Ceres reaſſume the land."

This

It is to this family that a nobleman, who has long enjoyed the confidence of his ſovereign, and acquired a conſiderable degree of celebrity by his political and commercial talents, is indebted for his riſe in life. Sir Edward Turner, during his memorable conteſt for the county of Oxford, was obliged to the lyric muſe of Mr. Jenkinſon, then a ſprightly young man, freſh from Oxford, for a popular election-ballad, which induced the generous baronet to introduce and recommend him to his friend lord Bute, by whom he was long and munificently patronized. It is obvious to every one, who has paid any attention to the affairs of human life, that the future fortune and ſituation of individuals are often intimately connected with circumſtances trivial in themſelves, and it is an incontrovertible fact that the barony of Hawkeſbury, the earldom of Liverpool, a ſplendid fortune, and great alliances, originated in this little anecdote. Indeed, without entering into metaphyſical refinements, it might not be very difficult to ſuppoſe, that all the great events which have occurred in this country, ſince a little before the commencement of the American war, can be traced up through their various ramifications to the *parent-ſong*, compoſed in favour of a knight of the ſhire for the county of Oxford.

Sir John Dryden, baronet, the ſubject of the preſent article, was born at Ambroſeden, in October 1753.

As ſoon as he was qualified for that celebrated ſeminary, he was ſent to Harrow ſchool, and, after receiving a liberal education, it was determined he ſhould travel. He accordingly made the grand tour, under the guidance of Dr. Nugent, father-in-law to the late celebrated orator, Edmund Burke, and author of a work, part of which, if not the whole, was undoubtedly compiled from the occurrences of this period. As the tutor had compoſed an eulogy on the illuſtrious lineage and high deſcent of the family of Mecklinbourg-Strelitz, both he and his pupil re-

This prophecy has been literally fulfilled in both caſes, and that too with a wonderful coincidence: for the ſuperb palace at Cannons was bought and pulled down by Hallett, a cabinet-maker in Long Acre, while the demolition of that no leſs noble manſion of Blackheath fell to the lot of Cator, a timber merchant of the Adelphi!

ceived

ceived a friendly welcome at that court *, and dined daily with the duke, who, on their return, preſented young Mr. Turner (afterwards Sir J. Dryden) with a letter to his ſiſter, the queen of Great Britain.

Soon after this he entered into the firſt regiment of foot guards, and having inherited above fifty thouſand pounds, and being in the heyday of youth, he became one of the moſt faſhionable young men about town; in ſhort, in conformity to a cuſtom, "far better honoured in the breach than the obſervance," he diſſipated a large ſum of money in a manner not ſanctioned by the approbation of his maturer judgment and riper years. Indeed, to be candid (for genuine biography is leſs intended to be an eulogium on the dead, than an example to the living), he contracted debts and obligations at this period, which, as he was cut off while yet a young man, the ſhort poſſeſſion of a large fortune did not enable him entirely to liquidate.

At length, happily for him, captain Turner became united to a very amiable lady, niece to Sir John Dryden †, baronet, of Canons Aſhby, in the county of Northampton, and great grand neice to the famous Engliſh poet of the ſame name. In conſequence of this marriage he obtained a conſiderable fortune, and on the death of the dowager lady Dryden came into poſſeſſion of Canons Aſhby, and landed eſtates in the counties of Lincoln and Northampton, of more than three thouſand pounds per annum ‡. On this occaſion he changed his own for his wife's maiden

* Sir John was accuſtomed to praiſe the hoſpitality of duke Charles, and to remark with pleaſure, that none of the oſtentatious magnificence diſplayed by the petty princes of Germany, was viſible in his palace. On gala days, indeed, a *pepper-box, ſalt-ſeller and ſpoon*, all of gold, were appropriated ſolely to the uſe of his Serene Highneſs, but in nothing elſe did he differ from his gueſts.

It would appear from lord Orford's poſthumous works, vol. iv. p. 281, that ſeveral of our own monarchs have, on great occaſions, indulged a ſimilar propenſity. Queen Anne had a knife, fork, and ſpoon, of the ſame metal; theſe were carried by George I. to Hanover, and brought back by George II. to Great Britain.

† His anceſtors were created baronets by James I.

‡ Soon after getting poſſeſſion of Canons Aſhby, in which the great poet and critic was born, a ſingular application was made to Sir John, by a man of very inferior talents.

After

maiden name, was ſoon after appointed high ſheriff of Northamptonſhire, and knighted by his majeſty, in 1793, on preſenting a petition from the county in favour of the preſent war.

As there was an ancient baronetcy in lady Dryden's family, ſhe wiſhed to procure a title that might deſcend to his children; and accordingly applied by letter to the nobleman already alluded to, who had been indebted for his own elevation to his father; but whether it was that his lordſhip had forgotten this circumſtance, or that he did not chooſe to aſk a favour at that time, is impoſſible to determine. The fact is, that his anſwer was at once equivocal and extraordinary. The boon, however, was obtained in 1795, through the agency of an amiable nobleman, who at preſent preſides over the moſt ſucceſsful department of the ſtate. And ſurely his claims to this diſtinction were well founded; for in addition to raiſing a troop of yeomen cavalry *, and procuring a large ſubſcription for public purpoſes, he acquired the firſt ſeeds of that diſeaſe which afterwards proved fatal to him, by a ſtrict attendance to his duty as an officer, in conſequence of which he expoſed a tender conſtitution to the ſeverities of a rigorous winter. His health accordingly declined apace; and an aſthma, with which he had been

After ſolicitouſly inquiring, if no "old trunk," of Charles the Second's time, with parchments, &c. of the ſame period, were ſtill in exiſtence, in the manſion houſe of the Drydens? he was told with much civility, "that all the Dryden papers had been unfortunately carried to Rome by one of the poet's ſons." Emboldened by this, with a boſom fraught with joy, and pregnant with ſome great diſcovery, the perſon in queſtion, who was a very indifferent *rhymeſter*, diſcloſed a plan, which he ſeemed to have been ſome time in maturing: this was no other than to foiſt his own works on the public, for thoſe of the great Engliſh poet.

"But who," exclaimed the gentleman whom he intended to be his patron—"but who is to forge the poetry?" "As for that matter," replied the writer of acroſticks, with unbluſhing confidence, "I can hit Dryden's ſtyle to a hair, having all my life written in his manner!!!"

It is needleſs to add, that this hopeful project was inſtantly ſcouted, greatly to the regret of the projector, whoſe vanity could only be equalled by his impudence.

* On that occaſion he reſigned his company in the Oxfordſhire militia, in which he had ſerved during ten years. This circumſtance occaſioned great regret, from the mutual eſteem ſubſiſting between himſelf and the highly reſpectable officers compoſing that corps.

occaſionally

occaſionally troubled in a ſlight degree before, now exhibited alarming ſymptoms, and was attended by a morbid irritability of nerves that beſpoke an approaching diſſolution. He accordingly died at his houſe in Upper Seymour-ſtreet, Portman-ſquare, on Sunday April 16, 1797, in the forty-fourth year of his age, leaving an amiable widow and eight children behind him; the eldeſt of whom, ſir Edward, now in his ſeventeenth year, is brought up under the inſpection of his mother, lady Dryden, who, aware of the faſhionable follies of the age, and dreading the vices too frequently engrafted on a public education, rears him within the paternal manſion: a taſk ſhe is admirably qualified to fulfil the duties of, by uniting to an intimate knowledge of the world, much of the ſtrong ſenſe and maſculine talents of her great anceſtor.

Sir John Dryden was univerſally acknowledged to ſhine in a convivial circle. His manners were faſcinating; his converſation elegant; his wit always prompt, and at times brilliant. Above moſt men he did the honours of an hoſpitable table with an eaſe and delicacy that charmed every one; and he poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, that firſt requiſite of good breeding, the art of making all his gueſts feel themſelves *at home*.

In reſpect to political tenets, he had early imbibed from his father an attachment to a ſyſtem formerly known by the name of *whiggiſm*; conſiſting rather in a perſonal predilection to the family itſelf, than the principles that ſeated the illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick on the throne of theſe realms. He was, however, uncommonly liberal in reſpect to thoſe who differed from him in opinion; a high proof of which is, that, although led away by the torrent of the times, he had ordered the effigy of the author of the "Rights of Man" to be burned during his ſhrievalty, he afterwards, in a cooler moment, frankly confeſſed, that he muſt be no common perſon who had riſen from ſuch humble beginnings to an eminence that ſubjected him to the perſonal enmity of his majeſty's miniſters.

Sir John was at firſt a moſt ſtrenuous advocate for the preſent war; but, when he found that torrents of blood were ſhed, and

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an enormous debt contracted, in the proſecution of a conteſt hitherto undefined in its object, he lamented the active part he had taken at its commencement.

The melancholy aſpect of public affairs, early in 1797, preyed on his mind; and, in the opinion of a friend, who viſited him on his death bed, enjoyed much pleaſure in his company while alive, and reſpects his memory now he is no more, he appeared to be infinitely leſs agitated about the ſituation of himſelf than of his country.

It was ſuch a generous paſſion as this that Pope* has immortalized, in the perſon of ſir Richard Temple, lord Cobham:—

"And you, brave Cobham! to the lateſt breath,
"Shall feel your ruling paſſion ſtrong in death;
"Such in thoſe moments as in all the paſt,
"Oh! ſave my country, Heav'n! ſhall be your laſt."

As a laſt duty, lady Dryden has erected a plain but elegant monument, cut by the chiſſel of Roſſi, to the memory of her late huſband, in the church of Canons Aſhby, with a ſhort inſcription, at once expreſſive of conjugal and filial affection.

* Vol. II. Epiſt. 1. Part 3.

A SKETCH

A SKETCH

OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE LATE

COUNT DE BERNSTORFF,

PRIME MINISTER OF DENMARK, &c.

HEAVEN hath implanted ambition in the human breaſt for the beſt and nobleſt of all purpoſes; without it man would be a lifeleſs lump of clay, devoid of energy and activity; public ſpirit would be unknown; private intereſt would alone be attended to; and hiſtory would have nothing to record but the groveling actions of vulgar life. It is true, the world would not then be curſed by thoſe prodigies of crime who have been emphatically termed the "deſtroyers of nations," and Alexander could never have dreamed of conquering India, to obtain the applauſe of the Greeks! But, on the other hand, none of thoſe great men who have illumined the page of ancient and modern times would have exiſted, and we ſhould have looked in vain for a Cato, a Cicero, a Brutus, and a long liſt of philoſophers, legiſlators, and patriots.

It is the direction, then, of this quality that renders it either good or bad, virtuous or vicious, a curſe or a bleſſing to mankind. When originating in a luſt of power, dreadful indeed muſt be the reſult, if accompanied by ſucceſs. It then delights in blood and ſlaughter and war; it tramples underneath its feet all laws, divine and human; the field of battle becomes its altar, and the cries and pangs and tortures of the citizens, its favourite muſic, until at laſt it ſits, Moloch-like, enthroned on the headleſs carcaſes ſacrificed at its ſhrine.

On the contrary, when employed for noble and rational purpoſes, it conſtitutes the happineſs of mankind. It animates and forms the hero and the patriot; it gives birth to the brilliant actions of an Epaminondas and a Leonidas; to the glorious ſtruggles of an Alfred; and the unmerited ſufferings of a Sydney. With Plato and Lycurgus it founds free ſtates; with Numa it preſerves them.

them. Ever active for the public good, it ſometimes condeſcends to ſit beneath the canopy of the deſpot, on purpoſe to direct his counſels; and, on a recent occaſion, this ſame beneficent principle, actuating the boſom of a great ſtateſman, has ſhed its genial influence over the hyperborean regions, and ſheltered them from the ravages of the moſt terrible war ever witneſſed by Europe.

The late count De Bernſtorff appertained to the claſs of *nobles*, being deſcended from a very ancient family which formerly poſſeſſed conſiderable eſtates in Germany. One of his anceſtors removed from the electorate of Hanover to the court of Denmark, and ſettled in that country which his deſcendants were afterwards deſtined to rule. He himſelf was born there, in 1735, and received an education ſuitable to his birth and his talents. His uncle, the *old* count De Bernſtorff, who occupied a diſtinguiſhed ſituation in the Daniſh cabinet, adopted him as his heir, and was particularly anxious that he ſhould one day ſucceed him. Great care was therefore beſtowed on his inſtruction, and he was at an early period of life made acquainted with every thing reſpecting the commerce, finances, and government of his native country.

In the mean time his relation was driven from power by one of thoſe ſudden events which depend upon caprice rather than judgment. That nobleman was attached to the Ruſſian intereſts, which had been long predominant in the cabinet, and experienced, indeed, but a ſhort interruption during the ephemeral adminiſtration of count Struenſee. This miniſter, brought in by what was termed the *Engliſh* intereſt, had conceived great, and it muſt be confeſſed noble, plans for the aggrandiſement of Denmark. He made conſiderable reforms, and meditated more important ones. Had but ſucceſs attended his meaſures, he would have been conſidered as the greateſt man of his age; but the times proved unpropitious, and the intrigues of Julia-Maria *, the queen-dowager,

* This princeſs, born September 4, 1729, was the daughter of Ferdinand-Albert, duke of Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttle, and the widow of Frederick V. king of Denmark, father of his preſent majeſty, Chriſtian VII. She poſſeſſed maſculine talents, coupled with a ſpirit of intrigue that proved highly diſaſtrous, as ſhe was induced to aſpire to the ſupreme power, which ſhe exerciſed during ſeveral years with all the plenitude of authority.

dowager, a woman poſſeſſed of ſome talents, and curſed with a devouring ambition, precipitated his royal miſtreſs from a throne to a priſon, and cut off the head of the aſpiring and patriot Dane, by the hands of a common executioner. This is not the firſt time that genius has been circumvented by guile.

On the marriage of the king of Denmark to the ſiſter of the king of Great Britain, ſhe beheld herſelf eclipſed by a young and beautiful princeſs, and ſaw the affairs of the kingdom entirely regulated by Struenſee on one hand, while Brandt, the favourite of the monarch, engroſſed all his confidence on the other. Poſſeſſing a haughty and overbearing temper, and accuſtomed, although only mother-in-law to his majeſty, to participate in the exerciſe of the regal authority, ſhe conceived the bold idea of effecting a total change in public affairs. On this occaſion ſhe was aſſiſted by an old courtier, count Molke, who had been diſplaced in conſequence of ſome recent reforms, and alſo by a great number of others who were hoſtile to the late changes.

It was on the morning of January 17, 1772, that ſhe effected her purpoſe. She entered the king's bed-chamber at four o'clock, accompanied by his half-brother, prince Frederick, count Rantzau, and general Eichſtedt, whom ſhe had gained over to her intereſts. Having cauſed the king to be awoke, they perſuaded him that his conſort, miniſter, and favourite, were about to deprive him of his crown, and, with a view to alarm him the more, aſſerted that they were engaged, at that very moment, in drawing up an act of renunciation, to which he would be obliged, by force, to affix his ſignature.

In ſhort, the timid monarch was perſuaded to iſſue orders for arreſting the queen and her ſuppoſed accomplices: ſhe was impriſoned in the caſtle of Cronenburgh, together with her infant daughter; while the others were confined in the citadel, and ſoon after put to death, after experiencing the torture! As for her majeſty, ſhe was reſcued from all farther inſult, by the ſpirited conduct of the Engliſh ambaſſador (Sir R. Murray Keith), and conveyed in an Engliſh frigate to Zell, where ſhe died of a broken heart, May 10th, 1775, in the twenty-fourth year of her age.

In conſequence of this ſudden and unexpected revolution, the management of public affairs entirely devolved on the queen-dowager, who governed Denmark with abſolute authority, in the name of her ſon-in-law. Her own ſon, prince Frederick, preſided at the head of a new council, compoſed according to her wiſhes, while all the other departments were filled with her creatures, and the prince-royal was educated under her immediate ſuperintendance.

Having thus raiſed herſelf to the ſupreme command by an unexampled act of audacity, ſhe contrived to preſerve her power during a period of twelve years. At length, the heir apparent, having attained his ſeventeenth year, and diſcovered talents worthy of his exalted ſituation, the nation began to conſider him as the legitimate governor, during the incapacity of his father. Accordingly, April 16, 1784, another revolution enſued, in conſequence of which the old queen and her adherents were deprived of all ſhare in the government, and ſeveral of the old members, ſtill in exiſtence, reſumed their former places. On this occaſion the young prince diſplayed great moderation, for he permitted Julia-Maria to repair to a country ſeat in the neighbourhood of the capital, where ſhe lived in retirement during twelve years, and died October 10, 1796.

No ſooner was this ſudden revolution effected, than the intereſt of Ruſſia once more became paramount, and that ambitious court began to look around for ſome noble devoted to its intereſts, to whom it might entruſt the reins of government. The elder Bernſtorff was now in the decline of life, and it was apprehended that his years rended him incapable of filling ſo high a poſt to the ſatisfaction of the public. Neither his ſervices nor his family were, however, overlooked, for his nephew, now returned from his travels, was pitched upon to fill the important office of prime miniſter, and it was fondly hoped that he would be devoted, both from intereſt and gratitude, to the court that had patronized him. But it proved otherwiſe.

The ſituation of Denmark, at this period, was far from being flouriſhing. Her population ſcarcely exceeded * two millions of ſubjects; her revenues did not amount to twenty millions of livres; her people were diſpirited; her commerce had dwindled into inſignificance, and it was the tolls exacted at the Sound that alone ſerved to introduce foreign wealth into the kingdom. To thoſe who maintain, that it is the genius of a government which renders a people flouriſhing or languid, rich or poor, happy or miſerable, the ſtate of Denmark at that period will afford a pregnant example. It muſt have been no common cauſe that reduced a nation, once the maſters of all Scandinavia, and which had conquered and given kings to Britain, to ſuch a ſtate of inſignificance as to be accounted a power of the third or fourth order, and to be no longer of any weight in the politics of Europe. We muſt ſearch for the reaſon in hiſtory.

When the Danes were great, they were governed by the nobles. The ancient form of government, like the groundwork, indeed, of all the feudal kingdoms of Europe, was originally favourable to liberty. In Denmark, in particular, the kings were choſen by the body of the people; and the loweſt and moſt contemptible claſſes ſeem to have enjoyed the ſame privileges in this reſpect as the ariſtocracy †.

Frequent

* Struenſee cauſed an actual numeration of the inhabitants to be made, by which it appeared that they amounted to 2,017,027.

† "The ancient form of government here (Denmark), was the ſame which the

Frequent meetings of the ſtates formed a part of the fundamental conſtitution; they enacted laws, they regulated all affairs relative to peace and war; they diſpoſed of ſeveral of the great offices; and they were conſulted reſpecting the marriages of the royal family. Taxes were incidental, being but ſeldom impoſed, in order to meet great contingencies, ſuch as a neceſſary war, concerning the merits of which they judged in the firſt inſtance. At this period, the king was but a great noble.

The nobles, on the other hand, were kings; the bulk of the population conſiſted, however, of ſlaves. This was truly a lamentable ſtate of ſociety, ſo far at leaſt as concerned the laſt claſs, and it was too unnatural to laſt long.

After a long and unſucceſsful conteſt with Sweden*, the nobles,

Goths and Vandals eſtabliſhed in moſt, if not all, parts of Europe, whither they carried their conqueſts, and which in England is maintained to this day for the moſt part.

"'Tis ſaid of the *Romans*, that thoſe provinces which they conquered were amply recompenſed for the loſs of their liberty, by being reduced from barbarity to civility; by the introduction of arts, learning, commerce, and politeneſs. I know not whether this manner of arguing have not more of pomp than truth in it; but with much greater reaſon may it be ſaid that all Europe was beholden to theſe people for introducing or reſtoring a conſtitution of government far excelling all others that we know of in the world. 'Tis to the ancient inhabitants of theſe countries, with other neighbouring provinces, that we owe the original of parliaments, formerly ſo common, but loſt within this laſt age in all kingdoms, but thoſe of Poland, Great Britain and Ireland.

"*Denmark, therefore, was, till within theſe thirty-two years, governed by a king choſen by the people of all ſorts; even the Boors had their voices, which king Waldemar the Third acknowledged in that memorable anſwer of his to the Pope's nuncio, who pretended to a great power over him*:—Naturam habemus a Deo, regnum a ſubditis, divitias a parentibus, religionem a Romana eccleſia; quam ſi nobis invides renuntiamus per præſentes."

Lord Molesworth's Hiſt. of Denmark, Chap. vi. p. 42.

* Monteſquieu ſeems to wonder "that in all the wars between Denmark and Sweden, the arms of the latter ſhould always have the advantage;" adding, "there muſt be ſome *concealed* cauſe in the governments for the ſuperiority." Profeſſor de la Croix very properly remarks on this paſſage, "That the cauſe does exiſt in their governments, but it is not *concealed*. The peaſants, who form the force of national armies, have always been *ſerfs*, or bondmen, in Denmark," ſays he: "they have had pay, but not a country. In Sweden, on the contrary, the peaſants have ever made part of the nation as citizens; and citizens fighting againſt ſlaves, muſt always have the advantage. For this reaſon, all the military force of Poland conſiſts in its cavalry, which

nobles, as uſual, endeavoured to exempt themſelves from taxes; and this circumſtance, added to the reproach of Otto Craeg, who termed the third eſtate ſlaves, literally reduced the whole nation to that condition. Frederick III. who then ſat upon the throne, terrified at the perjury and injuſtice in which he was likely to be involved, long heſitated to become an abſolute monarch; but his conſort prompted him to the undertaking, and he was inveſted with the power of a tyrant, without a ſtruggle on the part of the unworthy nobles.

Never was ſuch a ſcandalous dereliction of liberty experienced in any kingdom, for it was now enacted, "That the king of Denmark and Norway ſhall be henceforth independent on the earth; *he ſhall be above all human laws*, and acknowledge no power ſuperior to his own, but that of God." By another article it is enacted, "That the king of Denmark ſhall enjoy the authority of making, changing, and revoking the laws, as he ſhall deem proper, and he ſhall exerciſe abſolute authority over the affairs of the church, and over all religious aſſemblies."

"Thus," ſays an Engliſh nobleman (Lord Moleſworth), "this great affair was finiſhed; and the kingdom of Denmark, in four days time, changed from ariſtocracy to as abſolute a monarchy as any is at preſent in the world. The commons have ſince experienced, that *the little finger of an abſolute prince* can be heavier than the loins of many nobles; the only comfort they have left them being to ſee their former oppreſſors in almoſt as miſerable a condition as themſelves; whilſt the citizens of Copenhagen have by it obtained the inſignificant privilege of wearing ſwords: ſo that at this day, not a cobbler or barber ſtirs abroad without a tilter at his ſide, let his purſe be never ſo empty. The clergy, who always make ſure bargains," adds he, "were the only gainers in this point; and are ſtill much encouraged by court, as the inſtruments that firſt promoted, and now keep the people in a due temper of ſlavery; the paſſive obedience principle riding triumphant in this unhappy kingdom. It was but juſtice

which is compoſed of gentlemen; and the republic can place no dependence on its infantry, which is formed only of thoſe unhappy beings attached to the land which they cultivate under the yoke of ſervitude."

Rev. of the Conſtitutions of the Principal States of Europe, p. 491.

that the court ſhould pay well the principal contrivers of this great revolution; and therefore, notwithſtanding the general want of money, Hannibal Seeſtede had a preſent of 200,000 crowns; Swan, the ſuperintendant or biſhop, was made archbiſhop, and had 30,000 crowns; the preſident, or ſpeaker, Nanſon, 20,000 crowns; and to the people remained the glory of having forged their own chains, and the advantage of obeying without reſerve—a happineſs which I ſuppoſe no Engliſhman will ever envy them."

It is to this event* that we are to trace the declining ſtate of Denmark at the period before alluded to; and ſurely the cauſe aſſigned is fully commenſurate to the principles deduced from it; for the bulk of the people were ſtill in a ſtate of ſervitude; and a great northern court, taking advantage of the weakneſs of the kingdom, interfered in the very minutiæ of government, and by means of its intrigues placed and diſplaced lords of the bed-chamber and ladies in waiting.

Bernſtorff, with an eagle's eye, ſaw and lamented the ſituation of his country; but the fate of his predeceſſor warned him againſt ſudden changes, and the all-powerful influence of Ruſſia was ready to thruſt him from his elevated ſituation, if he gave way to his patriot feelings. In addition to this, the queen-dowager would have been extremely jealous of a popular miniſter; and the heir to the crown had not as yet attained an age in which he could ſecond his endeavours for the proſperity of his future kingdom. His ſteps were, therefore, neceſſarily ſlow and cautious, for he had the queen-regent, the nobles, and even Ruſſia, to contend with.

* "It is eaſy for any conſidering perſon to gueſs the conſequence of this (the revolution in 1660), which is, frequent and arbitrary taxes, and commonly very exceſſive ones in times of peace, little regard being had to the occaſion of them: ſo that the value of eſtates in moſt parts of the kingdom is fallen three-fourths. And it is worſe near the capital city, under the eye and hand of the government, than in remoter provinces; poverty in the gentry, which neceſſarily cauſes extremity of miſery in the peaſants; partiality in the diſtribution of juſtice, when favourites are concerned; with many other miſchiefs which ſhall be hereafter more particularly mentioned; being the conſtant effects of arbitrary rule in this and all other countries wherein it has prevailed."

An Account of Denmark (by Lord Moleſworth), 8vo. p. 47, ed. 1694.

The

The firſt ſcheme realized by Bernſtorff was one intimately connected with the independence of his country. Peter III. had cheriſhed certain claims againſt the German dominions of Denmark, and was actually preparing to enforce them, when he was cut off by treachery. His conſort and ſucceſſor, Catharine, had not, indeed, perſevered in this project, but, on the other hand, ſhe had not relinquiſhed it. Theſe pretenſions formed a powerful engine in the cabinet of Copenhagen, by which ſhe diſpoſed that court to a nearly implicit obedience to her commands, and two ſucceſſive ambaſſadors* had converted it to the baſeſt purpoſes. The new miniſter, however, found means, by ſoothing the pride of the empreſs, and gaining the conſent of her favourites, to put an end to all the pretenſions of Ruſſia, both in reſpect to Holſtein, and the duchy of Schleſwig; and, after a negociation of ſome length, a treaty was ſigned at Kiel on the 16th November, 1773. This proved, indeed, an *expenſive* purchaſe to Denmark, but it was neceſſary for her honour, and even her ſecurity. So ſenſible, indeed, were the people of the advantages reſulting from it, that the event was celebrated throughout the whole kingdom, and the memory of it perpetuated by means of a medal ſtruck upon this occaſion. The empreſs, who now perceived that ſhe had loſt much of her influence, and ſuſpected that her miniſters had been tampered with, diſgraced Saldern, to whom ſhe had entruſted the management of this buſineſs.

Ambitious of introducing uſeful reforms at home, Bernſtorff began to look around him, and found every thing defective. The laws, the object of which is juſtice, and which ought to be acceſſible to all, and within the reach of the meaneſt ſubject, were perverted from their original intent. Wealth and favouritiſm were the moſt ſucceſsful clients in the courts; and, without either or both of theſe, the boor ſtood no chance in a conteſt with the noble. Happily on this occaſion all his efforts were directed by prudence: it was his aim to reſtore, rather than to innovate; to repair, rather than to rebuild; for the old Daniſh code is allowed, by the bittereſt enemies of Denmark, to have been a model worthy the imitation of ſurround-

* Soldern and Philoſophoff.

ing nations*. His labours were not, however, bounded here, as he introduced an original eſtabliſhment, unknown to the ancient conſtitution, calculated rather, indeed, to prevent than to regulate law-ſuits; for he cauſed an edict to be promulged, by which all parties were enjoined to ſubmit their reſpective litigations, in the firſt inſtance, to the *proviſional* deciſion of two men, choſen as arbitrators, who were to endeavour to conciliate the minds of the opponents, and put an end to all further diſpute. It was thus that, perhaps for the firſt time, deſpotiſm was employed towards the peace and happineſs of mankind; and the Danes were compelled by gratitude to confeſs that the perfidious

* "Who could believe, if authors very worthy of credit, and who have declaimed the moſt againſt the government of Denmark, did not aſſure us of it, that the Daniſh code of civil laws is even to this day the beſt in Europe? It forms only one ſingle volume in quarto; but all the diſpoſitions are ſo clear, ſo poſitive, that every man may be judge in his own cauſe; thus there are but very few lawyers in Denmark, which is at leaſt one means of ſoftening the miſery of the people."

De la Croix "On the Conſtitution of Denmark," Vol. I. p. 490.

——"But being now to ſpeak of the *Daniſh* laws, I muſt needs begin with this good character of them in general; that for juſtice, brevity, and perſpicuity, they exceed all that I know in the world. They are grounded upon equity, and are all contained in one quarto volume, written in the language of the country, with ſo much plainneſs that no man, who can write and read, is ſo ignorant, but he may preſently underſtand his own caſe, and plead it too if he pleaſes, without the aſſiſtance of counſel or attorney.

"There is none of that *chicane* to be found which deſtroys and raiſes ſo many great eſtates in England; a very few advocates to (do) the buſineſs of all the litigious perſons in thoſe kingdoms. Neither are their fees arbitrary or exorbitant; no ſuit of what importance ſoever hangs in ſuſpenſe longer than one year and a month: ſince a man may go through all the courts, and have execution done within that time, unleſs he be wanting to himſelf.

"It may be replied to this, that the ſcarcity of money may be the principal occaſion of few law-ſuits and lawyers. It is not denied, and perhaps a right ſenſe of this was the firſt cauſe of ſo good a regulation of juſtice. *For ſince the king was reſolved to empty the pockets of his ſubjects, it was not for his advantage to permit others to do it, and ſhare the gains with him.*

"However, this much may with certainty be averred, that the like regulations would not only agree with, but conſummate, the happineſs of a rich country; and this inſtance of Denmark makes it evident that ſuch a regulation is practicable."

Lord Molſeworth, in 1694.

act

act on the part of their anceſtors, by which the king was allowed "to explain the law, nay to alter and change it as he ſhould ſee good," had been for once perverted to their advantage.

Another grand object now engaged the attention of this philanthropic ſtateſman. His uncle had conceived the glorious plan of enfranchiſing the ſlaves of Denmark: for, to the diſgrace of this nation, before his time, all who were not nobles, or citizens, might be ſo accounted. He had begun and ſucceeded with the domains of the crown, and ſome of the great proprietors reluctantly followed the example; but on his death, being deſtitute of a protector, they were relapſing faſt into their former ſtate, and even at that period might be conſidered as but little removed from bondage. The boor was not permitted to ſelect his tyrant; he could not change his place of reſidence, without the voluntary aſſent, or purchaſed permiſſion, of his lord; for if this was wanting, he might be ſeized and impounded, and, if not ranſomed, a heavy puniſhment awaited him. To ſuch a claſs of men leaſes were unknown; and he who had brought his little farm into a meliorated ſtate of cultivation was often irretrievably ruined by a removal to the moſt barren one in the neighbourhood, from the vain hope that this alſo was to be rendered fertile by the unrewarded cultivator.

But the adminiſtration of the queen-mother was not favourable to the views of the premier; for that princeſs, knowing how ſhe had at firſt obtained and ſtill retained the reins of government, was apprehenſive of commotion, and dreaded the plots and vengeance of an incenſed nation.

During the American war an event occurred in which the intereſts of Denmark were deeply involved, and to which it would have been dangerous in the regent not to have given her aſſent; for it was patronized by another female, who, from the throne of Ruſſia, regulated all the affairs of the North. The ſtates not engaged in that deſtructive conteſt, particularly thoſe inhabiting the ſhores of the Baltic, had taken a fair advantage of the folly of their more ſouthern neighbours; and

and were now carrying on a profitable intercourſe between the belligerent powers. In ſhort, they were become the carriers of Europe, and ſwarmed in every ſea, freighted with the products of the moſt diſtant climes. This of courſe excited the jealouſy of thoſe who had incapacitated themſelves from ſimilar purſuits by their paſſion for dominion, and practices were recurred to in expreſs oppoſition to the rights of nations: for the preponderating naval powers were accuſtomed to viſit, ſearch, ſtop, detain, and even confiſcate veſſels under various pretences*.

On

* "*The Declaration of the King of Denmark and Norway to the Courts of London, Verſailles, and Madrid.*

"If the moſt exact and perfect neutrality, with the moſt regular navigation, and the moſt inviolable reſpect to treaties, could have exempted the commerce of the ſubjects of the king of Denmark and Norway from the inroads of the powers with whom he is at peace, and kept it free and independent, it would not be neceſſary to take meaſures to inſure to his ſubjects that liberty to which they have the moſt incontrovertible right. The king of Denmark has always founded his glory, and his grandeur, upon the eſteem and confidence of other nations. It has been his rule, from the beginning of his reign, to teſtify to all the powers, his friends, a conduct the moſt capable of convincing them of his pacific intentions, and of his deſire to contribute to the general happineſs of Europe. His proceedings have always been conformable to theſe principles, againſt which nothing can be alledged; he has, till now, only addreſſed himſelf to the powers at war, to obtain a redreſs of his grievances; and he has never wanted moderation in his demands, nor acknowledgments when they have received the ſucceſs they deſerved: but the neutral navigation has been too often moleſted, and the moſt innocent commerce of his ſubjects too frequently diſturbed; ſo that the king finds himſelf obliged to take proper meaſures to aſſure to himſelf and his allies the ſafety of commerce and navigation, and the maintenance of the inſeparable rights of liberty and independence. If the duties of neutrality are ſacred, the law of nations has alſo its rights avowed by all impartial powers, eſtabliſhed by cuſtom, and founded upon equity and reaſon. A nation independent and neutral, does not loſe by the war of others the rights which ſhe had before the war, becauſe peace exiſts between her and all the belligerent powers. Without receiving or being obliged to follow the laws of either of them, ſhe is allowed to follow, in all places (contraband excepted) the traffic which ſhe would have a right to carry on, if peace exiſted with all Europe, as it exiſts with her. The king pretends to nothing beyond what the neutrality allows him. This is his rule, and that of his people: and the king cannot accede to the principle, that a power at war has a right to interrupt the commerce of his ſubjects. He thinks it due to himſelf,

On this occaſion the empreſs of Ruſſia placed herſelf at the head of an armed neutrality, the object of which was to protect the commerce of the North.

Bernſtorff inſtantly perceived the manifold advantages likely to reſult to Denmark from ſuch a coalition, and ſent inſtructions to the miniſter at the court of St. Peterſburgh to accede to it, which was complied with July 19, 1780, he being the firſt plenipotentiary who ſigned this famous compact. Sweden, Pruſſia, and other ſtates, ſoon after followed the exam-

himſelf, and to his ſubjects, the faithful obſervers of theſe rules, and to the powers at war themſelves, to declare to them the following principles, which he has always held, and which he will always avow and maintain, in concert with the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, whoſe ſentiments he finds entirely conformable with his own.

"I. That neutral veſſels have a right to navigate freely from port to port, even on the coaſts of the powers at war.

"II. That the effects of the ſubjects of the powers at war ſhall be free in neutral veſſels, except ſuch as are deemed contraband.

"III. That nothing is to be underſtood under the denominations of contraband, that is not expreſsly mentioned as ſuch in the third article of his treaty of commerce with Great Britain, in the year 1670, and the 26th and 27th articles of his treaty of commerce with France, in the year 1742; and the king will equally maintain theſe rules with thoſe powers with whom he has no treaty.

"IV. That he will look upon that as a fort blocked up, into which no veſſel can enter without evident danger, on account of veſſels of war ſo ſtationed there as to form an effectual blockade.

"V. That theſe principles ſhall ſerve for rules in law proceedings, and that juſtice ſhall be expeditiouſly rendered, by the maritime regulations, conformably to treaty and uſage received.

"VI. His majeſty does not heſitate to declare, that he will maintain theſe principles with the honour of his flag, and the liberty and independence of the commerce and navigation of his ſubjects; and that it is for this purpoſe he has armed a part of his navy, although he is deſirous to preſerve, with all the powers at war, not only a good underſtanding, but all the friendſhip of which the neutrality can admit. The king will never recede from theſe principles, unleſs he is forced to it: he knows his duties and his obligations, he reſpects them as he does his treaties, and deſires no other than to maintain them. His majeſty is perſuaded, that the belligerent powers will acknowledge the juſtneſs of his motives; that they will be as averſe as himſelf to doing any thing that may oppreſs the liberties of mankind, and that they will give their orders to their admiralty and to their officers, conformably to the principles above recited, which tend to the general happineſs and intereſt of all Europe.

"*Copenhagen, July* 8, 1780."

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ple, and the Danes reaped immenſe benefit by this meaſure; for they not only enjoyed the greater part of the Baltic trade, but the commerce of Holland was entruſted to their flag; and the benefits which they reaped contributed not a little to enrich the merchants of Copenhagen *.

While

* "*A Copy of the Maritime Treaty between the Empreſs of Ruſſia and the King of Denmark, acceded to by the King of Sweden and States General of the United Provinces.*

"ART. I. Their reſpective majeſties are fully and ſincerely determined to keep upon the moſt friendly terms with the preſent belligerent powers, and preſerve the moſt exact neutrality: they ſolemnly declare their firm intention to be, that their reſpective ſubjects ſhall ſtrictly obſerve the laws forbidding all contraband trade with the powers now being, or that may hereafter be, concerned in the preſent diſputes.

"II. To prevent all equivocation or miſunderſtanding of the word contraband, their imperial and royal majeſties declare that the meaning of the ſaid word is ſolely reſtrained to ſuch goods and commodities as are mentioned under that denomination in the treaties ſubſiſting between their ſaid majeſties and either of the belligerent powers. Her imperial majeſty abiding principally by the Xth and XIth articles of the treaty of commerce with Great Britain; the conditions therein mentioned, which are founded on the right of nations, being underſtood to extend to the kings of France and Spain; as there is at preſent no ſpecific treaty of commerce between the two latter and the former. His Daniſh majeſty, on his part, regulates his conduct in this particular by the firſt article of his treaty with England, and the XXVIth and XXVIIth of that ſubſiſting between his ſaid majeſty and the king of France, extending the proviſions made in the latter to the Catholic king; there being no treaty *ad hoc*, between Denmark and Spain.

"III. And whereas by this means the word *contraband*, conformable to the treaties now extant, and the ſtipulations made between the contracting powers, and thoſe that are now at war, is fully explained; eſpecially by the treaty between Ruſſia and England of the 20th of June 1766; between the latter and Denmark, of the 11th of July 1670; and between their Daniſh and moſt Chriſtian majeſties, of Auguſt 23d, 1742; the will and opinion of the high contracting powers are, that all other trade whatſoever ſhall be deemed and remain free and unreſtrained.

"By the declaration delivered to the belligerent powers, their contracting majeſties have already challenged the privileges founded on natural right, whence ſprings the freedom of trade and navigation, as well as the right of neutral powers; and being fully determined not to depend in future merely on an arbitrary interpretation, deviſed to anſwer ſome private advantages or concerns, they have mutually covenanted as follows:

"Firſt, That it will be lawful for any ſhip whatever to ſail freely from one port to another, or along the coaſt of the powers now at war.—2dly, That all merchandiſe and effects belonging to the ſubjects of the ſaid belligerent powers, and ſhipped on neutral bottoms, ſhall be entirely free; except contraband goods.—3dly, In order to aſcertain what conſtitutes the blockade of any place or port, it is to be underſtood to

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While Bernſtorff was thus employed, in increaſing the trade, fortifying the independence, and meditating the happineſs of his

be in ſuch predicament, when the aſſailing power has taken ſuch a ſtation as to expoſe to imminent danger any ſhip or ſhips that would attempt to ſail in or out of the ſaid ports.—4thly, No neutral ſhips ſhall be ſtopped without a material and well-grounded cauſe: and in ſuch caſes juſtice ſhall be done to them without loſs of time; and beſides indemnifying, each and every time, the party aggrieved, and thus ſtopped without ſufficient cauſe, full ſatisfaction ſhall be given to the high contracting powers for the inſult offered to their flag.

"IV. In order to protect officially the general trade of their reſpective ſubjects, on the fundamental principles aforeſaid, her imperial, and his royal majeſty have thought proper, for effecting ſuch purpoſe, each reſpectively to fit out a proportionate quota of ſhips of war and frigates. The ſquadron of each of the contracting powers ſhall be ſtationed in a proper latitude, and ſhall be employed in eſcorting convoys according to the particular circumſtances of the navigators and traders of each nation.

"V. Should any of the merchantmen belonging to the ſubjects of the contracting powers ſail in a latitude where ſhall be no ſhips of war of their own nation, and thus be deprived of the ſaid protection; in ſuch caſe, the commander of the ſquadron belonging to the other friendly power ſhall, at the requeſt of ſuch merchantmen, grant them ſincerely, and *bona fide*, all neceſſary aſſiſtance. The ſhips of war and frigates, of either of the contracting powers, ſhall thus protect and aſſiſt the merchantmen of the other: provided nevertheleſs, that under the ſanction of ſuch required aſſiſtance and protection, no contraband be carried on, nor any prohibited trade, contrary to the laws of the neutrality.

"VI. The preſent convention cannot be ſuppoſed to have any relative effect; that is, to extend to any differences that may have ariſen ſince its being concluded: unleſs the controverſy ſhould ſpring from continual vexations which might tend to aggrieve and oppreſs all the nations of Europe.

"VII. If notwithſtanding the cautious and friendly care of the contracting powers, and their ſteady adherence to an exact neutrality, the Ruſſian and Daniſh merchantmen ſhould happen to be inſulted, plundered, or captured, by any of the armed ſhips or privateers belonging to any of the belligerent powers: in ſuch caſe the ambaſſador or envoy of the aggrieved party, to the offending court, ſhall claim ſuch ſhip or ſhips, inſiſting on a proper ſatisfaction, and never neglect to obtain a reparation for the inſult offered to the flag of his court. The miniſter of the other contracting power ſhall at the ſame time, in the moſt efficacious and vigorous manner, defend ſuch requiſition, which ſhall be ſupported by both parties with unanimity. But in caſe of any refuſal, or even delay in redreſſing the grievances complained of; then their majeſties will retaliate againſt the power that ſhall thus refuſe to do them juſtice, and immediately agree together on the moſt proper means of making well-founded reprifals.

"VIII. In caſe either of the contracting powers, or both at the ſame time, ſhould be in any manner aggrieved or attacked, in conſequence of the preſent convention, or for any reaſon relating thereto; it is agreed, that both powers will join, act in concert for their mutual defence, and unite their forces in order to procure to themſelves

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his native country, the heir apparent to the throne began to evince talents and diſpoſitions that fitted him for empire. He was now approaching to an age when he would become entitled to ſome ſhare in the government, and was prompted by his own enterpriſing ſpirit, and the ſuggeſtions of thoſe around him, to

an adequate and perfect ſatisfaction, both in regard to the inſult put upon their reſpective flags, and the loſſes ſuffered by their ſubjects.

"IX. This convention ſhall remain in force for and during the continuance of the preſent war; and the obligation enforced thereby, will ſerve as the ground-work of all treaties that may be ſet on foot hereafter: according to future occurrences, and on the breaking out of any freſh maritime wars which might unhappily diſturb the tranquillity of Europe. Meanwhile, all that is hereby agreed upon ſhall be deemed as binding and permanent, in regard both to mercantile and naval affairs, and ſhall have the force of law in determining the rights of neutral nations.

"X. The chief aim and principal object of the preſent convention being to ſecure the freedom of trade and navigation, the high contracting powers have antecedently agreed, and do engage to give to all other neutral powers free leave to accede to the preſent treaty, and, after a thorough knowledge of the principles on which it reſts, ſhare equally in the obligations and advantages thereof.

"XI. In order that the powers, now at war, may not be ignorant of the ſtrength and nature of the engagements entered into by the two courts aforeſaid; the high-contracting parties ſhall give notice, in the moſt friendly manner, to the belligerent powers, of the meaſures by them taken; by which, far from meaning any manner of hoſtility, or cauſing any loſs or injury to other powers, their only intention is to protect the trade and navigation of their reſpective ſubjects.

"XII. This convention ſhall be ratified by the contracting powers, and the ratifications interchanged between the parties in due form, within the ſpace of ſix weeks from the day of its being ſigned, or even ſooner, if poſſible. In witneſs whereof, and by virtue of the full powers granted us for the purpoſe, we have put our hands and ſeals to the preſent treaty.

"Given at Copenhagen, July the 19th, 1780.

(Signed) CHARLES D'OSTEN, called SOKEN.
J. SCHACK RATLAU.
A. P. COMPTE BERNSTORFF.
O. THOFT.
H. EIKSTEDT.

"Acceded to, and ſigned by the plenipotentiaries of the court of Sweden, at Peterſburgh, the 21ſt of July, 1780, and by the States-General accepted Nov. 20, 1780, and ſigned at Peterſburgh, January 5, 1781, with the addition only of article

"XIII. If the reſpective ſquadrons, or ſhips of war, ſhould meet or unite, to act in conjuction, the command in chief will be regulated according to what is commonly practiſed between the crowned heads and the republic."

vindicate

vindicate what he conſidered as his juſt rights. The wrongs and injuries experienced by a mother who had ended her life in exile and diſgrace, were ever preſent to his mind; and, in addition to this, he himſelf had already excited the jealouſy of her perſecutors. On this occaſion it was natural for the young prince to apply to a miniſter ſuch as Bernſtorff for counſel and aſſiſtance; and he did not apply in vain; for on the 16th of April 1784, a revolution was effected without bloodſhed, in conſequence of which the queen-mother retired from public buſineſs, and the cuſtody of the king, on which ſhe had hitherto founded her power, was rendered unavailable by a ſolemn decree, in conſequence of which no edict was to be binding unleſs counterſigned by the prince-royal.

This great event became the ſignal of public happineſs. The complete enfranchiſement of the peaſantry ſpeedily enſued, notwithſtanding the murmurs of their landlords, who affected to conſider it as tyrannical, to bereave them of the right of oppreſſion.

But the joint efforts of a patriot prince and a patriot miniſter did not ſtop here. Perceiving the country to be overrun by beggars, they remedied the evil by encouraging induſtry. Beholding with concern the ignorance even of the higher ranks, they protected ſcience, patronized men of talents, and ſoon rendered it unfaſhionable to be illiterate. Their cares extended beyond Denmark. Norway experienced the beneficent protection of the new government, and even Iceland *, whoſe rugged aſpect and polar ſituation ſeemed to forbid cultivation, ſoon experienced a conſiderable acceſſion of inhabitants, by means of wiſe edicts holding out encouragement to population.

Such was the wiſdom of Bernſtorff, that the French revolution, which has engendered ſo much bloodſhed, and occaſioned ſo much miſery to almoſt every other ſpot in Europe, has been

* Profeſſor Thorlekin, when in England, was accuſtomed to refer to Iceland, as a proof that the cultivation of a country depended on the form of its government, for that iſland, then nearly deſerted, ſtill exhibited the veſtiges of the plough in every acceſſible ſpot, and pointed out the former labours of a free people, under milder inſtitutions.

productive

productive of no horrors to Denmark. On the contrary, her wealth and commerce have increaſed in an aſtoniſhing degree, and a middle claſs of men is now ariſing there, between the nobles and the peaſantry, who will add to the ſtrength and ſecurity of the nation; and, under the worſt of princes and of governments, procure ſome conſideration by their virtues, their talents, and their fortunes.

It was in vain that ſome courts attempted to threaten, and others to cajole that of Denmark into the war againſt France. The moſt rigorous neutrality has been obſerved, and a grateful people have teſtified their applauſe at a line of conduct ſo conducive to their happineſs.

Towards the latter end of 1794 a medal was engraved, with the following motto:

BERNSTORFF,

MINISTER OF STATE IN DENMARK.

On the reverſe was a circle round which was inſcribed,

WITHOUT ALTERATION.

This teſtimony of regard was preſented to the miniſter, by an unknown hand, January 25, 1795, accompanied by the following letter:

"To the man of his king and country, the moſt noble Bernſtorff, who proved to Europe that the true wiſdom of a ſtateſman conſiſts in juſtice and peace, and, when ſupported by perſeverance, is the greateſt honour to all governments.—To him his fellow citizens hereby convey the encloſed proof of their gratitude.

"The faithful ſubjects of theſe realms, in preſenting the moſt illuſtrious of their citizens with their thanks, which he has ſo well merited, preferred this memorable day, becauſe it reminds every friend of his country of that benefit which has been effected, in theſe latter years, for the proſperity of the ſtate and the cauſe of humanity.

"FROM DANES AND NORWEGIANS DEVOTED TO THEIR KING AND COUNTRY."

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It would be unpardonable to omit here one of the moſt illuſtrious actions of his life. The man who had ſpurned at the bondage of his fellow ſubjects, burnt with a god-like ardour to put a period to that enormous outrage againſt nature, the ſlave trade;—at leaſt he was determined that Denmark ſhould not participate in its diſgrace. He accordingly formed a plan for this purpoſe, to which the ſignatures of the king and prince royal were formally ſubſcribed February 22, 1792. This provides for a gradual abolition: and in the third year of the enſuing century, the traffic in negroes is to ceaſe. To the honour of the human race, he was ſeconded, upon this occaſion, by the count De Schimmelman; who, although he poſſeſſed large eſtates in the Weſt Indies, yet generouſly aſſiſted as a miniſter in preparing, and enforcing, a law ſo favourable to the deareſt intereſts of mankind *.

Count De Bernſtorff was paſſionately attached to agriculture, but the affairs of ſuch a kingdom as Denmark would not permit him to indulge his favourite paſſion to the extent he could have wiſhed. He found means, however, to retire at times from the hurry of public buſineſs to his eſtate within a few miles of Copenhagen, where he ſuperintended the cultivation of his land, and the management of his cattle.

No ſooner was the board of agriculture inſtituted in this country than ſir John Sinclair, with great propriety, ſelected him as an honorary member.

The following is a tranſlation of his anſwer to the letter of the Preſident, communicating this event:

"SIR, *Cayſſell, near Copenhagen, Aug.* 2, 1794.

"Nothing could be more pleaſing to me, than the letter which I had the honour to receive from you, informing me of my being nominated an honorary member of the

* A nearly ſimilar inſtance occurred in Ruſſia in 1767, when the count De Scheremeloff, who had upwards of 100,000 peaſants, or bondſmen, became a moſt ſtrenuous advocate for the liberation of all this unhappy claſs of men within the empire. Catharine, who at firſt affected to patroniſe the meaſure, exhibited but little of her boaſted magnanimity upon this occaſion.

board of agriculture, an inſtitution dear to enlightened Europe. I accept of the appointment with the moſt diſtinguiſhed acknowledgments, and I requeſt of you, Sir, to be the interpreter of my ſentiments to the board on this occaſion.

"Natural hiſtory and practical huſbandry have always been my favourite purſuits. The latter I have attended to with the greateſt aſſiduity on my eſtates in different provinces, where climate and cuſtoms are perfectly diſſimilar.

"I am convinced that the ſame end may be obtained by very different means. We often ſee a ſingle village practiſe a good mode of cultivation for ſome particular product, which is not followed by their neighbours, while the very cultivators themſelves are ignorant of the real principles on which their ſucceſs depends.

"It is of the utmoſt importance that there ſhould be a national board in the nature of a depoſitary of inſtruction, and I truſt that its communications will be found ſingularly beneficial in England.

"It gave me great pleaſure to ſee your reports accompanied by engravings of agricultural implements; nothing can be more intereſting or of more general utility. The great ſuperiority of Engliſh farming conſiſts in the knowledge and choice of cattle: we are much behind-hand in our country in that reſpect. Some trials, and even experiments, on a large ſcale have been attempted, but theſe are merely exceptions from the general rule, and the bulk of the people ſtill remain in total ignorance.

"The preſſure of public buſineſs but too ſeldom permits me to follow my favourite purſuits, unleſs at hours ſnatched from repoſe; but I ſhall now reſume them with eagerneſs, and never loſe ſight of any object wherein you may pleaſe to employ me.

"I am, with the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſentiments,

Sir, &c.

BERNSTORFF.

While Bernſtorff was buſily employed in the contemplation and

and execution of new ſchemes for the honour and aggrandiſement of his native country, he was ſeized with a long and painful illneſs, which at length proved fatal. But, even on his death-bed, he was not unmindful of the happineſs of his fellow citizens, for the laſt moments of his life were employed in pointing out to the prince royal, who viſited him daily with more than filial affection, whatever might be conducive to the benefit and proſperity of the kingdom. It was thus that, on the 21ſt of June 1797, and in the 62d year of his age, the moſt able and illuſtrious man that Denmark had witneſſed, ſince the annihilation of her liberties, was ſnatched away from the admiration and gratitude of his fellow citizens, who never experienced a ſingle pang on his account, but what aroſe from his death.

Like a great man of one of the ancient commonwealths, he might have boaſted "that no family had ever gone into mourning on his account;" and ſuch was the mildneſs of the government while he preſided, that the Danes actually believed themſelves once more free.

During his adminiſtration ſpies were unknown, and, inſtead of increaſing the national burdens, by either unneceſſary, or unjuſt wars, he paid off a large portion of the national debt, and in a few years more would have annihilated it. At this moment the taxes in Denmark are leſs than in any maritime country of Europe, and reſtraints on perſonal freedom ſeem not now to be known to a Dane until he has left his native country.

The perſon of Bernſtorff was correſpondent to his mind, for it was noble and prepoſſeſſing; his language was elegant, his manners polite; he promiſed but ſeldom, and was never known to forfeit his word. Such was his knowledge of the country whoſe affairs he regulated, that there was not a ſingle man in it, eminent for talents or wealth, whoſe fortune or merit he was not acquainted with; and with moſt of theſe he kept up a perſonal intercourſe.

Altona, which, from a petty village, has been raiſed into all the opulence and conſequence of a great city during his adminiſtration, is about to erect a monument to the memory of her bene-

factor; thus determining, at the same time, to embellish the banks of the Elbe, which he has enriched, and to preserve the memory of a citizen who has protected her. A glorious testimony of the gratitude of the liberated peasantry already exists in the neighbourhood of Copenhagen; for they have elevated a column to his honour, and inscribed it with the name and virtues of their benefactor.

Here follows a character of the late prime minister of Denmark, drawn up by a man capable of estimating his virtues and talents:

"Bernstorff, with an advantageous stature, united a noble figure and a pleasing countenance. He had distinguished himself from his early youth by his politeness, his modesty, his discriminating turn of mind, and his persuasive elequence.

"In proportion as he advanced in years, those excellent qualities grew into a settled habit, and acquired him the general esteem of his countrymen. Although living at a court, and addicting himself entirely to the study of politics, he was yet simple in his manners, and ingenuous in his conversation. As a statesman he displayed great abilities; as a minister he faithfully kept his word. Diligent and even indefatigable in business, he possessed a ready comprehension, and a happy manner of expressing his ideas. Easy of access, communicative, and affable, he gave audience to whoever demanded it; and there was scarcely a private individual in all Denmark, whom he did not know, and to whom he was not known.

"Never was there a man in any country more generally beloved and esteemed. It is well known that the enfranchisement of the Danish peasantry, as well as the abolition of the negro trade, originated with him: a column is erected near Copenhagen to testify to posterity the gratitude of the former.

"An enemy to flattery, indifferent to pleasure, he evinced an uncommon presence of mind, and never suffered himself to be diverted from his purpose. He was neither inflated by prosperity, nor dejected by misfortune. Were his labours crowned with success, he knew that he would soon have fresh obstacles to encounter; when he failed, he relied on the resources presented him by fortune, and his own talents. His only defect, perhaps, consisted

conſiſted in too warm an attachment to his own opinions, which he always defended with pertinacity. But even this contributed to prove that he was above deceit.

" Deſcended from a family originally appertaining to the electorate of Hanover, Bernſtorff had a ſtrong predilection for the Britiſh nation; he was alſo well acquainted with what was due to the court of Ruſſia. Notwithſtanding this, he was to the full as equitable towards other powers, and always purſued with inflexible zeal the proſperity of Denmark, to obtain which he devoted the whole of his life.

" No ſooner was he ſeated in the cabinet, than, faithful to the maxims of his uncle, he bent all his efforts to procure the ceſſion of that part of Holſtein to which Ruſſia had formed pretenſions. He was not ignorant how much the corruption of Catharine's miniſters was intereſted in holding Denmark in a ſtate of dependence on them; but it was in the very exceſs of that corruption that he deſcried the means of emancipation. He knew likewiſe, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the pride of the empreſs could be brought to abandon the ſmalleſt portion of her dominions; yet he undertook to employ this very pride to obtain her conſent to that ſurrender.

" Philoſophoff was firſt won over. Several perſons in the higher departments of government, favourites, ſecretaries, and agents, made the moſt mercenary bargains, ſome for their conſent, and others for their ſilence. The rapacious Saldern, ſeduced by large preſents, at length changed his language, and took the whole weight of the negociation upon himſelf.

" He repreſented to the empreſs, that it was beneath her dignity to preſerve a petty principality, which rendered her dependent on the German empire. That haughty and imperious princeſs, hurt at the very idea of this ſubjection, thought ſuch language, although expreſsly dictated by covetouſneſs and ſelf-intereſt, proceeded entirely from a tender concern for her glory; and it was this that induced her to ſurrender all her claims upon Holſtein for the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorſt, which ſhe relinquiſhed at the ſame time to the prince biſhop of Lubec.

"This event occaſioned infinite joy at Copenhagen; it was far different at St. Peterſburgh, for Catharine quickly diſcovered that ſhe had been the dupe of Bernſtorff's policy. Saldern, whoſe motives were apparent, fell into diſgrace; but the empreſs conſoled herſelf for the loſs of Schleſvig, by the proſpect of obtaining in Denmark an ally always ſubmiſſive to her will, and ever ready, at her bidding, to enter into a conteſt with Sweden *."

MEMOIRS OF

DR. FARMER,

LATE MASTER OF EMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

To unfold the attainments, and to appreciate the characters of literary men, is often a difficult, and, ſometimes, an invidious undertaking. Men of letters live in a world of their own: if they produce not their reſearches before the public eye, how are their purſuits to be eſtimated? The partiality of friends may over-rate them, or the malignity of enemies may degrade them: the biographer himſelf, too, may have his favourite bias; and through eagerneſs to encircle his hero within his own party, whether political or theological, may do injuſtice to his character. The reſpect due to individuals and to the public may thus be ſacrificed to perſonal vanity, and the majeſty of truth yield to private intereſt.

The utility, not the quantity, of exertions determines the worth of the man of letters; the teſt of literary merit being the ſame as that of moral qualities. Of this utility, however, the public are not always competent judges. In many caſes, time, experience, and the reſignation of ancient prejudices, muſt render the diſcoveries of ſpeculative men familiar. But in ordinary

* La Vie de Catharine II. f. 2.

caſes

caſes the public will be found the beſt judges, and an appeal to their opinion the rule of prudence.

Dr. Farmer has been long known as an ingenious and well-informed critic on old Engliſh literature. His claim to the public notice, as an author, ariſes from his Eſſay on the Learning of Shakeſpeare, and ſome notes on his plays. The Eſſay has obtained the approbation of our beſt critics, and the popular voice has ratified their judgment. By that pamphlet the long agitated controverſy concerning the literary attainments of our great dramatiſt was finally ſettled; ſo that what an eminent critic ſaid on peruſing it may be repeated, "The queſtion is now decided for ever."

Dr. Richard Farmer was born at Leiceſter in the year 1735; his father, who is ſtill living, is a hoſier in that town. His early education he received at Leiceſter, under the reverend Mr. Andrews, and left it with the character of being eſtimable for temper and talents.

He entered, when of proper age, a penſioner at Emanuel college, Cambridge, when Dr. Richardſon was maſter; the tutors were Mr. Bickham and Mr. Hubbard. Dr. Richardſon was a good-humoured man, warmly attached to Tory principles, and no leſs ſtrict in the minutiæ of college diſcipline. It was matter of triumph to him to have been preſent, when a boy, at the trial of Sacheverell, and ſo rigid a diſciplinarian was he, as to puniſh the wearing of a neckcloth (which at that time was deemed unacademical) inſtead of a ſtock, with the ſame ſtrictneſs as a deviation from moral rectitude. On this view of Richardſon's character a wag wrote a copy of verſes, cloſing with theſe lines,

A crime like this all human nature ſhocks,—
He wore large neckcloths in the room of ſtocks.

The ſame ſtrictneſs was preſerved by Richardſon when Dr. Jebb introduced a grace into the ſenate-houſe for public examination. Dr. Jebb was a zealous Whig, and his grace, in the judgment of Richardſon, carried the appearance of dangerous innovation. Dr. Richardſon at the time was old and feeble; but he choſe to be carried to the ſenate-houſe; and when his ſhrill

voice, on giving his vote, could ſcarcely be heard, he cried out to one of the maſters, inquiring whoſe voice it was, "It was I, maſter, it was I; I came to ſave the univerſity." Dr. Richardſon was author of a folio volume written in Latin, on the prelates of England *.

Dr. Farmer's claſſical tutor was no ways diſtinguiſhed for abilities. He, however, had the intereſt of the upper part of the ſociety, and obtained the tutorſhip in preference to a man of reſpectable talents, the preſent biſhop Hurd, author of a political work of conſiderable merit, which proves him, at the earlier part of life, to have been a Whig, and apparently one zealous and well-informed †. It may, therefore, be inferred, that Bickham was a Tory.

The mathematical tutor was Mr. Hubbard, a Tory alſo in principle, yet in a courſe of years his mind aſſumed a more liberal caſt. He was allowed to be a judicious tutor, though, in matters of diſcipline and economy, regular to a degree of ſuperſtition; he was alſo (his voice and appearance being favourable to that character) a popular preacher.

The government of Emanuel college had thus paſſed into the hands of perſons very different in political principles from thoſe who formerly preſided in it. For Emanuel college had once been (ſo fluctating are human inſtitutions) a kind of nurſery for Puritans; hence in the old ſong called the Mad Puritan,

In the houſe of pure Emanuel
I had my education,
Where my friends ſurmize
I dazzled my eyes
With the light of revelation ‡.

The above hints are not dropt without deſign. The author of theſe memoirs never reſpected the political principles of Farmer, nor his public conduct in the univerſity: yet (for the mind and character are formed by the circumſtances under which we are placed) that he ſhould adopt ſuch principles at an early period

* De Præſulibus Angliæ. † Dialogues on the Engliſh Conſtitution.
‡ See Percy's Collection of Engliſh ballads.

wes

was natural; fortunately for him theſe principles proved favourable to his future advancement in the church.

Dr. Farmer, while an under-graduate, was neither diſtinguiſhed for any groſs vices, nor for any extraordinary qualities. He was, however, known to be a man of reading, diſtinguiſhed rather for ſprightly parts, than profound ſpeculations, and much eſteemed in the circle of his friends.

His bachelor of arts degree he took in the year 1757, and ranked as what is called a ſenior optime; he was of the ſame year with Dr. Waring and Dr. Jebb, the two firſt men of the year.

The degree, though an inconſiderable one, and particularly ſo in 1757, procured him notice in college, and he conteſted the ſilver cup given at Emanuel college to the beſt graduate of the year, with Mr. Sawbridge, brother to the alderman of that name, but was unſucceſsful.

In 1760 he took his maſter of arts degree, and ſucceeded, as claſſical tutor, to Mr. Bickham, who went off to the valuable living of Loughborough in Leiceſterſhire, in the gift of Emanuel college. The firſt books that he lectured in were Euclid's Elements, Ariſtophanes, Tully's Offices, the Amphictyon of Plautus, and Hurd's Horace. In later periods he lectured in Quintilian, Grotius de Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ, and the Greek Teſtament.

In diſcharge of the part of his office, more immediately claſſical, Dr. Farmer was entitled to conſiderable reſpect. He was a good ſcholar. But theology and mathematics were not his favourite ſtudies. He did not give lectures in Euclid many years, but in Grotius and the Greek Teſtament he continued to lecture till he reſigned the tuition. By his pupils, as formerly by his fellow ſtudents, he was generally eſteemed, though his want of punctuality expoſed him to frequent cenſure from their parents.

For many years, while tutor, he ſerved the curacy of Swaveſey, a village about eight miles from Cambridge on the Huntingdonſhire road, that had been formerly ſerved by the celebrated

Dr.

Dr. Jortin. In this ſituation he gained the reſpect of his congregation rather by his affability and ſocial manners, than by the ſolemnity of his carriage, or the rigour of his doctrines.

Swaveſey was at this time frequented by methodiſts; occaſionally by the reverend Mr. Venn, then rector of Yelling, in Huntingdonſhire, formerly fellow of Jeſus college, and by the reverend Mr. Berridge, then vicar of Everten, Bedfordſhire, formerly fellow of Clare-hall. Between theſe gentlemen and Farmer there exiſted no great cordiality; for Farmer was no friend to their doctrines, which appeared to him irrational and gloomy: he claſſed them with Preſbyterians, and both Preſbyterians and Methodiſts he conſidered as Puritans and Roundheads. Farmer was a greater adept in cracking a joke, than in unhinging a Calviniſt's creed, or in quieting a gloomy conſcience. He, however, poſſeſſed a ſpirit of benevolence, and knew how to perform a generous action to a diſtreſſed family: there are men who can read over a perſon's grave, "He was a kind man," with greater ſatisfaction, than "He was a great preacher."

While curate of Swaveſey, Farmer formed an intimacy with Sir Thomas Hatton, a good-humoured country gentleman, of Madingly in Cambridgeſhire. In the year 1767 he took the degree of bachelor of divinity.

About this time he was appointed one of the preachers of Whitehall; an engagement, that required him to be in London a certain number of months in the year, a ſituation favourable to one now becoming a collector of books. His place of reſidence was uſually the houſe of Dr. Anthony Aſk[illegible], a phyſician of Queen-ſquare, Bloomſbury, formerly of Emanuel college, Cambridge. This gentleman was a reſpectable ſcholar, more particularly diſtinguiſhed by his acquaintance with Greek literature, and poſſeſſed of a liberal and communicative ſpirit. In early life he travelled into Greece; and his magnificent library of printed books, enriched by a moſt valuable collection of manuſcripts, procured him celebrity in foreign countries, no leſs than in England.

Farmer being himſelf a good Greek and Latin ſcholar, and

highly

highly reſpected by Dr. Aſkew, was received with hoſpitality in Queen's-ſquare, and had frequent interviews with many eminent literary characters of the time.

It is more in the light of a "man of books," and a man of letters, than as a divine, that the reader is to conſider Farmer. His connexion with Aſkew, perhaps (independently of the propenſity natural to a man of letters), might encourage his views as a collector of books. He began, indeed, under circumſtances different from Aſkew, and after engaging in literary purſuits entirely diſſimilar to his. Aſkew was a man of ample fortune, his books were clothed in ſumptuous bindings, and confined for the moſt part to ancient literature; Farmer, though his expences at that time were few, was as yet poſſeſſed of but a limited income, and now more particularly occupied his time in reading our old Engliſh authors. In a courſe of years, indeed, he collected many valuable books, and as his income increaſed, he could occaſionally gratify a more expenſive taſte; but, generally ſpeaking, he was as often ſeen at the end of an old book ſtall, as in the ſplendid ſhops of more reſpectable bookſellers, and the *ſixpence apiece* books were to him ſometimes of more value than a Baſkerville claſſic, or a volume printed at Strawberry-Hill. In this way he gradually got together an immenſe number of books, good, bad, and indifferent; which, at length, ſold for more than 2000l.

Here, in natural order, might be ſhewn the uſe to which Farmer directed his extenſive acquaintance with black-letter learning, and his valuable library. But, leaving for the preſent any particular obſervations on this ſubject, ſuffice it to notice, that in the year 1766 he publiſhed the firſt edition of his valuable eſſay on the learning of Shakeſpeare, addreſſed to Joſeph Cradoc, eſq. of Gumley-Hall in Leiceſterſhire; a ſecond edition was called for in the following year, with only a few corrections of ſtyle, but containing no additional information; a third was printed in 1789, without any additions except a note at the end, accounting for his finally abandoning his intended publication of the Antiquities of Leiceſter. The Eſſay is alſo given at large in Mr. Stevens's, and Mr. Reed's, edition of Shakeſpeare, printed in 1793.

A word

A word or two ought here to be dropped concerning the Hiſtory of the Town and Antiquities of Leiceſter, alluded to above, which had been announced by Farmer in 1765, to be publiſhed by ſubſcription: accordingly ſubſcriptions were received towards defraying the expences of publication. But the work was undertaken rather from local partiality, than a well principled love for the employment. "The primroſe path of writing notes on Shakeſpeare," as he expreſſed himſelf in his letter to Mr. Cradoc, "was more pleaſing to him, than the Foſſe or the Watling-ſtreet:"—and this perhaps was one principal reaſon for his relinquiſhing the undertaking.

We ſeldom want reaſons for declining a courſe, when not poſſeſſed of reſolution to perſevere. Farmer, ſpeaking of this publication, obſerves, "The work was juſt begun at the preſs, when the writer was called to the principal tuition of a large college, and was obliged to decline the undertaking."

With this plea many of his ſubſcribers were by no means ſatisfied. It was, however, a plea of which Farmer might be happy to avail himſelf: for, though he had actually printed three pages of the hiſtory, yet the materials collected were not conderable. The plates, and ſome few materials, were accordingly put into the hands of Mr. John Nichols, with liberty to make ſuch uſe of them as he thought proper, in his valuable Hiſtory of Leiceſterſhire.

Dr. Farmer's final reſolution to abandon his reſearches into the Hiſtory of Leiceſter was announced in the public papers, and the ſubſcription-money returned. Since his death Mr. Nichols, in conſequence of a note in the Monthly Magazine, announced his readineſs to return the ſubſcription-money to ſuch as had not made previous application.

The primroſe path was, probably, in the opinion of Farmer, no leſs profitable and honourable, than agreeable, as leading him forward to public notice. He had adopted a ſentiment, no leſs pleaſing to the learned, when clearly ſtated, than generally popular, as flattering the national attachment to Shakeſpeare.

Dr. Farmer was certainly the favourite, if not the importunate

tunate ſuitor, of Fortune. She took him as it were by the hand, and introduced him into her circle, without any violent exertions, or the diſplay of any extraordinary ambition, on his ſide; unleſs, indeed, (for the regards of Fortune are not always a blind attachment) his political conduct be conſtrued into active and premeditated complaiſance, or the manœuvrings of a churchman ſtriving to obtain conſequence and preferment.

The fact is, (and truth muſt not be ſacrificed on the altar of friendſhip), the church being in cloſe union with the ſtate, and rendering her important ſervices, expects to be paid back with ſomething more than compliments *. The civil and eccleſiaſtical polities have been repreſented under the form of a ſtrong arch of government, riſing from different foundations, and meeting in a centre. Hence the alliance of theſe two great powers.

But we are juſtified in going ſtill further. It is by no means true that "the eſtates of the clergy are private property†." At the dawn of the reformation, when the clergy in all chriſtian commonwealths poſſeſſed a third, or at leaſt a fourth part of all the rents and revenues, their power and wealth became the ſubject of public diſcuſſion. It was maintained and ſupported by the moſt eminent fathers of the church, that the poſſeſſions of the prieſts were pure alms‡ (hence they are ſaid to be held in frank almoigne): and the clergy are in fact "eccleſiaſtical penſioners of the ſtate." The direct way, therefore, to enjoy her emoluments, is, to keep in the ſuppliant poſture; and the ſureſt means of improving them, to ſhew a dutiful ſpirit.

What is true of the conſtitution of England, may with greater propriety be aſſerted of its adminiſtration. Churchmen who attend not the wants and wiſhes of a reigning adminiſtration, ſhould ſecure an intereſt in ſome other quarter, and not

* Warburton's Alliance, B. 1.

† Burke on the French Revolution.

‡ See the Second Diſſertation in the univerſity of Prague, on the 27th Article of John Wickliffe, in Fox's Acts and Monuments.

look

look for a patron in an Engliſh court. What ſhe has to beſtow (and it is conſiderable) ſhe confers on her friends; and ſhe is quickſighted in diſcovering them.

The firſt piece of preferment obtained by Farmer was moſt probably given him as a token of eſteem, no leſs than as a teſtimony to his literary merit. This was the chancellorſhip of Lichfield and Coventry, beſtowed on him by his friend biſhop Hurd, who has himſelf been a ſucceſsful candidate for preferment. A prebendal ſtall was alſo conferred on Farmer by the ſame gentleman when afterwards advanced to that ſee.

On the death of Dr. Richardſon, in the year 1775, he was choſen maſter of Emanuel college by the fellows of that ſociety, Mr. Hubbart, the ſenior fellow, declining it on account of age and infirmities. He now took his doctor of divinity's degree, and was ſhortly after ſucceeded in the tutorſhip by a man of great taſte and learning, Mr., now Dr. Bennet, biſhop of Cloyne.

He next obtained, on the death of Dr. Barnardiſton, the office of principal librarian: theſe two appointments he was fairly entitled to from his literary character. In the ſame year he ſerved, in his turn, the office of vice chancellor of the univerſity, and was preſented by the miniſter of the day, lord North, with a valuable piece of preferment, a prebend of Canterbury.

Dr. Farmer had not yet arrived at the zenith of his proſperity, and, indeed, declined being raiſed to that point, to which the preſent miniſter was inclined to advance him. The offer of a biſhoprick was twice made him by Mr. Pitt: the promiſe, at leaſt, of his influence, made perſonally, as well as by letter, may be, as it always is, conſidered as the ſure forerunner to advancement.

But the truth is, the ſolemnity and formality of the epiſcopal character would have ſat but awkwardly on Farmer. He choſe to move without reſtraint, and to enjoy himſelf without reſponſibility: to uſe his own language to a friend, "one that enjoyed the theatre, and the Queen's Head, in the evening, would have made but an indifferent biſhop."

A piece

A piece of preferment, however, was ſoon conferred on him by Mr. Pitt, no leſs agreeable to his taſte, in point of ſituation, than valuable in point of income, a reſidentiaryſhip of St. Paul's. This was given him in exchange for the prebend of Canterbury. It was agreeable to his taſte, as requiring three months reſidence in the capital, and only three, in the year; enabling him to enjoy in ſucceſſion his literary clubs in London, and his literary retreat at Cambridge. It was valuable, for its clear income is twelve or fourteen hundred a year, beſides perquiſites, which, though not eaſily aſcertained, are conſiderable.

The ingenious, good-humoured doctor now expreſſed himſelf in terms of perfect ſatisfaction. He looked for nothing higher. He enjoyed a plentiful income himſelf, and, poſſeſſing with it a conſiderable ſhare of patronage, had the means (an important conſideration to a kind-hearted man) of rendering eſſential ſervices to his friends.

Independently, therefore, of the political principles originally imbibed by Dr. Farmer, it was natural enough for him to expreſs, and, in his conduct through life, to exhibit, a warm attachment to Mr. Pitt, and to ſupport with great cordiality the meaſures of his adminiſtration.

Hic illum vidi juvenem, meleboee, quotannis
Bis ſenos cui noſtra dies altaria fumant.

VIRGIL.

It is by no means denied, that Dr. Farmer's literary character, and particularly his reputation, juſtly acquired by his Eſſay on the learning of Shakeſpeare, which could hardly be diminiſhed by his good friend at court, Dr. Hurd, were favourable circumſtances to him on his way to preferment. But as it is known to all, that his eccleſiaſtical honours were connected with his political conduct at Cambridge, it would be unpardonable to paſs on without taking a ſhort retroſpective view of ſome occurrences, in the univerſity, during this period.

Leaving

Leaving theſe two learned bodies, with their poets *, to ſettle the queſtion, Which of them deſerves beſt of the ſons of Freedom? it may be proper to obſerve that the two parties, of Whig and Tory, at Cambridge, had for ſome time carried their contentions rather high, till, on the 17th of March 1769, an addreſs was preſented to the king by the Tories, containing nothing ſhort of a reprobation of the principles and conduct of the popular party. A few years after happened the American war, replete with nothing but diſhonour to its adherents in this country, and terminating, at length, in the emancipation of the Americans. An addreſs, no leſs ſycophantic than the former, was again preſented by the Tories, juſtifying the cruel meaſures then purſued and the men who adopted them.

'Still ſing, O Cam, your favourite Freedom's cauſe,
Still boaſt of Freedom, while you break her laws †.

In the year 1771 a deſign was formed by ſeveral of the clergy, many of whom were of Cambridge, of applying to parliament for relief from ſubſcription to the liturgy and the thirty-nine articles. The ground of this application was, that proteſtant churches had no right to require ſubſcription to ſyſtematic confeſſions of faith, and that nothing ſhould be ſubſcribed but a belief in the ſcriptures ‡. The fourth meeting was held in 1772 and 1773; and at Cambridge, in the December of 1772, Dr. Jebb preached on the occaſion a memorable ſermon. While this matter was under diſcuſſion, the learned and reſpectable Mr. Robert Tyrwhitt, of Jeſus college Cambridge, attempted to reſtore religious liberty to the members of the univerſity of Cambridge, by propoſing a grace for the removal of ſubſcription to the thirty-nine articles at the time of taking degrees, in which undertaking he was warmly ſupported by ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members of the univerſity.

* See Iſis, an Elegy by Mr. Maſon of Cambridge, and the Triumph of Iſis, by Mr. Thomas Warton of Oxford.

† Triumph of Iſis.

‡ See the Confeſſional, by archdeacon Blackburne.

It

It was not intended, that the ſpirit of reform ſhould repoſe under theſe diſcuſſions. Jebb was for carrying it with great energy into literature, and propoſed ſeveral graces, to eſtabliſh, annually, public examinations, applicable to all the members in ſtatu pupillari, and going into every department of letters *.

It is ſcarcely neceſſary to add, that all theſe meaſures, ſo replete with public utility, miſcarried; and were they to be propoſed again to-morrow, they would miſcarry again.—What can a few independent minds effect againſt the various intereſts of rival ſocieties, the immenſe patronage of a miniſter, and the influence of a bench of biſhops? Againſt this three-fold power had the queſtion to ſtruggle, and was therefore loſt.

It would have afforded the biographer great pleaſure to have found Farmer, in many reſpects a very amiable man, in theſe ſeveral conteſts among the friends to humanity and public liberty; but he acted the other way; and, while he was tutor of Emanuel college; when, afterwards, he became maſter, and vice chancellor of the univerſity; towards the reforming party, Jebb and Tyrwhitt, he carried himſelf with bigotry and violence. He lived, then, at a favourable era; he had adopted *lucky* principles; and ploughed in a ſoil whence ſprung the prebend of Canterbury and reſidentiaryſhip of St. Paul's.

Dr. Farmer's reſidence in London was favourable, as already hinted, to his love of literary ſociety; and for many years he was a member of different clubs, compoſed of men of letters, by whom he was much eſteemed.

Of this claſs was the Eumelean club, at Blenheim tavern, Bond-ſtreet, of which Dr. Aſh was preſident; and of which Sir Joſhua Reynolds, Mr. Boſwell, Mr. Windham, M. P. Mr. Knight, M. P. Sir George Shuckburgh, Honourable Frederick North, Doctor Lawrence, M. P. Sir George Baker, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Seward, Doctor Burney, &c. &c. were members:

* Memoirs of Dr. Jebb's Life and Writings, prefixed to his work, by Dr. Diſney.

The Unincreaſable club, Queen's head, Holborn, of which Mr. Romney, the painter, Mr. Long, Mr. Hayley, Mr. Braithwaite, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Newbery, Mr. Topham, Dr. Beardmore, &c. &c. were members:

Another club to which Dr. Farmer belonged was in Eſſex-ſtreet, founded by Dr. Samuel Johnſon, to which the Hon. D. Barrington, Mr. Calamy, Dr. Gregory, Dr. Brockleſby, Mr. Boſwell, &c. belonged.

In theſe ſeveral ſocieties Farmer appeared, not with the manners of a party-man, as in the univerſity, but as a well-wiſher to the general intereſts of literature: for they conſiſted of men of different ſentiments, and he conducted himſelf with propriety and conſiſtency towards all. Indeed, he was always forward to ſhew reſpect to perſons of ſentiments quite oppoſite to his own, when even engaged in ſubjects, on which men, at preſent, more than ever divide. This was particularly manifeſt in his conduct towards Mr. Sharpe, a well-informed gentleman, but, on a variety of ſubjects, more particularly political, widely differing from Farmer: towards him, and towards others in theſe ſocieties, he behaved with modeſt deference; and when Mr. Sharpe was engaged in a literary work, that required him to conſult ſcarce books, Dr. Farmer was ever ready to furniſh him from the public library at Cambridge.

The ſame liberality was ſhewn by our doctor towards Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, even when the univerſity had evinced public marks of their diſapprobation, by depriving him of the liberty of printing his Silva Critica at the univerſity preſs, out of the funds appropriated to the publication of learned works; after this public avowal of diſapprobation on the ſide of the univerſity, Dr. Farmer always ſhewed a willingneſs to entruſt to him books from the public library, of which acknowledgments are made by Mr. Wakefield: even of Dr. Jebb, and Mr. William Frend, againſt whom, as oppugnatores eccleſiæ, Farmer appeared as a malleus hæreticorum, he learned, at length, to ſpeak with candour and reſpect.

Of diſſenters too, he began at laſt to think more favourably, and to ſpeak more reſpectfully; even of the ingenious

nious Mr. Robert Robinſon, preacher at Cambridge, of whom Farmer had been accuſtomed to talk contemptuouſly, as a troubler of the peace of Jeruſalem, by his vigorous oppoſition to eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, Farmer could not only ſpeak with temper, but admiration; and though he continued to think him a diſturber of academical repoſe, and a bold political innovator, yet he acknowleged him to be a ſuperior genius, and a conſcientious, ſincere man.

Theſe circumſtances it ſeemed but juſtice to point out, to ſhew that Farmer's natural character was kind and liberal; that when he aſſumed the manners of a bigot, when he appeared as the violent oppoſer of reform, the extravagant vindicator of antiquated cuſtoms, he did in fact offer violence to a character that had in it much of the milk of human kindneſs; that he did not in reality move in his proper ſphere; and that he was as often the dupe of artful politicians, as of his own intereſt.

If the univerſity of Cambridge owe no gratitude to Farmer on the ground of political or academical reforms, yet, in another point of view; great reſpect is due to his memory, no leſs from the town than from the univerſity. The uncomfortable ſtate of the town, previouſly to its being lighted and paved, is in every one's recollection: and to the honour of Farmer it ſhould be mentioned, that he was the author of its improvement; and as he was the principal mover in getting the town lighted and paved, ſo was he alſo, in his office of juſtice of the peace, the means of having many inconveniencies removed. If by oppoſing academical reforms, he kept back intellectual light, if by reſiſting the ſpirit of liberty, he leſſened the ſum of human happineſs, yet let poſterity give him his due praiſe: if they place him not in the firſt rank among the benefactors of mankind, or the candidates for literary fame, let them pay him the acknowledgments to which his ſervices are entitled.

The ſame attention that Dr. Farmer ſhewed to the external conveniences of the inhabitants of Cambridge, he evinced alſo in other ſituations, where the ſpirit of improvement could be carried. The introduction of the art of ſculpture into St. Paul's cathedral is here entitled to particular mention; for this the public are

principally indebted to the exertions of Dr. Farmer. The idea was firſt ſtarted in a converſation at Mr. Tuffin's, in Lower Thames-ſtreet, at which Mr. Romney, Mr. Banks the ſtatuary, Mr. Horne Tooke, Mr. Sharpe, and Mr. Seward, were preſent. It was forwarded by Farmer to the Chapter, and, as if it was intended to bear teſtimony to the liberal party among whom the idea was firſt ſtarted, the ſtatues firſt erected in St. Paul's have been thoſe of Mr. Howard and Dr. Johnſon; the firſt a diſſenter, diſtinguiſhed for his benevolent regard to priſoners; the latter a churchman, eminent for his talents, and whoſe writings diſcover much critical ſagacity, and a comprehenſive intellect.

On mentioning the name of Dr. Johnſon, the editor of Shakſpeare, I am naturally reminded of Farmer's eſſay, and of the friendſhip that ſubſiſted between him and Farmer, which originated in this eſſay. Johnſon, as it deſerved, paid this eſſay the higheſt compliments, and was conſiderably indebted to it in his admirable preface to Shakſpeare.

The political principles of Johnſon are well known to have been thoſe of a rigid Tory, and therefore the following anecdotes, related in converſation to the author of theſe memoirs, are recorded as a teſtimony to the natural candour of Farmer's temper, rather than from a wiſh to dwell on the contemptible bigotry and illiberality of Johnſon. Farmer related them with his uſual jocularity, adding at the ſame time, "that Dr. Johnſon carried his ſentiments too far."

Farmer, at the mutual deſire of Dr. Johnſon, and an eminent ſcholar of Cambridge, had engaged to bring about an interview between them in London. Previouſly to the introduction, he had, however, informed Johnſon, that his friend about to be introduced, was a warm Whig. At the very moment of introduction, therefore, Johnſon thus addreſſed him—"Sir, your father was a good man; he wrote an excellent book; I have read it: with reſpect to you, Sir, my friend Dr. Farmer informs me, *you* are a Whig;—let me tell you, Sir, I never yet found a Whig an honeſt man."

The other anecdote relates to Dr. Watts. Johnſon, in his life of Watts, ſeems to have been in one of his happieſt moods; and

and in the exemplarineſs of Watts's character, and amid the variety of his literary attainments, to have forgotten that he was a Diſſenter and a Whig: on Farmer's interrogating him on this ſubject, Johnſon replied,—"Sir, you did not know the man; he was a religious, not a political Diſſenter."

The other editors of Shakſpeare, no leſs than Johnſon, are to be ranked among the admirers and friends of Farmer; Mr. Steevens, Mr. Malone, Mr. Reed, &c. who have borne teſtimony to the merit of his Eſſay. Between the firſt and the laſt and Dr. Farmer there exiſted a long and warm friendſhip; and Mr. Reed has paid a modeſt but judicious tribute of reſpect to his memory *.—But to come to the Eſſay itſelf. In this work Dr. Farmer fully demonſtrates, that our immortal poet was more indebted to nature than to art, and that his matters of fact were deduced from our old chronicles and romances, and from tranſlations of the claſſics, not from original writers.

It is well known that the other ſide of the queſtion had been maintained by moſt of the critics and commentators on Shakſpeare,—Pope, Theobald, Warburton, Upton, Grey, Dodd, and Whalley; though it does not appear, that any one of them went the right way to work, which unqueſtionably would have been, carefully to have compared together contemporary writers, to have ſearched into the old chronicles, and the tranſlations made from the Greek and Latin claſſics into the Engliſh language: this is what Dr. Farmer has done.

Of all thoſe, who wrote commentaries on Shakſpeare, none ſeems to have gone more heartily into the belief of his learning, than Pope; a man, of however great talents in other reſpects, by no means competent to decide this queſtion †. Nor indeed have the other commentators gone much farther into the ſubject, than to drop a few curſory hints or ill-grounded ſurmiſes.

Mr. Whalley, the editor of Ben Jonſon, wrote an eſſay profeſſedly on this ſubject ‡. Whalley was a good claſſical ſcholar, as well as a man of genius, and has been happy enough in producing,

* See Mr. Seward's Biographiana. † Warburton's Preface to Shakſpeare.

‡ An Inquiry into the Learning of Shakſpeare, with Remarks on ſeveral paſſages in his Plays, &c. By Peter Whalley, A.B.

in this eſſay, ſeveral paſſages from the Greek and Latin writers, to which many in Shakſpeare bear a ſtrong reſemblance. But Whalley, when he wrote this eſſay, was not ſufficiently acquainted with our old Engliſh writers, and ingenuouſly enough confeſſed ſome years afterwards, that at the time he knew nothing of the ſubject.

The eſſay of Farmer, then, was preciſely the very work that was wanted; an eſſay, in which, without making a parade of his reading, he diſcovered, that he had read much; in which he ſeldom puts forth his ſtrength againſt his opponents, except juſt ſo far as to ſhow he has the beſt of the argument; a playfulneſs of humour, ſometimes inclining to irony, is agreeably ſubſtituted in the room of the formal ſolemnity of the antiquary, or the inſolence and warmth of the controverſialiſt. In ſhort, he has done ſo much, and has worked ſo neatly, in this eſſay, has unfolded ſo amply the courſe of his reading, and has exhibited ſo agreeable a picture of his own character, that every one who has read it regrets, that he had not written more; and, while they pay the compliment due to his diſtinguiſhed talents, leave him with reproaching his intolerable indolence.

The purport of this pamphlet, and the province of the author of it, cannot be better explained than in Farmer's own words:

"I hope, my good friend (he is addreſſing Mr. Cradock), you have acquitted our great poet of all piratical depredations on the ancients, and are ready to receive my concluſion. He remembered, perhaps, enough of his ſchoolboy learning, to put the *hig*, *hag*, *bog*, into the mouth of Sir Hugh Evans; and might pick up in the writers of the time, or the courſe of his converſation, a familiar phraſe or two of French or Italian; but his ſtudies were moſt demonſtratively confined to nature and his own language.

"In the courſe of this diſquiſition, you have often ſmiled at all ſuch reading, as was never read, and poſſibly I may have indulged it too far: but it is the reading neceſſary for a comment on Shakſpeare. Thoſe who apply ſolely to the ancients for this purpoſe, may with equal wiſdom ſtudy the Talmud for an expoſition of Triſtram Shandy. Nothing but an intimate acquaintance with the writers of the time, who are frequently

quently of no other value, can point out his alluſions, and aſcertain his phraſeology. The reformers of his text are equally poſitive, and equally wrong. The cant of the age, a provincial expreſſion, an obſcure proverb, an obſolete cuſtom, a hint at a perſon, or a fact no longer remembered, hath continually defeated the beſt of our gueſſers: you muſt not ſuppoſe me to ſpeak at random, when I aſſure you, that, from ſome forgotten book or other, I can demonſtrate this to you in many hundred places, and I almoſt wiſh that I had not been perſuaded into a different employment *."

It would be foreign to the nature of theſe memoirs, to inquire minutely into the merits of the eſſay; ſuffice it to ſay, that ſome points are elucidated by it, of importance in criticiſm.

1ſt. It ſhews the futility of that ſpecies of criticiſm that conſiſts merely in finding parallel paſſages in authors, and deducing, from the compariſon, infallible marks of imitation. This ſpecies of criticiſm is not to be wholly condemned: it traces frequently theſe parallelisms advantageouſly. But it affords ſo great a temptation to make a parade of reading, and from very imperfect data to hurry on to concluſions, that it ſhould be exerciſed with diffidence and caution. People who look at nature with the ſame eyes, ſtudy the human character, and poſſeſs poetic feelings, will neceſſarily often expreſs themſelves in the ſame manner. Real marks of imitation may often be traced †, but they are different, often very widely different, from thoſe produced by critics and mere book-learned commentators. Verbal Criticiſm has its important uſes; it is, however, often only a trifler, even arrogant while trifling, and declamatory over its blunders.

2dly. The eſſay holds out an encouragement to thoſe poſſeſſed of the true poetic character. Biſhop Hurd, in a paſſage quoted by Farmer, ſenſibly obſerves, "Shakſpeare owed the felicity of freedom from the bondage of claſſical ſuperſtition to the want of what is called the advantage of a

* Farmer's Eſſay on the Learning of Shakſpeare.

† See biſhop Hurd's Marks of Imitation.

learned education. This, as well as a vaſt ſuperiority of genius, hath contributed to lift this aſtoniſhing man to the glory of being eſteemed the moſt original thinker, and ſpeaker, ſince the days of Homer." There is a kind of monotony, both of ſentiment and expreſſion, characteriſtic of a mere imitator. The true way to obtain variety of ſtyle and manner, is not always to be at ſchool, but to break looſe from claſſical training, and to look through the great field of nature. But for this want of a learned education, with a great ſuperiority of genius, we might never have had a Shakſpeare.

3dly. At the ſame time it holds out a caution. Shakſpeare, though not learned in the ſenſe of the ſchools, was learned in a more reſpectable ſenſe. He had read much, and he thought originally. He knew human nature; he could diſcriminate character with great preciſion; place diſtant objects before the eyes with the ſkill of a magician; and penetrate into the moſt ſecret receſſes of the heart with unrivalled addreſs.

A man may write an epigram or a ſonnet, and his name get hooked into ſome Theatrum Poetarum: but the true poet is a philoſopher. Though Farmer's eſſay may ſtrip Shakſpeare of Greek and Latin, it leaves him in poſſeſſion of the beſt ſort of knowledge.

But of this enough. The eſſay anſwered two important purpoſes:—it rendered the author the ſubject of eccleſiaſtical preferment, and has ſecured him a portion of literary fame. And, perhaps, more praiſe is due to him for ſettling a controverſy on the learning of Shakſpeare, than to ſuch as have made greater controverſial flouriſhes, without ſettling any thing. Should it be ſaid, that Farmer poſſeſſed a larger income than his literary labours entitled him to, I object not, being an unfit perſon to eſtimate what labour is proportionate to a good benefice. The largeſt benefices have been procured for ſervices of leſs public utility than Dr. Farmer's Eſſay. And happy had it been for mankind, if ſome writers had been as innocently employed

employed as in writing Eſſays on the learning of Shakſpeare!

The latter years of Dr. Farmer's life furniſh nothing that would materially diverſify the biographical page. They were pretty equally divided between Emanuel college, and the reſidentiary houſe in Amen-Corner. His literary friends, as uſual, engaged much of his time; among whom, more particularly at this time, ſhould be mentioned the Rev. Mr. Meen, formerly fellow of Emanuel college, editor of Mr. Fawkes's Apollonius Rhodius, or more properly his aſſiſtant tranſlator. For, I cannot forbear noticing, that the editor ſpeaks, in his preface, too modeſtly of his ſhare in the work. The editor was Mr. Meen, who wrote all the notes to that work and ſome of the tranſlation. He is alſo the tranſlator of Coluthus Lycopolites. In Dr. Anderſon's edition of Tranſlations, the tranſlation of Coluthus is aſcribed to C———. C. ſtood for *Coadjutor*; that coadjutor was Mr. Meen.

The object of this memoir has been juſt to ſketch ſuch parts of Farmer's hiſtory as ſeemed intereſting to the public, not to dwell on his more eſtimable qualities, or his particular blemiſhes. The former are beſt known to his more intimate friends; the latter are alluded to by ſome who think themſelves qualified to be ſatiriſts. The acquaintance with Dr. Farmer poſſeſſed by the author of theſe memoirs, at a very early period of life, was that of a youth prepared to admire a man of letters, and viewing him at a kind of diſtance; in later years, of one totally differing from him on the moſt eſſential points, and never entering into his more private or ſocial engagements, though not unacquainted with his character.

Dr. Farmer died, after a long and painful illneſs, at the lodge of Emanuel college, and was buried in the chapel. The following epitaph accurately exhibits his more amiable and reſpectable qualities, and reflects honour on the candour of the learned writer; between whom and Dr. Farmer there ſubſiſted great difference of opinion on political ſubjects.

Epitaph in the Cloyſters of Emanuel College, Cambridge,
By Dr. Parr.

A P Ω
RICARDUS FARMER, S. T. P.
MAGISTER HUJUS COLLEGII
VIR FACETUS ET DULCIS FESTIQUE SERMONIS
GRAECE ET LATINE DOCTUS.
IN EXPLICANDA VETERUM ANGLORUM POESI.
SUBTILIS ET ELEGANS.
ACADEMIAE CANTABRIGIENSIS STABILIENDAE,
ET AMPLIFICANDAE STUDIOSUS
REGIS ET PATRIAE AMANTISSIMUS,
VIXIT AN. LXII. MENS. III. DIES XIV.
DECESSIT SEPT ID. SEPTEMB.
ANNO DOMINI
M,DCC,LXXXX,VII.
ET CONDITUS EST JUXTA ARAM VICINI SACELLI
IN SEPULCHRO QUOD SIBI VIVUS NONCUPAVERAT.

TRANSLATION.

To the Beſt.
RICHARD FARMER, S. T. P.
Maſter of this College,
A facetious Man, of ſweet and pleaſant Converſation;
Learned in the Greek and Latin Languages,
Acute and elegant in explaining the Works
Of the old Engliſh Poets;
Studious in ſupporting,
And improving the Univerſity of Cambridge;
A zealous Lover of his King and Country;
Lived ſixty-two Years, three Months, and fourteen Days:
Died the ſeventh of the Ides * of September, 1797,
And was buried near the Altar of the adjoining Chapel,
In a Grave appointed by himſelf when living.

G. D.

* The eighth of September.

MEMOIRS OF

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT.

THE intrepid ſpirit, daring flights, lofty pretenſions, and diſdain of ſanctioned opinions, which characterize the productions of the vindicator of the Rights of Woman, have combined to excite an extraordinary degree of attention; which ſome events, of a peculiar nature, in her perſonal hiſtory have had a tendency to increaſe. By the diſtinction which the reputation of ſuperior talents confers, their poſſeſſors are exalted to a dangerous pre-eminence: attention is rouſed, curioſity excited, their claims are ſubjected to a ſcrutiny, in which all the nobler and all the baſer paſſions become equally intereſted. While, on one ſide, by the partiality of affection and the blind enthuſiaſm of implicit admiration, their excellencies are made the theme of exaggerated panegyric: on the other, thoſe errors or frailties to which they are liable, in common with their ſpecies, or thoſe exceſſes that more peculiarly belong to ardent characters, are invidiouſly ſought after, propagated with malignity, amplified by envy, diſtorted by prejudice, and received with triumph by the vulgar of every rank, by the intereſted, the ignorant, and the malicious. Perſons of the fineſt and moſt exquiſite genius have probably the greateſt ſenſibility, conſequently the ſtrongeſt paſſions, by the fervor of which they are too often betrayed into error. Vigorous minds are with difficulty reſtrained within the trammels of authority; a ſpirit of enterpriſe, a paſſion for experiment, a liberal curioſity, urges them to quit beaten paths, to explore untried ways, to burſt the fetters of preſcription, and to acquire wiſdom by an individual experience.

The preceding reflections are not unappropriate to the ſubject of the preſent narrative, in whoſe character ſtrong light and ſhade appear to have been blended. If, by her quick feelings, prompt judgments, and rapid deciſions, ſhe was ſometimes betrayed

trayed into falſe concluſions, her errors were expiated by ſufferings, that, while they diſarm ſeverity, awaken ſympathy and ſeize irreſiſtibly upon the heart. Let it not be forgotten, that if the exceſs of certain virtues encroach on the limits of vice, yet faults of this deſcription have a generous ſource. Thoſe whom a calmer temperament conduct in an even path, deviating neither to the right nor to the left, will find their reward in the ſafety of their courſe. But it is to ſpeculative and enterpriſing ſpirits, whom ſtronger powers and more impetuous paſſions impel forward, regardleſs of eſtabliſhed uſages, that all great changes and improvements in ſociety have owed their origin. If, intoxicated by contemplating the grand projects in their imagination, they deviate into extravagance, and loſe ſight of the nature of man, their theories remain to be corrected by experience, while, in the gratitude of poſterity, the contemporary cry of intereſt will be abſorbed and forgotten.

To advance on the ſcale of reaſon half the ſpecies, is no ignoble ambition. The efforts of the extraordinary woman whoſe life we are about to review, were directed to the emancipation of her own ſex, whom ſhe conſidered as ſunk in a ſtate of degradation, glorying in their weakneſs, voluntarily ſurrendering the privilege of rational agents, and contending, in her own emphatic language, "for the ſentiment that brutalized them."

Mary, daughter of Edward-John and Elizabeth Wollſtonecraft, was born on the 27th of April, 1759. Her mother was of the family of the Dixons of Ballyſhannon in Ireland, her paternal grandfather a manufacturer in Spitalfields, from whom her father is ſuppoſed to have inherited property to a conſiderable amount. Mr. Wollſtonecraft's family conſiſted of ſix children (three ſons and three daughters), of whom Mary was the ſecond. It does not appear that Mr. W. (who near the period of his daughter's birth occupied a farm on Epping Foreſt) was brought up to any profeſſion. Nor is it certain whether the ſubject of our narration received her exiſtence in London

London or on the Foreſt, where the firſt five years of her life were principally ſpent.

Mary Wollſtonecraft gave early indications of thoſe acute feelings and vigorous powers of mind which led to the ſubſequent incidents and exertions of an eventful life. It is poſſible that the reſtraint which ſhe is ſaid to have experienced, and the ſeverity under which ſhe occaſionally ſuffered, from the iraſcible and capricious temper of her father, might tend to rouſe that ſpirit of reſiſtance, that indignant impatience of injuſtice and oppreſſion, which formed the diſtinguiſhing features of her maturer character.

Experience teaches us that, in the moral as in the phyſical world, evil is often connected with good. Suffering and oppoſition, if they exceed not certain limits, have a ſtimulating power: ſtill they are evils, and it would be raſh to conclude, that, by the adoption of leſs exceptionable means, the ſame end might not be effected. He, who has ſtudied the human mind, will know how to avail himſelf of its more delicate ſprings: terror and force have been proved feeble engines when oppoſed to emulation and love.

As, with increaſing years, the underſtanding of Mary Wollſtonecraft matured, it triumphed over the petty vexations of her childhood, and procured her, by its aſcendancy, a conſequent predominance in her family: while her influence and interpoſition ſerved to ſcreen her mother from the conſequences of her father's temper, ſhe was regarded by both with an involuntary portion of affection and reſpect. To the hardy habits of her childhood ſhe conſidered herſelf as indebted for a robuſt conſtitution. Sporting in the open air, and joining in the active amuſements of her brothers, her health acquired a ſound and vigorous tone.

In 1768 Mr. Wollſtonecraft removed from the Foreſt to a farm near Beverly in Yorkſhire, where he reſided with his family for ſix years. During this interval his daughter occaſionally frequented a day-ſchool in the neighbourhood. What benefit ſhe derived from the inſtructions ſhe there received, we have no account. From Beverly Mr. W. repaired to a houſe in Queen's Row, Hoxton, near

near London, with a view of engaging in commerce. Mary Wollſtonecraft had now entered her ſixteenth year. About this period ſhe became acquainted with a Mr. Clare, a near neighbour, a clergyman, a man of taſte, and a humoriſt, to whom ſhe was indebted for encouragement and aſſiſtance in the cultivation of her mind, and at whoſe houſe ſhe frequently paſſed days and weeks. The manners of this gentleman were conciliating, and his habits peculiar.

By the wife of Mr. Clare ſhe was introduced to a young perſon of her own ſex, Frances Blood, who reſided in the village of Newington, and for whom, on their firſt interview (in which Frances appeared peculiarly intereſting, ſurrounded by the younger children of her family), ſhe conceived a friendſhip that partook of all the fervour of her character. Frances Blood, two years older than her friend, is deſcribed as an accompliſhed and exemplary young woman: an affectionate intercourſe and correſpondence ſucceeded between them, in which the aſpiring temper of the younger was rouſed to emulation by the ſuperior attainments of the elder, who undertook to be her inſtructor, and whoſe leſſons were received with grateful delight.

The removal of Mr. Wollſtonecraft, whoſe temper was reſtleſs and unſtable, to a farm in Wales, in the ſpring of 1776, was a cruel ſtroke to his daughter, whoſe affection for Frances had now become the ruling paſſion of her ſoul. In this retirement the Wollſtonecrafts formed an intimate acquaintance with the family of Mr. Allen, two of whoſe daughters have been ſince married to the elder ſons of the celebrated Joſiah Wedgewood. After remaining in Wales little more than a year, Mr. W. again returned to the neighbourhood of London, and, at the earneſt requeſt of his daughter, who panted to be near her friend, fixed his abode at Walworth.

The ſpirit of independence was characteriſtic of Mary Wollſtonecraft; ſhe revolved in her mind projects for quitting the parental roof, and providing for her own ſupport: with this view, ſhe entered into an engagement which promiſed to be eligible, but was induced to relinquiſh her plan by the tears and entreaties of her mother: but a deſign ſo congenial to the intrepidity of her character,

character, though poſtponed, was not abandoned. In the year 1778, it was propoſed to her, to reſide as a companion with a widow lady (Mrs. Dawſon) of Bath, to which propoſition, not diſcouraged by intimations which ſhe had received of the peculiar humour of the lady, ſhe immediately acceded. In this ſituation ſhe ſoon acquired an influence over her patroneſs, extorting from her a degree of conſideration which rarely attends the circumſtances to which ſhe had ſubmitted.

After reſiding two years with Mrs. Dawſon, ſhe was recalled to her family, now living at Enfield, by the declining health of her mother, on whom ſhe attended with the moſt affectionate aſſiduity, through a lingering diſeaſe, which, terminating fatally, ſhe finally quitted her family, her health impaired by fatigue and anxiety, and fixed her reſidence with her friend, at Walthamgreen, near the village of Fulham. In this ſituation their mutual attachment became more lively and confirmed. Of the manner in which ſhe now ſupported herſelf, we have no information: her ſpirit would doubtleſs have preſerved her from becoming burdenſome to the induſtry of her friend. Two years ſubſequent to her attendance on the cloſing ſcenes of a mother's life, her ſympathy was again excited and her attention engroſſed by the affecting ſtate of a married ſiſter, who, in conſequence of a perilous lying-in, ſunk into a melancholy and lingering diſorder.

During the languor and confinement of her ſiſter, Mary Wollſtonecraft, who had now entered her twenty-fourth year, had leiſure for reflection. In addition to her darling plan of perſonal independence, her benevolence prompted her to meditate projects more arduous and extenſive. The affairs of her father long declining, had at length become hopeleſs, involving a ſmall independent proviſion made for his daughters. In conjunction with her friend and ſiſters, ſhe therefore formed, and at length executed, a plan for the opening of a day-ſchool in the village of Iſlington: from Iſlington they thought proper, in the courſe of a few months, to transfer their reſidence to Newington-Green.

Every new impreſſion or viciſſitude produced on her ſuſceptible mind important conſequences: ſome valuable connexions which

which ſhe now formed, gave a tincture to her future views and character; among the moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe ſhe accounted Dr. Richard Price (equally reſpected for his talents and virtues), for whom ſhe conceived a ſincere reverence and friendſhip, and on whoſe public inſtructions ſhe occaſionally attended. Poſſeſſing in an exalted degree thoſe devotional affections ſo congenial to ardent and tender natures, her religion, for ſhe laid no ſtreſs on creeds and forms, was a ſentiment of humility, reverence, and love; a ſublime enthuſiaſm, the aſpirations of a fervent imagination, ſhaping to itſelf ideal excellence, and panting after good unalloyed. Her active mind, conſcious of its powers, exulting in its capacities, abhorred the thought of extinction, and yearned to perpetuate itſelf. She believed in a being, higher, more perfect than viſible nature, in her own conformity to that ſuperior being, in a future ſtate of exerciſe and gratification of thoſe powers and ſenſibilities that, denied a ſcope for exertion, too often preyed upon herſelf. Her faith reſted not upon critical evidence or laborious inveſtigation; it was the bold conception of a pregnant fancy; the delicious ſentiment of a tender heart: ſhe adored the Creator in the temple of the univerſe, worſhipped him amidſt the beauties of nature, or, ſuffering her mind to expatiate amidſt ideas of ſpotleſs purity and boundleſs goodneſs, humbled herſelf before him in the ſtill hour of recollection.

About this period ſhe acquired alſo the friendſhip of Mrs. Burgh, widow of the author of the Political Diſquiſitions, and of the reverend John Hewlett, a clergyman of the church of England. Being likewiſe introduced to the acquaintance of Dr. Johnſon, ſhe was received by him with kindneſs and diſtinction: his ſubſequent illneſs and death fruſtrated her intention of cultivating a further intimacy with this extraordinary man.

The health of her friend, Frances Blood, whoſe character, though amiable, was timid and feeble, now began to decline; diſappointment and indulged grief, had impaired her conſtitution, and ſymptoms of a conſumption appeared, for which ſhe was adviſed to try the effects of a ſouthern climate. In the beginning of the year 1785 ſhe accordingly ſet ſail for Liſbon, having previouſly ſuffered herſelf to be prevailed upon to accept, on her arrival, the hand of Mr.

Mr. Hugh Skeys, of Dublin (then reſident in Portugal), who had for ſome time paſt paid his addreſſes to her. Mrs. Skeys, whoſe health had received little benefit from the voyage, becoming pregnant ſoon after her marriage, the affectionate ſolicitude of Mary Wolſtonecraft induced her to quit for a time her ſchool, and to ſubject herſelf to various inconveniences, for the purpoſe of paſſing over to Portugal, to adminiſter aid and conſolation to her friend. With ſome pecuniary aſſiſtance from Mrs. Burgh, ſhe was enabled to accompliſh her deſign, and arrived at Liſbon but a ſhort period before the lady in queſtion was prematurely delivered; a criſis which proved fatal both to the mother and child.

During her ſtay in Portugal, the circle of her obſervation being enlarged, her active mind collected materials for reflection; the influence of deſpotiſm and the pernicious effects of a blind ſuperſtition more peculiarly impreſſed her.

On her paſſage to England, towards the latter end of December, a new occaſion preſented itſelf for the exerciſe of her humanity; a French ſhip, in danger of foundering, and deſtitute of proviſions, implored the aid of the maſter of the veſſel in which ſhe was a paſſenger, who, fearful leſt his own ſtores ſhould fall ſhort, was induced ſolely by her ſpirited remonſtrances to grant to the ſufferers the neceſſary relief.

Having arrived in her native land, ſhe quickly perceived that the expectations ſhe had cheriſhed reſpecting the ſucceſs of her ſchool were likely to prove abortive. For the buſineſs of education ſhe is ſaid to have been peculiarly fitted, by a talent of conciliating the affections of her pupils, by a firm yet gentle diſcipline, a watchful attention to their individual qualities, a promptitude in availing herſelf of them, and a careful obſervation of the ſucceſs of her experiments. Hitherto diſappointed in her plans, and earneſtly deſirous of indulging the benevolence of her temper, in affording pecuniary aid to ſome relations of her deceaſed friend, ſhe was now induced to conſider and adopt the advice of a gentleman (Mr. Hewlett), for whom ſhe entertained an eſteem, and who, forming a favourable and juſt opinion of her talents, ſuggeſted literary employment as a ſource of profit.

In purſuance of this idea, ſhe wrote a duodecimo pamphlet of one hundred ond ſixty pages, entitled "Thoughts on the Education of Daughters," for the copy-right of which ſhe obtained ten guineas from Mr. Johnſon, bookſeller in St. Paul's church-yard: this ſum was immediately applied to the purpoſe for which the manuſcript had been written.

Diſguſted with the diſappointments that had attended her project of public tuition, ſhe now determined to reſign her ſchool, and accept, for the preſent, a propoſal made to her of reſiding in the family of lord viſcount Kingſborough, of the kingdom of Ireland, in the capacity of private governeſs to his daughters. Her darling plan of independence, which ſhe ſtill cheriſhed a view of realizing by literary occupation, was not given up, but ſhe was previouſly deſirous of acquiring a ſmall ſum of money, as a reſource in caſe of failure in her firſt attempts. Her ſituation in the family of lord Kingſborough was attained through the medium of the reverend Mr. Prior, one of the maſters of Eton, under whoſe roof ſhe paſſed ſome time after the reſignation of her ſchool.

She remained in the houſe of lord Kingſborough, where her excellent underſtanding and conciliating manners procured her the reſpect of the family and the affection of her pupils, but little more than twelve months. Some reſtrictions which had formerly been impoſed on the young ladies, were in a ſhort time rendered unneceſſary by the more powerful aſcendency of their new preceptreſs: while ſhe inſpired her pupils with a generous confidence, ſhe found her reward in their docility and attachment. A cordial friendſhip grew up more eſpecially between the eldeſt daughter of lord Kingſborough (afterwards countes Mount Caſhel) and her governeſs, cemented by correſponding excellencies. The dignity of her talents and the charms of her converſation procured her, during her reſidence in Ireland, many valuable friends.

In the ſummer of 1787, ſhe repaired with lord Kingſborough and his daughters to Briſtol, whence they had projected a tour to the continent; this purpoſe was afterwards relinquiſhed, in conſequence

ſequence of which Mary Wollſtonecraft, who was to have been of the party, cloſed her engagements with the family*, for the execution of a ſcheme ſhe had long anxiouſly meditated: at Briſtol, the ſmall volume entitled "Mary a Fiction," was compoſed, in which is delineated, under fictitious circumſtances, a glowing and intereſting picture of the writer's ſentiments and character, as connected more peculiarly with her affection for Frances Blood. Fervid feeling, a vivid imagination, a high-toned and exquiſite ſenſibility, a bold and original caſt of thought, are the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of this production.

Having quitted Briſtol and arrived at the metropolis, ſhe repaired to her publiſher, to whom, on receiving an encouraging reception, ſhe frankly explained her deſigns, requeſting his aſſiſtance towards their execution. Availing herſelf of his friendly invitation, ſhe continued under his roof for ſome weeks, whence ſhe removed, at Michaelmas 1787, to George-ſtreet, on the Surry ſide of Blackfriars-bridge, where a houſe was provided for her by the friendſhip of Mr. Johnſon. She now commenced, with avidity, her literary career. Her novel, which had not yet paſſed the preſs, ſhe prepared for publication, and made ſome progreſs towards an Oriental tale, "The Cave of Fancy," which was afterwards relinquiſhed. At this period ſhe alſo produced a little work, "Original Stories from Real Life," for the uſe of children. From the ſuggeſtion of her publiſher, ſhe applied herſelf to the acquiſition of the French, Italian, and German languages, with a view of qualifying herſelf for tranſlation. In purſuance of this plan, ſhe tranſlated, in part, "The New Robinſon," from the French, in which, before its concluſion, ſhe was anticipated. She alſo abridged and altered "Young Grandiſon," from the Dutch; and compiled, on the model of Dr. Enfield's Speaker, "The Female Reader."

It does not appear that ſhe experienced, in theſe occupations, the relief which ſhe had promiſed herſelf: her *underſtanding* was active, but, cut off from thoſe endearing ſympathies which her

* An abſurd report has been propagated, that Mrs. Wollſtonecraft was governeſs to a younger daughter of lord K——h, whoſe imprudence, or misfortunes, have lately rendered her a ſubject of public animadverſion. This notion will be utterly confuted by a little attention to chronology.

feelings imperiously demanded, her *heart* languished: she regretted the connexions of her youth, the friend over whom "the grave had closed." Her affections, denied their proper objects, turned to bitterness; her labours had no solace, her exertions no reward. With an understanding highly cultivated, an imagination richly stored, a lively taste for nature, and a thirst for social pleasure, she repined in joyless solitude.

In the Analytical Review, instituted by Mr. Johnson, in the middle of the year 1788, Mary Wollstonecraft was induced to take a considerable share; she also employed herself in translating from the French a work by Monf. Necker, on the importance of religious opinions; she abridged from the same language Lavater's Physiognomy *; and compressed Salzmann's Elements of Morality, a German production, into a publication in three volumes duodecimo, which produced a correspondence between herself and the author, who, in a subsequent period, returned the compliment, by translating into German the Vindication of the Rights of Woman. These miscellaneous avocations comprehended a period of three years, from the autumn of 1787 to the autumn of 1790.

The dejection of spirits which she is said to have laboured under during this interval of solitary exertion, is, in some measure, perhaps to be attributed to the mechanical nature of her occupations, which were little calculated to interest an ardent temper. A considerable portion of the profits resulting from her labours was, with a rigorous morality, devoted to purposes of benevolence. She sought to lose the sense of the languor that oppressed her, in interest for the well-being of others; her sisters, her brothers, every individual of her family, were indebted to her generous exertions. She took into her own hands the management of her father's affairs, which, after several fruitless efforts to arrange, she was compelled to resign: for many years this unfortunate man derived his principal support from the exertions of his daughter. To these charges she like wise added the care of an orphan, seven years of age, the child of a deceased friend. It is impossible not to pause here, and pay a tribute of respect to the powers and virtues of this ad-

* This work has not yet been published.

mirable

mirable female, manifeſted under diſadvantages too obvious to be enumerated; for the obſtacles oppoſed to the efforts of women, even in procuring an *individual* ſubſiſtence, are not to be conquered but by an energy and perſeverance, which the habits of their education are little calculated to inſpire. In the intervals of her engagements, ſhe enjoyed and profited by the literary ſociety in which ſhe occaſionally mingled under the hoſpitable roof of her friend Mr. Johnſon. Among whom may be mentioned, as men whoſe friendſhip ſhe held in high eſtimation, the late Mr. George Anderſon, accountant to the board of controul; Mr. Bonnycaſtle, the mathematician; Mr. Fuſeli, the painter; and Dr. George Fordyce.

The literary exertions of Mary Wollſtonecraft, though productive of ſome pecuniary emolument, had not yet been of a nature to obtain public diſtinction: her progreſs had been ſilent and unambitious; the period now arrived, when her daring genius aſſerted its powers and aſſumed its prerogatives. The rigid ſelf-denial, economy, and ſeclusion of her habits, had given to her originally fervent character a tincture of enthuſiaſm; brooding in ſolitude over her feelings, they became paſſions; the ſelect ſociety in which ſhe ſometimes indulged, was of a nature to rouſe her emulation, to excite her intellect, and to give what is termed a maſculine tone to her underſtanding.

The French revolution, in its commencement the admiration and aſtoniſhment of Europe, formed a diſtinguiſhed æra in the political world. The prejudices of thoſe placed without the vortex of intereſt, by whom the principle of free inquiry is admitted, and who are accuſtomed to ſpeculation, give way without difficulty. The high moral tone of Mary Wollſtonecraft's ſentiments induced her to enliſt on the ſide of freedom with the enthuſiaſm that belonged to her character. The publication of Mr. Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution, November 1790, ſtimulated into action her newly acquired political ardour, while, in a ſtrain of impetuous reaſoning and eloquent indignation, ſhe combated the arguments of this great champion of eſtabliſhments. Accuſtomed to rapid compoſition, hers appeared foremoſt of the numerous anſwers provoked by this extraordinary production, and was received with applauſe by the public.

A juſt confidence in her own talents, increaſed probably by the ſucceſs of this publication, now induced her to eſſay her ſtrength on a ſubject that affected her ſtill more; a ſubject which ſhe had keenly felt, on which ſhe had deeply meditated, which her ſex, her ſituation, all the circumſtances of her life, irreſiſtibly led her to conſider,—A Vindication of the Rights of Woman.—There are few ſituations in which a woman of cultivated underſtanding has not occaſion to obſerve and deplore, the ſyſtematic vaſſalage, the peculiar diſadvantages, civil and ſocial, to which ſhe is ſubjected, even in the moſt poliſhed ſocieties, on the account of her ſex. It might be difficult to convince ſuch a woman, conſcious of ſuperiority to the majority of men with whom ſhe converſes, that nature has placed between them, in what reſpects intellectual attainments, an inſuperable barrier: ſhe would be tempted to remind ſuch partial reaſoners of the reply given to the philoſopher who diſputed the exiſtence of motion, when his adverſary gravely roſe up and walked before him.

It is little wonderful that the magnanimous advocate of freedom, and the opponent of Burke, ſhould throw down the gauntlet, challenge her arrogant oppreſſors, and, hurried away by a noble enthuſiaſm, deny the exiſtence of a ſexual character.

In the cauſe of half the human race ſhe ſtood forth, deprecating and expoſing, in a tone of impaſſioned eloquence, the various means and arts by which woman had been forcibly ſubjugated, flattered into imbecility, and invariably held in bondage. Diſſecting the opinions, and commenting upon the precepts of thoſe writers who, having expreſsly conſidered the condition of the female ſex, had ſuggeſted means for its improvement, ſhe endeavours, with force and acuteneſs, to convict them of narrow views, voluptuous prejudices, contradictory principles, and ſelfiſh, though impolitic ends. It is but juſtice to add, that the principles of this celebrated work are to be found in Catherine Macauley's Treatiſe on Education. It may alſo be here obſerved, that in the intellectual advancement of women, and their conſequent

ſequent privileges in ſociety, is to be traced the progreſs of civilization, or knowledge gradually ſuperſeding the dominion of *brute-force*.

A production thus bold and ſpirited, excited attention and provoked diſcuſſion; prejudices were ſhocked, vanity wounded, intereſt alarmed, and indolence rouſed: yet, amidſt the virulence of oppoſition, the clamours of ignorance, the cavils of ſuperſtition, and the miſrepreſentation of wilful perverſion, ſeeds were ſcattered that promiſed, when the ferment had ſubſided, a rich and abundant harveſt. The high maſculine tone, ſometimes degenerating into coarſeneſs, that characterizes this performance, is in a variety of parts ſoftened and blended with a tenderneſs of ſentiment, an exquiſite delicacy of feeling, that touches the heart, and takes captive the imagination. As a compoſition it diſcovers conſiderable power and energy of thought; but in perſpicuity and arrangement it muſt be confeſſed to be defective: its ſtyle, though frequently rich and glowing, is ſometimes inflated, and generally incorrect. It is to be regretted, that the author's intention of reviſing and remedying theſe defects in a future edition, was protracted, and ultimately defeated. Its faults are perhaps to be attributed to the rapidity with which it was compoſed and committed to the preſs; being, we are informed, begun and completed within a period of ſix weeks. It would be unneceſſary to comment on the imprudence and impolicy manifeſted (whatever be the talents of the writer) by ſuch precipitation. A ſecond part was promiſed to the public, for which but ſcanty materials were found, after her deceaſe, among the papers of the author.

In September 1791, Mary Wollſtonecraft removed from her reſidence in the Surry road, to apartments in Store-ſtreet, Bedford-ſquare. This period of her life appears to have been ſaddened by an unfortunate attachment, that for a time impeded the progreſs of her mind, corroded her peace, and ultimately determined her to break the chain of her ideas by an entire change of ſituation and objects. It is in ſecluſion only, and in characters of energy, that ſtrong paſſions are generated; great ſtruggles have a tendency to increaſe them; the enthuſiaſtic

deluſion under which Mary Wollſtonecraft now ſuffered, never operates but upon ſuſceptible minds; its ſeductions, in tempers of extreme ſenſibility, are always dangerous, and often fatal.

The affectionate heart of this admirable woman yearned to experience the tender charities of which it was but too exquiſitely capable; to have fulfilled the duties of wife and mother would have calmed thoſe feelings which, forcibly ſuppreſſed, preyed upon herſelf; converting the natural and healthful propenſities of an undebauched mind into a fruitful ſource of anguiſh. Sentiments of this nature ſuffer in the delineation; it is on ſuch occaſions that human language appears coarſe and feeble: to the few who can conceive theſe feelings no deſcription is neceſſary; the attempt to paint them to thoſe who underſtand them not, would be to profane them. "That romantic paſſion, which is the concomitant of genius,—Who can clip its wing?—Not proportioned to the puny enjoyments of life, it is only true to the ſentiment, and feeds on itſelf. The paſſions which have been celebrated for their durability have always been unfortunate. They have acquired ſtrength by abſence and conſtitutional melancholy. The fancy has hovered round a form of beauty dimly ſeen *."

In the cloſe of the year 1792 Mrs. Wollſtonecraft quitted England on a tour to France, with a view, as ſhe expreſſed herſelf to a friend on the eve of her departure, "to loſe in public happineſs the ſenſe of private miſery." She propoſed only an excurſion of a few weeks, but protracted her ſtay in Paris for more than two years. During her reſidence of twelve months in Store-ſtreet, her literary ardour ſeems to have languiſhed: ſhe produced little beſide ſome articles for the Analytical Review.

It has ſeldom happened that a diſtempered mind has experienced relief from mere local change: the ſtricken deer carries in its heart the barbed arrow. Monſieur Fillietaz, to whoſe houſe in Paris Mary Wollſtonecraft had been invited, and whither ſhe repaired on her arrival, was at

* Rights of Woman.

that

that period abſent. Alone, in a ſtrange country, imperfectly acquainted with its language and manners, far removed from thoſe familiar and intereſting objects, aſſociated with the idea of home, and to the ſenſible heart endearing the recollection; abruptly ſevered from cheriſhed habits and cordial intimacies, a cruel languor took poſſeſſion of her ſpirits, while the melancholy tenor of her mind gave a jaundiced hue to the objects that ſurrounded her. In this diſpoſition ſhe commenced, in letters, a ſeries of obſervations on the character of the French nation, which ſhe ſoon afterwards diſcontinued. One of theſe letters has appeared in her poſthumous works.

In Paris ſhe renewed her acquaintance with Thomas Paine, whom ſhe had previouſly met in London; while in the friendſhip of Helen Maria Williams, then reſident in France, ſhe experienced an agreeable reſource. Furniſhed with letters of recommendation to ſeveral reſpectable families, ſhe became at length perſonally acquainted with many of the leaders of the French revolution; more particularly of the Briſſotine party, for which ſhe always expreſſed a predilection. Various accidents, which ſhe was accuſtomed to mention with regret, prevented her from being introduced to madame Roland, the heroine of the Girondiſts: it is little to be doubted, had theſe extraordinary women met, that they would have felt the attraction of congenial powers and qualities.

At the houſe of Mr. Thomas Chriſtie, author of a volume on the French revolution, four months after her arrival in Paris 1792, ſhe commenced an acquaintance with Mr. Gilbert Imlay, a native of North America, which produced on her ſubſequent life and character important conſequences. With this gentleman ſhe was induced to enter into an intercourſe of the moſt tender and intereſting nature. To this attachment reaſon and duty, as in a former inſtance, no longer ſeemed to be oppoſed. In the indulgence of a ſentiment that ſoothed and flattered her heart, ſhe was led to a connexion, that, without the forms, had with her all the ſanctity and devotedneſs of a matrimonial engagement. Whatever were her opinions on the ſubject of marriage, as practiſed in European countries, where the wife, reſigning

dry up theſe ſprings of pleaſure, which guſh out to give a freſhneſs to days browned by care!"

"I have juſt received your kind and rational letter, and would fain hide my face, glowing with ſhame for my folly. I would hide it in your boſom, if you would again open it to me, and neſtle cloſely till you bade my fluttering heart be ſtill, by ſaying that you forgave me. With eyes overflowing with tears, and in the humbleſt attitude, I intreat you.—Do not turn from me, for indeed I love you fondly, and have been very wretched, ſince the night I was ſo cruelly hurt by thinking that you had no confidence in me——

"It is time for me to grow more reaſonable, a few more of theſe caprices of ſenſibility would deſtroy me. I have, in fact, been very much indiſpoſed for a few days paſt, and the notion that I was tormenting, or perhaps killing, a poor little animal, about whom I am grown anxious and tender, now I feel it alive, made me worſe. My bowels have been dreadfully diſordered, and every thing I ate or drank diſagreed with my ſtomach; ſtill I feel intimations of its exiſtence, though they have been fainter.

"Do you think that the creature goes regularly to ſleep? I am ready to aſk as many queſtions as Voltaire's Man of Forty Crowns. Ah! do not continue to be angry with me! You perceive that I am already ſmiling through my tears—You have lightened my heart, and my frozen ſpirits are melting into playfulneſs."

"I am afraid that I have vexed you, my own ——. I know the quickneſs of your feelings—and let me, in the ſincerity of my heart, aſſure you, there is nothing I would not ſuffer to make you happy. My own happineſs wholly depends on you—and, knowing you, when my reaſon is not clouded, I look forward to a rational proſpect of as much felicity as the earth affords—with a little daſh of rapture into the bargain, if you will look at me, when we meet again, as you have ſometimes greeted, your humbled, yet moſt affectionate."

"What a picture have you ſketched of our fire-ſide! Yes, my love, my fancy was inſtantly at work, and I found my head

on

on your shoulder, whilst my eyes were fixed on the little creatures that were clinging about your knees. I did not absolutely determine that there should be six—if you have not set your heart on this round number."

"You have, by your tenderness and worth, twisted yourself more artfully round my heart, than I supposed possible.—Let me indulge the thought, that I have thrown out some tendrils to cling to the elm by which I wish to be supported.—This is talking a new language for me!—But, knowing that I am not a parasite plant, I am willing to receive the proofs of affection, that every pulse replies to, when I think of being once more in the same house with you.—God bless you!

"Yours truly."

"Believe me, sage sir, you have not sufficient respect for the imagination—I could prove to you in a trice that it is the mother of sentiment, the great distinction of our nature, the only purifier of the passions—animals have a portion of reason, and equal, if not more exquisite, senses; but no trace of imagination, or her offspring taste, appears in any of their actions. The impulse of the senses, passions, if you will, and the conclusions of reason, draw men together; but the imagination is the true fire, stolen from heaven, to animate this cold creature of clay, producing all those fine sympathies that lead to rapture, rendering men social by expanding their hearts, instead of leaving them leisure to calculate how many comforts society affords."

Those who can coldly regard the exquisite picture which the preceding extracts afford, will but waste their labour in perusing a narrative which they are little likely to comprehend: it is not to the tribunal of their judgments that sentiments like those can appeal.

A project of visiting Switzerland, which Mrs. Wollstonecraft had meditated, was, in the change of her prospects, relinquished; her residence being fixed for the present in Neuilly, a village three miles from Paris, where she occupied apartments in the house of a gardener, pleasantly situated in the midst of his garden. In this seclusion she planned and partly executed,

A moral and hiſtorical View of the French Revolution, one volume only of which has been given to the public. From motives of delicacy her intercourſe with Mr. Imlay, in whoſe honour and tenderneſs ſhe confided, had hitherto been conducted in privacy; till, four months after its commencement, they were induced to divulge it, by the decree of the national convention reſpecting the impriſonment of the Engliſh. That the engagement was held mutually ſacred, ſhe ſeemed to entertain no doubts, having purpoſed to repair with Mr. Imlay to ſettle in America. In conſequence of the danger which now threatened her as an Engliſhwoman, it was judged neceſſary that ſhe ſhould bear the name of Imlay, and paſs as the wife of an American, for which purpoſe a certificate was granted by the ambaſſador of the United States. Having thus publicly avowed their attachment, they thought it moſt eligible to repair to Paris, and reſide under the ſame roof.

Till the preſent period her life had been a ſeries of difficulties, ſorrows, and diſappointments, to which her acute ſenſibility had added keener pangs: the degree of calamity is to be eſtimated rather by the ſuſceptibility of the ſufferer, than by the apparent magnitude of the event. There are perſons (to adopt the language of the writer* from whoſe memoirs the materials for this narrative are principally extracted) "endowed with the moſt exquiſite and delicious ſenſibility, whoſe minds ſeem almoſt of too fine a texture to encounter the viciſſitudes of human affairs, to whom pleaſure is tranſport, and diſappointment is agony indiſcribable."

Such appears to have been the character of this ſingular woman. To her affections, long forbidden to expand themſelves, exalted to enthuſiaſm by conſtraint, ſhe now gave a looſe. Her ingenuous ſpirit, a ſtranger to diſtruſt, had yet a melancholy experience to acquire of the corrupt habits of mankind. Her confidence, her tenderneſs, was unbounded, laviſh, ineffable, combining the force, the devotion, the exquiſite delicacy and refinement, which in minds of energy, the chaſte

* Mr. Godwin.

habits

habits of female youth are calculated to inſpire. Abſorbed in a delicious tranquillity, ſhe fondly anticipated a period, now approaching, when to the affections of a wife would be added the ſympathies of a mother: *her heart was ſatisfied*, paſt ſorrows faded from her memory, or were recalled only to heighten by contraſt preſent felicity.

From this viſion of happineſs ſhe was awakened by the temporary abſence of Mr. I. who, having engaged in commerce, was called from Paris, in the following September, to ſuperintend the ſhipping of goods from Havre-de-Grace. Once more left in ſolitude, a prey to her own ſenſations, various inquietudes racked her ſoul, as ſhe vainly expected, week after week, month after month, the return of him whoſe apprehended "tenderneſs and worth had twiſted him cloſely round her heart." The ferocious and ſanguinary temper which the French government at this period aſſumed, added to her anxiety and deepened the anguiſh which, in deſpite of her efforts, again faſtened upon her ſpirits. Her feelings, on the execution of Briſſot, Vergniaud, and the twenty deputies, were heightened to indignant agony. In January 1794, finding the return of Mr. Imlay ſtill uncertain, ſhe took the reſolution of quitting Paris (become, under the domination of Robeſpierre, a theatre of blood), and joining him at Havre. From January to September another interval of domeſtic tranquillity enſued, during which ſhe gave birth to a daughter, on whom ſhe beſtowed the name of Frances, in remembrance of the friend of her youth.

In September Mr. I. departed from Havre and repaired to London, while by his deſire ſhe returned to Paris, the death of Robeſpierre having put a period to the proſcriptions that had ſtained the revolution with the blood of its moſt meritorious citizens. Mr. Imlay had promiſed to rejoin her, in Paris, within two months. This expectation, on which ſhe fondly dwelt, to ſoften the pain of abſence, was fruſtrated; new inquietudes, conjectures, and apprehenſions, protracted the miſery of diſappointment; anxiety was continually kept alive by the alternations of hope and fear, by ſuſpenſe ſo intolerable to an

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ardent temper; her mind became weakened, her health enfeebled, her fortitude broken, her time and talents waſted, till deſpair at length ſeized upon her heart. She ſtruggled for a while to impoſe upon herſelf, to repreſs the convictions that forced themſelves upon her, to reſiſt that humiliating retraction of the judgment, reſpecting him on whoſe faith ſhe had reſted her future hopes, which the ſenſible heart admits not without agony. The fabric of rare felicity, which her fancy had buſied itſelf in erecting, tottered to its foundation, threatening to overwhelm in its fall her darling plans. The following extracts from the letters publiſhed in her Poſthumous Works, afford an affecting and lively repreſentation of the preſent ſtate of her mind:

" I have been, my love, for ſome days tormented by fears, that I would not allow to aſſume a form—I had been expecting you daily—and I heard that many veſſels had been driven on ſhore during the late gale.—Well, I now ſee your letter—and find that you are ſafe; I will not regret then that your exertions have hitherto been ſo unavailing.

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" Be that as it may, return to me when you have arranged the other matters, which —— has been crowding on you. I want to be ſure that you are ſafe—and not ſeparated from me by a ſea that muſt be paſſed. For, feeling that I am happier than I ever was, do you wonder at my ſometimes dreading that fate has not done perſecuting me? Come to me, my deareſt friend, huſband, father of my child!—All theſe fond ties glow at my heart at this moment, and dim my eyes.—With you an independence is deſirable; and it is always within our reach, if affluence eſcapes us—without you the world again appears empty to me. But I am recurring to ſome of the melancholy thoughts that have flitted acroſs my mind for ſome days paſt, and haunted my dreams."

" Stay, my friend, whilſt it is *abſolutely* neceſſary.—I will ive you no tenderer name, though it glows at my heart, unleſs you

you come the moment the ſettling the *preſent* objects permit.—*I do not conſent* to your taking any other journey—or the little woman and I will be off, the Lord knows where. But, as I had rather owe every thing to your affection, and, I may add, to your reaſon, (for this immoderate deſire of wealth, which makes ——— ſo eager to have you remain, is contrary to your principles of action), I will not importune you.—I will only tell you, that I long to ſee you—and, being at peace with you, I ſhall be hurt, rather than made angry, by delays.—Having ſuffered ſo much in life, do not be ſurpriſed if I ſometimes, when left to myſelf, grow gloomy, and ſuppoſe that it was all a dream, and that my happineſs is not to laſt. I ſay happineſs, becauſe remembrance retrenches all the dark ſhades of the picture."

"I will own to you that, feeling extreme tenderneſs for my little girl, I grow ſad very often when I am playing with her, that you are not here, to obſerve with me how her mind unfolds, and her little heart becomes attached!—Theſe appear to me to be true pleaſures—and ſtill you ſuffer them to eſcape you, in ſearch of what we may never enjoy.—It is your own maxim to "live in the preſent moment."—*If you do*—ſtay, for God's ſake; but tell me the truth—if not, tell me when I may expect to ſee you, and let me not be always vainly looking for you, till I grow ſick at heart.

"Adieu! I am a little hurt.—I muſt take my darling to my boſom to comfort me."

"I do not like this life of continual inquietude—and, *entre nous*, I am determined to try to earn ſome money here myſelf, in order to convince you that, if you chuſe to run about the world to get a fortune, it is for yourſelf—for the little girl and I will live without your aſſiſtance, unleſs you are with us. I may be termed proud—Be it ſo—but I will never abandon certain principles of action."

"I conſider fidelity and conſtancy as two diſtinct things; yet the former is neceſſary, to give life to the other—and ſuch a degree of reſpect do I think due to myſelf, that, if only probity, which is a good thing in its place, brings you back, never re-

turn!—for, if a wandering of the heart, or even a caprice of the imagination, detains you—there is an end of all my hopes of happineſs—I could not forgive it, if I would.

"I have gotten into a melancholy mood, you perceive. You know my opinion of men in general; you know that I think them ſyſtematic tyrants, and that it is the rareſt thing in the world, to meet with a man with ſufficient delicacy of feeling to govern deſire. When I am thus ſad, I lament that my little darling, fondly as I doat on her, is a girl.—I am ſorrry to have a tie to a world that for me is ever ſown with thorns."

"You left me indiſpoſed, though you have taken no notice of it; and the moſt fatiguing journey I ever had, contributed to continue it. However, I recovered my health; but a neglected cold, and continual inquietude during the laſt two months, have reduced me to a ſtate of weakneſs I never before experienced. Thoſe who did not know that the canker-worm was at work at the core, cautioned me about ſuckling my child too long.—God preſerve this poor child, and render her happier than her mother!

"But I am wandering from my ſubject: indeed my head turns giddy, when I think that all the confidence I have had in the affection of others is come to this.—I did not expect this blow from you. I have done my duty to you and my child; and if I am not to have any return of affection to reward me, I have the ſad conſolation of knowing that I deſerved a better fate. My ſoul is weary—I am ſick at heart; and, but for this little darling, I would ceaſe to care about a life, which is now ſtripped of every charm."

"When I determined to live with you, I was only governed by affection.—I would ſhare poverty with you, but I turn with affright from the ſea of trouble on which you are entering.—I have certain principles of action: I know what I look for to found my happineſs on.—It is not money.—With you I wiſhed for ſufficient to procure the comforts of life—as it is, leſs will do.—I can ſtill exert myſelf to obtain the neceſſaries of life for my child, and ſhe does not want more at preſent.—I have two

or

or three plans in my head to earn our subsistence; for do not suppose that, neglected by you, I will lie under obligations of a pecuniary kind to you!—No; I would sooner submit to menial service.—I wanted the support of your affection—that gone, all is over!—I did not think, when I complained of ——'s contemptible avidity to accumulate money, that he would have dragged you into his schemes."

"When you first entered into these plans, you bounded your views to the gaining of a thousand pounds. It was sufficient to have procured a farm in America, which would have been an independence. You find now that you did not know yourself, and that a certain situation in life is more necessary to you than you imagined—more necessary than an uncorrupted heart—For a year or two, you may procure yourself what you call pleasure; eating, drinking, and women; but, in the solitude of declining life, I shall be remembered with regret—I was going to say with remorse, but checked my pen.

"As I have never concealed the nature of my connexion with you, your reputation will not suffer. I shall never have a confident: I am content with the approbation of my own mind; and, if there be a searcher of hearts, mine will not be despised. Reading what you have written relative to the desertion of women, I have often wondered how theory and practice could be so different, till I recollected, that the sentiments of passion, and the resolves of reason, are very distinct."

"Society fatigues me inexpressibly—So much so, that finding fault with every one, I have only reason enough, to discover that the fault is in myself. My child alone interests me, and, but for her, I should not take any pains to recover my health.

"As it is, I shall wean her, and try if by that step (to which I feel a repugnance, for it is my only solace) I can get rid of my cough. Physicians talk much of the danger attending any complaint on the lungs, after a woman has suckled for some months. They lay a stress also on the necessity of keeping the mind tranquil—and, my God! how has mine been harassed!

ment; ſhe had yet to learn that ſenſuality hardens the heart, blaſts its beſt affections, abſorbs it in ſelfiſh gratification, rendering it callous to every ſentiment of juſtice and humanity. The man on whoſe principles her mind had reſted, with whom her imagination had aſſociated every virtue, forgot in the blandiſhments of a young actreſs, from a company of ſtrolling comedians, the ſacred duties of a father, the tender endearments of a chaſte ineffable affection, that during its influence, by giving a temporary dignity to his character, had concealed its groſſneſs, and impoſed on the diſcernment of a mind, with which his own had otherwiſe claimed no kindred.

The ſtrength of a paſſion depends principally on the imagination of the perſon upon whom it operates, that ſketching a grand, ideal, picture, fondly attaches itſelf to fancied excellence, frequently aſſociated by ſlight accidents to the real qualities of its object: yet the ſentiments thus produced are not the leſs genuine, nor the leſs in nature; however erroneous, they are perhaps among the ſweeteſt and the ſublimeſt that dignify the human character: he whom they have never ſubdued may boaſt his firmneſs and demand our reſpect; but it is to the being acceſſible to theſe delightful ſenſibilities that all the *intereſting affections* ſpontaneouſly cling. That enthuſiaſm which conſtitutes the grander paſſions, is founded on *illuſion:* ſtripped of the glowing colours in which fancy decks them, what are the objects for which ambition wades through ſeas of blood, for which martyrs, in all cauſes, for all opinions, braving deſtruction, preſs forward to the ſcaffold or the ſtake?

Exhauſted by contending paſſions, diſguſted by diſappointment, loathing life, this unfortunate woman determined to die; but her purpoſe, for the preſent, was prevented by him who, abſorbed in ſelfiſh indulgence, had ſported with her feelings, trifled with her exiſtence, and conſigned her to anguiſh and deſpair. The woman *who loved him*, to whom he had voluntarily given the moſt ſacred claims, the mother of his child, the friend who ſought to ennoble his character, by reviving in his heart the ſentiment that had purified it, was forgotten in the caprices of ſenſuality.

Snatched

Snatched from the deſperation of her own purpoſes, this intereſting woman once more rouſed the energies of her character in the ſervice of the man who had transfixed her heart with an envenomed arrow; the man for whom *ſhe had dared to die!* A commercial buſineſs in Norway, in which Mr. I—— was materially concerned, required the preſence of an active agent: Mary Wollſtonecraft generouſly determined on this occaſion to riſque the voyage, accompanied only by a female ſervant, and the little Frances, from whom ſhe could not reſolve on ſeparating herſelf. This tour, for the purpoſe of promoting the intereſt of one who contemned the zeal and worth he was incapable of appreciating, gave riſe to a ſubſequent publication, entitled Letters from Scandinavia, a work that addreſſes itſelf to the heart, and ſeizes on its affections.

"I am haraſſed by your embarraſſments (ſaid ſhe, in a private letter addreſſed to the ſame perſon), and ſhall certainly uſe all my efforts to make the buſineſs terminate to your ſatisfaction in which I am engaged.

"My friend—my deareſt friend—I feel my fate united to yours by the moſt ſacred principles of my ſoul, and the yearnings of—yes, I will ſay it—a true, unſophiſticated heart."

"Do write by every occaſion! I am anxious to hear how your affairs go on; and, ſtill more, to be convinced that you are not ſeparating yourſelf from us. For my little darling is calling papa, and adding her parrot word—Come, Come! And will you not come, and let us exert ourſelves?—I ſhall recover all my energy, when I am convinced that my exertions will draw us more cloſely together."

"Often do I ſigh, when I think of your entanglements in buſineſs, and your extreme reſtleſſneſs of mind. Even now I am almoſt afraid to aſk you, whether the pleaſure of being free, does not over-balance the pain you felt at parting with me? Sometimes I indulge the hope that you will feel me neceſſary to you—or why ſhould we meet again?—but, the moment after, deſpair damps my riſing ſpirits, aggravated by the emotions of tenderneſs, which ought to ſoften the cares of life.—God bleſs you!"

Further extracts from letters which (though they have ap-

peared ſince her death, were not meant for the public eye) cannot fail, in this place, of intereſting the reader.

"The laſt time we were ſeparated, was a ſeparation indeed on your part—Now you have acted more ingenuouſly, let the moſt affectionate interchange of ſentiments fill up the aching void of diſappointment. I almoſt dread that your plans will prove abortive—yet ſhould the moſt unlucky turn ſend you home to us, convinced that a true friend is a treaſure, I ſhould not much mind having to ſtruggle with the world again. Accuſe me not of pride—yet ſometimes, when nature has opened my heart to its author, I have wondered that you did not ſet a higher value on my heart."

"What are you about? How are your affairs going on? It may be a long time before you anſwer theſe queſtions. My dear friend, my heart ſinks within me!—Why am I forced thus to ſtruggle continually with my affections and feelings?—Ah! why are thoſe affections and feelings the ſource of ſo much miſery, when they ſeem to have been given to vivify my heart, and extend my uſefulneſs! But I muſt not dwell on this ſubject. Will you not endeavour to cheriſh all the affection you can for me? What am I ſaying? Rather forget me, if you can—if other gratifications are dearer to you. How is every remembrance of mine embittered by diſappointment? What a world is this! They only ſeem happy, who never look beyond ſenſual or artificial enjoyments.—Adieu!"

"This is the fifth dreary day I have been impriſoned by the wind, with every outward object to diſguſt the ſenſes, and unable to baniſh the remembrances that ſadden my heart.

"How am I altered by diſappointment! When going to ———, ten years ago, the elaſticity of my mind was ſufficient to ward off wearineſs—and the imagination ſtill could dip her bruſh in the rainbow of fancy, and ſketch futurity in ſmiling colours. Now I am going towards the North in ſearch of ſunbeams! Will any ever warm this deſolated heart? All nature ſeems to frown—or rather mourn with me. Every thing is cold—cold as my expectations!"

"My friend—my friend, I am not well—a deadly weight of ſorrow

ſorrow lies heavily on my heart. I am again toſſed on the troubled billows of life; and obliged to cope with difficulties, without being buoyed up by the hopes that alone render them bearable. "How flat, dull, and unprofitable," appears to me all the buſtle into which I ſee people here ſo eagerly enter! I long every night to go to bed, to hide my melancholy face in my pillow; but there is a canker-worm in my boſom that never ſleeps."

"Believe me (and my eyes fill with tears of tenderneſs as I aſſure you) there is nothing I would not endure in the way of privation, rather than diſturb your tranquillity. If I am fated to be unhappy, I will labour to hide my ſorrows in my own boſom; and you ſhall always find me a faithful, affectionate friend.

"I grow more and more attached to my little girl—and I cheriſh this affection without fear, becauſe it muſt be a long time before it can become bitterneſs of ſoul. She is an intereſting creature. On ſhip-board, how often, as I gazed at the ſea, have I longed to bury my troubled boſom in the leſs troubled deep; aſſerting with Brutus, "that the virtue I had followed too far, was merely an empty name!" and nothing but the ſight of her —her playful ſmiles, which ſeemed to cling and twine round my heart—could have ſtopped me.

"What peculiar miſery has fallen to my ſhare! To act up to my principles, I have laid the ſtricteſt reſtraint on my very thoughts—yes; not to ſully the delicacy of my feelings, I have reined in my imagination; and ſtarted with affright from every ſenſation (I allude to ——), that, ſtealing with balmy ſweetneſs into my ſoul, led me to ſcent from afar the fragrance of reviving nature.

"My friend, I have dearly paid for one conviction. Love, in ſome minds, is an affair of ſentiment, ariſing from the ſame delicacy of perception (or taſte) as renders them alive to the beauties of nature, poetry, &c. alive to the charms of thoſe evaneſcent graces that are, as it were, impalpable—they muſt be felt, they cannot be deſcribed.

"Love is a want of my heart. I have examined myſelf lately with

with more care than formerly, and find, that to deaden is not to calm the mind—Aiming at tranquillity, I have almoſt deſtroyed all the energy of my ſoul—almoſt rooted out what renders it eſtimable. Yes, I have damped that enthuſiaſm of character, which converts the groſſeſt materials into a fuel, that imperceptibly feeds hopes, which aſpire above common enjoyment. Deſpair, ſince the birth of my child, has rendered me ſtupid—ſoul and body ſeemed to be fading away before the withering touch of diſappointment."

"I ſhall not, however, complain. There are misfortunes ſo great, as to ſilence the uſual expreſſions of ſorrow. Believe me, there is ſuch a thing as a broken heart! There are characters whoſe very energy preys upon them; and who, ever inclined to cheriſh by reflection ſome paſſion, cannot reſt ſatisfied with the common comforts of life. I have endeavoured to fly from myſelf, and launched into all the diſſipation poſſible here, only to feel keener anguiſh, when alone with my child.

"Still, could any thing pleaſe me—had not diſappointment cut me off from life, this romantic country, theſe fine evenings, would intereſt me. My God! can any thing? and am I ever to feel alive only to painful ſenſations? But it cannot—it ſhall not laſt long."

"I am now on my journey to ———. I felt more at leaving my child, than I thought I ſhould—and, whilſt at night I imagined every inſtant that I heard the half-formed ſounds of her voice,—I aſked myſelf how I could think of parting with her for ever, of leaving her thus helpleſs?

"Poor lamb! It may run very well in a tale, that "God will temper the winds to the ſhorn lamb!" but how can I expect that ſhe will be ſhielded, when my naked boſom has had to brave continually the pitileſs ſtorm? Yes; I could add, with poor Lear—What is the war of elements to the pangs of diſappointed affection, and the horror ariſing from a diſcovery of a breach of confidence, that ſnaps every ſocial tie!

"All is not right ſomewhere!—When you firſt knew me, I was not thus loſt. I could ſtill confide—for I opened my heart

to

to you—of this only comfort you have deprived me, whilſt my happineſs, you tell me, was your firſt object. Strange want of judgment!

"I will not complain; but, from the ſoundneſs of your underſtanding, I am convinced, if you give yourſelf leave to reflect, you will alſo feel, that your conduct to me, ſo far from being generous, has not been juſt. I mean not to allude to factitious principles of morality; but to the ſimple baſis of all rectitude. However I did not intend to argue—Your not writing is cruel—and my reaſon is perhaps diſturbed by conſtant wretchedneſs."

"Write to me then, my friend, and write explicitly. I have ſuffered, God knows, ſince I left you. Ah! you have never felt this kind of ſickneſs of heart! My mind, however, is at preſent painfully active, and the ſympathy I feel almoſt riſes to agony. But this is not a ſubject of complaint, it has afforded me pleaſure,—and reflected pleaſure is all I have to hope for—if a ſpark of hope be yet alive in my forlorn boſom.

"I will try to write with a degree of compoſure. I wiſh for us to live together, becauſe I want you to acquire an habitual tenderneſs for my poor girl. I cannot bear to think of leaving her alone in the world, or that ſhe ſhould only be protected by your ſenſe of duty. Next to preſerving her, my moſt earneſt wiſh is not to diſturb your peace. I have nothing to expect, and little to fear, in life—There are wounds that can never be healed—but they may be allowed to feſter in ſilence without wincing.

"Yes; I ſhall be happy—This heart is worthy of the bliſs its feelings anticipate—and I cannot even perſuade myſelf, wretched as they have made me, that my principles and ſentiments are not founded in nature and truth."

"You tell me that my letters torture you; I will not deſcribe the effect yours have on me. I received three this morning, the laſt dated the 7th of this month. I mean not to give vent to the emotions they produced. Certainly you are right; our minds are not congenial. I have lived in an ideal world, and foſtered ſentiments that you do not comprehend—or you would not treat me thus, I am not, I will not be, merely an object of compaſſion

—a clog,

—a clog, however light, to teaſe you. Forget that I exiſt: I will never remind you. Something emphatical whiſpers me to put an end to theſe ſtruggles. Be free—I will not torment, when I cannot pleaſe. I can take care of my child; you need not continually tell me that our fortune is inſeparable, *that you will try to cheriſh tenderneſs* for me. Do no violence to yourſelf! When we are ſeparated, our intereſt, ſince you give ſo much weight to pecuniary conſiderations, will be entirely divided. I want not protection without affection; and ſupport I need not, whilſt my faculties are undiſturbed."

"I am weary of travelling—yet ſeem to have no home—no reſting-place to look to.—I am ſtrangely caſt off.—How often, paſſing through the rocks, I have thought, "But for this child, I would lay my head on one of them, and never open my eyes again!" With a heart feelingly alive to all the affections of my nature—I have never met with one, ſofter than the ſtone that I would fain take for my laſt pillow. I once thought I had, but it was all a deluſion. I meet with families continually, who are bound together by affection or principle—and, when I am conſcious that I have fulfilled the duties of my ſtation, almoſt to a forgetfulneſs of myſelf, I am ready to demand, in a murmuring tone, of Heaven, "Why am I thus abandoned?"

"By what criterion of principle or affection, you term my queſtions extraordinary and unneceſſary, I cannot determine.—You deſire me to decide—I had decided. You muſt have had long ago two letters of mine, from ————, to the ſame purport, to conſider.—In theſe, God knows! there was but too much affection, and the agonies of a diſtracted mind were but too faithfully pourtrayed!—What more then had I to ſay?—The negative was to come from you.—You had perpetually recurred to your promiſe of meeting me in the autumn—Was it extraordinary that I ſhould demand a yes, or no?—Your letter is written with extreme harſhneſs, coldneſs I am accuſtomed to; in it I find not a trace of the tenderneſs of humanity, much leſs of friendſhip."

"The tremendous power who formed this heart, muſt have foreſeen that, in a world in which ſelf-intereſt, in various ſhapes, is

is the principal mobile, I had little chance of eſcaping miſery.—To the fiat of fate I ſubmit.—I am content to be wretched; but I will not be contemptible.—Of me you have no cauſe to complain, but for having had too much regard for you—for having expected a degree of permanent happineſs, when you only ſought for a momentary gratification.

I am ſtrangely deficient in ſagacity.—Uniting myſelf to you, your tenderneſs ſeemed to make me amends for all my former misfortunes.—On this tenderneſs and affection with what confidence did I reſt!—but I leaned on a ſpear, that has pierced me to the heart.—You have thrown off a faithful friend, to purſue the caprices of the moment."

"Do not keep me in ſuſpenſe.—I expect nothing from you, or any human being: my die is caſt!—I have fortitude enough to determine to do my duty; yet I cannot raiſe my depreſſed ſpirits, or calm my trembling heart.—That being who moulded it thus, knows that I am unable to tear up by the roots the propenſity to affection which has been the torment of my life—but life will have an end!"

"I muſt tell you, that I am very much mortified by your continually offering me pecuniary aſſiſtance—and, conſidering your going to the new houſe, as an open avowal that you abandon me, let me tell you that I will ſooner periſh than receive any thing from you—and I ſay this at the moment when I am diſappointed in my firſt attempt to obtain a temporary ſupply. But this even pleaſes me; an accumulation of diſappointments and misfortunes ſeems to ſuit the habit of my mind."

"The grief I cannot conquer (for ſome cruel recollections never quit me, baniſhing almoſt every other) I labour to conceal in total ſolitude.—My life, therefore, is but an exerciſe of fortitude, continually on the ſtretch—and hope never gleams in this tomb, where I am buried alive."

"My affection for you is rooted in my heart.—I know you are not what you now ſeem—nor will you always act, or feel, as you now do, though I may never be comforted by the change.—Even at Paris, my image will haunt you.—You will ſee my pale face

face—and ſometimes the tears of anguiſh will drop on your heart, which you have forced from mine.

"I cannot write. I thought I could quickly have refuted all your *ingenious* arguments; but my head is confuſed.—Right or wrong, I am miſerable!

"It ſeems to me, that my conduct has always been governed by the ſtricteſt principles of juſtice and truth. Yet, how wretched have my ſocial feelings and delicacy of ſentiment rendered me!—I have loved with my whole ſoul, only to diſcover that I had no chance of a return—and that exiſtence is a burthen without it.

"I do not perfectly underſtand you.—If, by the offer of your friendſhip, you ſtill only mean pecuniary ſupport—I muſt again reject it.—Trifling are the ills of poverty in the ſcale of my misfortunes.—God bleſs you!"

"Reſentment, and even anger, are momentary emotions with me—and I wiſhed to tell you ſo, that if you ever think of me, it may not be in the light of an enemy.

"That I have not been uſed well I muſt ever feel; perhaps, not always with the keen anguiſh I do at preſent—for I began even now to write calmly, and I cannot reſtrain my tears.

"I am ſtunned!—Your late conduct ſtill appears to me a frightful dream.—Ah! aſk yourſelf if you have not condeſcended to employ a little addreſs, I could almoſt ſay cunning, unworthy of you?—Principles are ſacred things—and we never play with truth, with impunity.

"The expectation (I have too fondly nouriſhed it) of regaining your affection, every day grows fainter and fainter.—Indeed, it ſeems to me, when I am more ſad than uſual, that I ſhall never ſee you more.—Yet you will not always forget me.—You will feel ſomething like remorſe, for having lived only for yourſelf—and ſacrificed my peace to inferior gratifications. In a comfortleſs old age, you will remember that you had one diſintereſted friend, whoſe heart you wounded to the quick. The hour of recollection will come—and you will not be ſatisfied to act the part of a boy, till you fall into that of a dotard. I know that your mind, your heart, and your principles of action, are all

ſuperior

ſuperior to your preſent conduct. You do, you muſt, reſpect me—and you will be ſorry to forfeit my eſteem."

Callous muſt have been the heart which letters like theſe failed to move!

The perſon for whom, with a ſick mind and a waſted conſtitution, ſhe was thus exerting herſelf, had engaged to meet her on her return from Norway, perhaps at Hamburgh, and to paſs with her ſome time in Switzerland: his promiſes were faithleſs, and her diſappointments bitter and accumulated. The ambiguity of his conduct urged her to repair to England; her very ſoul ſickened from theſe protracted anxities; ſhe conjured him to be explicit on the ſubject of their future intercourſe, but her ſolicitude was ſtill evaded.

In the beginning of October, while reſiding in lodgings in London, provided for her by Mr. I———, ſhe at length obtained, through the medium of a ſervant, the certainty ſhe ſought. In the firſt tumult of her feelings on this diſcovery, ſhe repaired to the houſe of the woman by whom ſhe had been ſupplanted, where, meeting Mr. I———, ſome cruel explanations enſued: ſhe returned to her apartments in a ſtate of mind that mocks deſcription, a ſtate of mind which it requires a portion of her own ſenſibility even to conceive. In the agony of a broken ſpirit, ſhe once more meditated projects of deſperation; her native courage and lofty ſpirit mingled a ſpecies of heroiſm with the anguiſh that had ſeized her: ſhe abhorred exiſtence; ſhe perceived that the fervent character of her ſoul had in the purſuit of happineſs led her from illuſion to illuſion, through error into calamity; ſhe had chaced a phantom, and graſping it, found it diſſolve in her embrace. She felt, with all its pangs, the *miſery* which the generous, ardent, truſting ſpirit, treaſures up for itſelf when it "reſts on human love." From the retroſpect of the paſt, her thoughts recoiled—over the future a dark cloud lowered!—*Hope*, a thouſand times fruſtrated, at length ſeemed extinguiſhed; fortitude was exhauſted by ſuffering; the tone of her mind deſtroyed (as ſhe believed) for ever. Once more *ſhe reſolved to die.* She addreſſed on her knees the man to whoſe libertine habits ſhe had become a victim.

"I write

"I write to you now on my knees; imploring you to ſend my child and the maid with ———, to Paris, to be conſigned to the care of Madame ———, rue ———, ſection de ———. Should they be removed, ——— can give their direction.

"Let the maid have all my clothes, without diſtinction.

"Pray pay the cook her wages, and do not mention the confeſſion which I forced from her—a little ſooner or later is of no conſequence. Nothing but my extreme ſtupidity could have rendered me blind ſo long. Yet, whilſt you aſſured me that you had no attachment, I thought we might ſtill have lived together.

"I ſhall make no comments on your conduct; or any appeal to the world. Let my wrongs ſleep with me! Soon, very ſoon ſhall I be at peace. When you receive this, my burning head will be cold.

"I would encounter a thouſand deaths, rather than a night like the laſt. Your treatment has thrown my mind into a ſtate of chaos; yet I am ſerene. I go to find comfort, and my only fear is, that my poor body will be inſulted by an endeavour to recal my hated exiſtence. But I ſhall plunge into the Thames where there is the leaſt chance of my being ſnatched from the death I ſeek.

"God bleſs you! May you never know by experience what you have made me endure. Should your ſenſibility ever awake, remorſe will find its way to your heart; and, in the midſt of buſineſs and ſenſual pleaſure, I ſhall appear before you, the victim of your deviation from rectitude."

Quitting her lodging and walking to the river ſide, ſhe engaged a boat, with the deliberate purpoſe of plunging from it into the Thames. On her way, ſhe put ſeveral queſtions to the perſon who rowed her, and from his replies, was induced to make ſome change in her plan, leſt its execution ſhould be prevented. Having proceeded to Putney, ſhe there landed. Night drew on, a heavy rain began to fall, which ſuggeſted to her the idea of walking till her clothes had imbibed the moiſture, with a view of accelerating her deſign. For half an hour ſhe continued to pace backward and forward, alone and unobſerved, and at length leaped

leaped from the top of the bridge. Her courage buoyed her up; folding her wet garments round her, ſhe made efforts to ſink, which having effected, ſhe deſcribed herſelf as twice riſing again as from a fainting fit, to the full ſenſe of her ſituation. In theſe terrible moments, while her purpoſe remained unſhaken, the idea of her child forcibly obtruded itſelf, awakening all the mother in her heart. To the ſtruggles of expiring nature were added the ſtronger pangs of maternal tenderneſs. At length, reſolutely imbibing the water in large quantities, ſhe ſuffered a ſenſe of ſuffocation, and again ſunk to a temporary oblivion of her woes. A conſiderable period had elapſed before ſhe was obſerved from the ſhore, floating down with the tide, and, by the methods uſually adopted on ſuch occaſions, reſcued from the arms of death. Whatever may be the concluſions of thoſe who, with their paſſions at reſt, calmly ſpeculate on the propriety of ſuicide, or putting an end to ſenſation when become an inlet only to miſery*, it is impoſſible not to admire the courage with which this unfortunate woman effected her purpoſe, or not to ſympathiſe in the anguiſh of a mind wounded "there, where the heart moſt exquiſitely feels."

Awakened into tranſient remorſe by the conſequences of the *miſery* he had inflicted, even Mr. I——— betrayed, on this affecting event, ſome ſymptoms of humanity: procuring a phyſician to attend her, he prevailed upon her to remove from her lodgings to the houſe of a common friend; aſſuring her, "that the preſent wandering of his affections was of a caſual nature; ſuggeſting the idea of his return to her to whom he had given more ſacred claims; and of whoſe faithful and diſintereſted tenderneſs he had experienced, alas! but too fatal proofs." Theſe inſinuations rouſed once more her languid faculties: incapable of ſupporting the idea of a renewal of thoſe uncertainties which had racked her mind, ſhe was induced to propoſe an expedient not leſs romantic than extraordinary.

"If we are ever to live together again, it muſt be now. We meet now, or we part for ever. You ſay, You cannot abruptly break off the connexion you have formed. It is unworthy of

* To the philoſopher, *the viciſſitudes of life*, perhaps, afford the only ſatisfactory argument on this ſubject.

my courage and character, to wait the uncertain iſſue of that connexion. I am determined to come to a deciſion. I conſent then, for the preſent, to live with you, and the woman to whom you have aſſociated yourſelf. I think it important that you ſhould learn habitually to feel for your child the affection of a father. But, if you reject this propoſal, here we end. You are now free. We will correſpond no more. We will have no intercourſe of any kind. I will be to you as a perſon that is dead."

The impracticability of ſuch a plan does not appear immediately to have occurred to Mr. I———; but a little conſideration induced him to retract a conſent which, with a view, perhaps, of ſoothing her feelings, he had haſtily given. In the following month he repaired with the new object of his attentions to Paris, where he continued to reſide during three months, Mary Wollſtonecraft having previouſly fixed herſelf in apartments in Finſbury-place, adjoining to the reſidence of the lady whoſe friendly roof ſhe had quitted. Secluding herſelf from ſociety, her thoughts inceſſantly dwelling on the circumſtances of her deſolate ſituation, nouriſhing in her heart an affection yet unextinguiſhed by her ſufferings, indulging in melancholy retroſpection, her ſoul's diſeaſe rapidly undermining the ſtrength of her frame, her health ſeemed daily to decline.

On the return of Mr. I——— to England, for whoſe conduct ſhe was inceſſantly meditating excuſes, ſhe determined on making one more effort for an interview, flattering herſelf, that his preſent infatuation, every way (as ſhe conceived) unworthy of him, could not be of a permanent nature. The interview ſhe requeſted was denied to her with harſhneſs. Accidentally calling a few days after at the houſe of a common friend, ſhe learned that Mr. I——— was at that time in an adjoining apartment, engaged with a party of gentlemen: conſcious of the rectitude of her cauſe, and emboldened by the ſenſe of undeſerved injuries, ſhe reſiſted the well-meant expoſtulation of her friend, who would have diſſuaded her from her purpoſe, and, ſuddenly entering the dining room, in which the company were aſſembled, led her infant, now near two years of age, to the knees of its father.

father. Confounded by her preſence and her courage, Mr. I—— retired with her to another room, and, at her requeſt, promiſed to meet her at her lodgings on the enſuing day. He fulfilled his appointment, and by conciliating language calmed the anguiſh of her ſpirits; a cheering ray of hope ſeemed to pierce the gloom that ſurrounded her, but, like a tranſient meteor, after dazzling her aching eye for a moment, it quickly diſappeared. In this interview he ſtill affected to ſpeak of returning, after the wanderings of libertiniſm (with a debauched mind, and, probably, a ſhattered conſtitution) to repoſe on the tried faith of the only woman whom he had ever *loved with diſtinction*, entreating her to continue to bear his name, to which no other, he vehemently profeſted, ſhould ever have a claim. "It was not for the world (ſaid ſhe in a letter to a friend) that I complied with this requeſt, but I was unwilling to cut the gordian knot, or tear myſelf away in appearance, when I could not in reality." The ſucceeding day ſhe left town, paſſing ſome weeks in the country, in the houſe of a female friend.

On her return from this excurſion, new circumſtances occurred, bringing with them a further conviction of the duplicity and unworthineſs of the object for whom ſhe had ſo perſeveringly cheriſhed tenderneſs; ſhe reſolved therefore to rouſe her powers, and finally to rend from her heart an attachment which her reaſon and her principles equally contemned—an attachment now become humiliating to her character, and that had but too long been productive of an immenſe overbalance of pain. Making a laſt effort for freedom and tranquillity, ſhe reſolutely ſought to repel thoſe fatal recollections and aſſociations that had borne down her ſpirit, clouded her faculties, and blaſted her peace. She exerted her talents, forced herſelf into employment, changed the place of her reſidence, and addreſſed, *for the laſt time*, the man from whoſe inſtability ſhe had ſo ſeverely ſuffered.

"It is now finiſhed.—Convinced that you have neither regard nor friendſhip, I diſdain to utter a reproach, though I have had reaſon to think, that the "forbearance" talked of has not been very delicate.—It is, however, of no conſequence.—I am glad you are ſatisfied with your own conduct.

"I now ſolemnly aſſure you, that this is an eternal farewell. —Yet I flinch not from the duties which tie me to life.

"That there is "ſophiſtry" on one ſide or other, is certain; but now it matters not on which. On my part it has not been a queſtion of words. Yet your underſtanding or mine muſt be ſtrangely warped.

"The ſentiment in me is ſtill ſacred. If there be any part of me that will ſurvive the ſenſe of my misfortunes, it is the purity of my affections. The impetuoſity of your ſenſes may have led you to term mere animal deſire the ſource of principle; and it may give zeſt for ſome years to come.—Whether you will always think ſo, I ſhall never know.

"It is ſtrange that, in ſpite of all you do, ſomething like conviction forces me to believe, that you are not what you appear to be.

"I part with you in peace."

This letter, which put a period to the moſt afflictive incident in her life, was written in March 1796. However weakened by her ſorrows, her active ſpirit had not ſuffered itſelf, as in ordinary caſes, to be engroſſed by them: this capacity of exertion, in ſeaſons of diſtreſs and difficulty, affords perhaps the ſtrongeſt characteriſtic of a ſuperior mind. Her letters from Norway had been written and prepared for the preſs, and a comedy ſketched, the ſerious incidents of which turn upon her own ſtory, within the laſt ten months, during which ſhe had been twice prompted to ſuicide.

Hitherto, in recording the life of this admirable woman, melancholy has marked every page; her hiſtory, with but little variation, has exhibited a train of cares, ſtruggles, diſappointments, and ſorrows; the review of it inclines us to adopt the language of an eloquent writer*: "Of what uſe are talents and ſentiments in the corrupt wilderneſs of human ſociety? It is a rank and rotten ſoil, from which every finer ſhrub draws poiſon as it grows. All that, in a happier field and a purer air, might expand into beauty and germinate into uſefulneſs, is thus converted into henbane and deadly nightſhade."—The cloud that

* Godwin's Caleb Williams.

had

had overſhadowed her deſtiny at length began to diſperſe, the proſpect brightened, and the ſun of hope, diffuſing his rays through the gloom, ſhed over the latter periods of her life (of which we ſhall take a brief view) a mild and benign luſtre.

In the beginning of April 1796, Mrs. Wollſtonecraft removed to lodgings at Pentonville, in the neighbourhood of Somer's-town, in which reſided Mr. W. Godwin, a writer of diſtinguiſhed talents, the boldneſs and ſingularity of whoſe ſpeculations had excited attention, and provoked oppoſition, in the philoſophic and literary world. Mr. Godwin had caſually met Mrs. Wollſtonecraft in a mixt company, previouſly to her excurſion to the continent, when, from ſome difference in their principles, they parted with impreſſions mutually unfavourable. Their acquaintance was now renewed, in conſequence of a meeting at the apartments of a common friend *, who had forwarded the interview, with a view of removing their prejudices, and of diverting the melancholy of a woman whoſe talents and misfortunes had excited in her heart the moſt affectionate intereſt. This meeting led to a greater degree of intimacy between the parties, to which a friendly and confidential intercourſe gradually ſucceeded, preparing the way for ſentiments ſtill more cordial and tender: ſorrow ſoftens the mind and irreſiſtibly diſpoſes it to the claims of ſympathy.

Embittered by undeſerved injuries, yearning after ſocial and domeſtic affections, ſo dear to the ſenſible heart, ſuffering under the cruelleſt ſpecies of widowhood, every previous tie abruptly diſſolved, darling aſſociation, not gradually diſſevered, but rudely torn away without a ſingle pleaſing, recollection on which to reſt, impreſſed by the intellectual eminence, affected by the worth and kindneſs of Mr. Godwin, the ſuſceptible mind of Mary Wollſtonecraft admitted, almoſt unconſciouſly, while ſtruggling to obliterate the traces of the paſt, new impreſſions, that appeared to be more worthy of her, while they promiſed greater ſtability. Six months had elapſed, ſince ſhe had reſolutely baniſhed from her ſoul the lingering remains of an attachment that had at length become incompatible with the reſpect due to

* The writer of the preſent narrative.

herſelf. The ſpeculative opinions of Mr. Godwin rendered him adverſe to marriage; the pecuniary embarraſſments of Mrs. Wollſtonecraft, it can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed, were leſſened; neither can it be believed, that, on ſuch a ſubject, a mind like hers could be capable of reſerve. Mr. Godwin, in conſideration of the inconveniences which had been already ſuſtained, and to which, from the habits of ſociety, the woman he loved might ſtill be expoſed, with a liberality which did him honour, waved his own ſcruples, and gave to the union which took place between them a legal ſanction. Their marriage was not immediately declared, Mr. Godwin indulging the delicacy of his wife, who ſhrunk from becoming again a ſubject of public diſcuſſion.

It was now that her exhauſted heart began to find repoſe, that at peace with herſelf, ſhe diffuſed around her the tranquillity ſhe enjoyed: her ideas of rational happineſs had ever been concentered in the circle of domeſtic affections; in ſeeking to realize her plans, ſhe had till this period been involved in undeſerved calumny and diſtreſs; to the calm ſatisfactions of nature and ſocial affection the beſt conſtituted minds are the moſt exquiſitely ſenſible. Had the ſenſibility of this extraordinary woman early found its proper objects, ſoftened by the ſympathies, and occupied by the duties of a wife and mother, ſhe had ſerenely purſued her courſe. The placid ſtream, that gliding through the meadows, fertilizes their banks, checked in its courſe, becomes a deſtructive torrent: thoſe ſtrong paſſions, that, ravaging the mind, afflict and deform ſociety, have their origin in oppoſition and conſtraint; if in this way talent is ſometimes generated, it ſeems to be purchaſed too dear.

The laws of nature are paramount to the cuſtoms of ſociety; its dictates will not be ſilenced by factitious precepts. Thoſe who, without guilt or imprudence, find themſelves excluded from the common ſolace of their ſpecies, will be led to conſider the reaſonableneſs of this privation, of which its injuſtice tends to aggravate its importance. From the expenſive habits of ſociety, and its conſequent profligacy, a large proportion of women are deſtined to celibacy, while their importance, their eſtabliſhment, their pleaſures, and their reſpectability, are (with few exceptions)

tions) connected with marriage. Woe be to theſe victims of vice or ſuperſtition, if, too ingenuous for habitual hypocriſy, they cannot ſtifle in the bottom of their hearts thoſe feelings which ſhould conſtitute their happineſs and their glory: that ſenſibility, which is the charm of their ſex, in ſuch ſituations becomes its bittereſt curſe; in ſubmitting to their deſtiny they rarely eſcape inſult; in overſtepping the bounds preſcribed to them, by a ſingle error, they become involved in a labyrinth of perplexity and diſtreſs. In vain may reflection enable them to contemn diſtinctions, that, confounding truth and morals, poiſon virtue at its ſource: overwhelmed by a torrent of contumely and reproach, a hoſt of foes encompaſs their path, exaggerate their weakneſs, diſtort their principles, miſrepreſent their actions, and, with deadly malice, or mercileſs zeal, ſeek to drive them from the haunts of civil life.

Of the truth of theſe remarks the vindicator of female rights had not been without an experience.

"Thoſe who are bold enough (ſaid ſhe in a letter to a friend) to advance before the age they live in, and to throw off, by the force of their own minds, the prejudices which the maturing reaſon of the world will in time diſavow, muſt learn to brave cenſure. We ought not to be too anxious reſpecting the opinion of others.—I am not fond of vindications.—Thoſe who know me will ſuppoſe that I acted from principle.—Nay, as we in general give others credit for worth, in proportion as we poſſeſs it—I am eaſy with regard to the opinions of the *beſt* part of mankind—I *reſt* on my own."

Her union with Mr. Godwin, though ſanctioned by *forms* which the prudent will not lightly be induced to violate, did not wholly exempt her from reproach: ſome nice diſtinctions in the circle of her acquaintance which had at firſt excited her ſurpriſe, not unmingled with regret, were nevertheleſs quickly forgotten—a mind like hers juſtly reſted on itſelf. More intereſting hopes and ſentiments now occupied her thoughts: ſurrounded by reſpectable and intelligent friends, who knew how to appreciate her fine qualities, happy in the boſom of domeſtic peace, her heart once more expanded itſelf, her genius reſumed its tone and vigour. Literary avocations, domeſtic pleaſures, and ſocial engagements,

occupied and diverſified her time; while ſhe anticipated with pleaſure an approaching period, that, by adding to her maternal cares, would afford a new exerciſe to her affections.

"She was a worſhipper," ſays her biographer and huſband *, "of domeſtic life. She loved to obſerve the growth of affection between me and her daughter, then three years of age, as well as my anxiety reſpecting the child not yet born. Pregnancy itſelf, unequal as the decree of nature ſeems to be in this reſpect, is the ſource of a thouſand endearments. No one knew better than Mary how to extract ſentiments of exquiſite delight, from trifles, which a ſuſpicious and formal wiſdom would ſcarcely deign to remark. A little ride into the country with myſelf and the child, has ſometimes produced a ſort of opening of the heart, a general expreſſion of confidence and affectionate ſoul, a ſort of infantine, yet dignified endearment, which thoſe who have felt may underſtand, but which I ſhould in vain attempt to pourtray."

Reſting not in ſelfiſh and indolent enjoyment, her active talents ſtill prompted her to various projects of uſefulneſs. A production in which ſhe had for ſome time been engaged, was announced to the public under the title of *The Wrongs of Woman*, being deſigned to exemplify thoſe evils, ariſing out of the laws and cuſtoms of civil inſtitutions, more peculiarly appropriate to her ſex—evils of which ſhe was but too well qualified to ſpeak. She had likewiſe planned a ſeries of letters on the management of infants, to be ſubjected to the reviſion of a medical friend, the introductory letter of which has appeared in her poſthumous works: alſo a ſeries of books for the inſtruction of children, a fragment of which, found among her papers, has been ſince publiſhed. In the execution of her novel, there is reaſon to believe, from the ſketch which has appeared, that ſhe had propoſed to employ conſiderable attention; aware of the difficulties which attend this ſpecies of compoſition, deſpiſed by pedants, but in which to enſure ſucceſs, powers of no common order muſt combine. Impreſſed with this conviction, ſhe proceeded ſlowly, with frequent alterations and careful reviſions. In the former and moſt finiſhed part of the work, the Story of Jemima, an abandoned female

* Godwin's Memoirs, &c.

infant,

infant, trained up through oppreſſion and calamity, to vice and infamy, is conceived and executed with originality and ſpirit: the remaining volumes, which appear under great diſadvantages, in a mutilated ſtate, ſeem to allude to circumſtances in the life of the author: the favourable change in her ſituation, it is not improbable, had ſhe lived to conclude the work, might have deducted in ſome degree from its pathos.

In the midſt of theſe flattering proſpects, ſhe felt the period of child-birth approach (Wedneſday, Auguſt 30, 1797), which ſhe met with her uſual fortitude, and which her native courage, and the favourable circumſtances attending her former experience, had enabled her to anticipate without apprehenſion: ſhe had always entertained an opinion, that on ſuch occaſions there was more propriety in receiving the aid of a female practitioner, and that notwithſtanding the defects* in their profeſſional education, their ſkill was adequate to *common caſes*. Her's unfortunately proved not to be a common caſe; to a protracted delivery ſucceeded ſymptoms of a perilous nature, alarming for her ſafety the fears and tenderneſs of her friends. For the few following days more promiſing appearances revived their drooping ſpirits; on the enſuing Sunday theſe flattering expectations gave place to the moſt cruel ſolicitude. Every aſſiſtance that medical ſkill, or the tenderneſs of friendſhip could ſuggeſt or afford, was adminiſtered in vain: ſupporting her ſufferings, while ſenſible of her ſituation, with exemplary patience and cheerfulneſs, ſhe lingered till the following Sunday, September the 10th, on which ſhe expired, twenty minutes before eight in the morning. It did not appear that ſhe entertained apprehenſions of death till within two days preceding the event, when ſhe occaſionally adverted to it, without ſeeming to dwell on the idea, her faculties at that time being conſiderably impaired. The religious ſentiments ſhe had imbibed in her youth, had in them no terrours that could diſcompoſe a dying hour; her imagination had embodied images of viſionary perfection, giving riſe to affections in which her ſenſibility delighted to indulge. Her remains were

* Theſe defects which are to be regretted, it is hoped, will be remedied by the wiſdom and delicacy of future generations.

interred

interred in the church-yard of St. Pancras, Middlesex, where a plain monument has since been erected to her memory, bearing the following inscription:

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT GODWIN,

AUTHOR OF

A VINDICATION

OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN.

BORN XXVII APRIL MDCCLIX.

DIED X SEPTEMBER, MDCCXCVII.

It would be difficult to review the life of this singular woman without being impressed by mingled sentiments of tenderness and respect. The sense of her errors (and who, with feelings as acute and passions as ardent, has not committed many mistakes?) is absorbed in stronger sympathy with her sorrows and reverence for her virtues. The qualities of her heart and the attainments of her understanding appear to have been eminently her own, her errors and her sufferings arose out of the vices and prejudices of others. The powers and resources of her mind, amidst the disadvantages of her sex and station, bespeak talents of the highest order; her conceptions were bold and original, her freedom of thinking, and courage in stemming popular opinions, worthy of admiration. An obscure individual, unknown and unsupported, she raised herself by her own exertions to an eminence that excited, in an extraordinary degree, public attention, and afforded her a celebrity extending beyond the limits of the country which gave her birth. More than feminine sensibility and tenderness, united with masculine strength and fortitude, a combination as admirable as rare, were the peculiar characteristics of her mind. With an unconquerable propensity to *individual* attachment, which, concentrating its feelings, has a tendency to narrow the heart, her's cherished the most expanded philanthropy, and glowed with the warmest benevolence. She thought and felt on a comprehensive scale.

Should it be alleged, that she was unstable in attachment, let the nature, the virtue, and the reasonableness of constancy be defined,

defined, and let the circumſtances in which her affections changed their object, be brought to the teſt. What "ſweet remembrance" had ſhe, to ſooth, "with virtue's kindeſt thoughts, her aching breaſt, and turn her tears to rapture*?"

Doubtleſs her conduct was in many inſtances imprudent, in ſome faulty; from the caprices of ſenſibility and the inequalities of genius, ſhe was not exempt: a conceſſion humiliating to the pride of talent, but from which ignorance and dullneſs may extract conſolation.

To expect any being merely *human* ſhould, in its preſent ſtate, mingle with ſociety untainted by its corruptions, is to be ignorant of the ſympathetic nature of mind: he, who demands *perfection*, betrays little knowledge either of himſelf or his ſpecies: he, who looks for it in ardent tempers, has the book of nature yet to learn. Thoſe who diſplay eagerneſs in detecting the weakneſſes of ſuperior characters, would do well to weigh in the ſame balance their own proportion of goodneſs and greatneſs. A great character, to excite emulation and rouſe the nobler paſſions, ſhould be placed in a juſt light and a certain point of view. A habit of ſearching for defects will inſenſibly beget imitation: he, who never warmed his heart by the contemplation of excellence, will ſcarcely riſe to arduous heights.

Her own ſex have loſt, in the premature fate of this extraordinary woman, an able champion; yet ſhe has not laboured in vain: the ſpirit of reform is ſilently purſuing its courſe. Who can mark its limits?

That ſomething could be added reſpecting the earlier progreſs of a mind thus gifted, is to be wiſhed rather than expected; the growth of intellect and the riſe of ideas are rarely to be traced. On this ſubject we have no authority; but are inclined to ſuſpect, that, like the majority of her ſex, her ſtudies were deſultory and her attainments caſual, purſued with little method, under the direction of her taſte, or as her feelings took the lead. It does not appear that ſhe was acquainted with any

* Akenſide's Pleaſures of Imagination.

ſcience,

ſcience, or pretended to learning in its appropriate ſenſe: her knowledge of the French language had been incidentally acquired for colloquial purpoſes, and the buſineſs of tranſlation; with the latter view, ſhe had alſo applied herſelf to the German. Confiding in the ſtrength of her faculties, and the richneſs of her imagination, ſhe had paid but little attention, even in her native language, to grammatical propriety; an error of which, in the latter periods of her life, ſhe became fully ſenſible. Her mind probably owed its activity to the difficult circumſtances in which ſhe had been placed, to the force of her paſſions, and to the early neceſſity for the exertion of her powers.

Her perſon was above the middle height, and well proportioned; her form full; her hair and eyes brown; her features pleaſing; her countenance changing and impreſſive; her voice ſoft, and, though without great compaſs, capable of modulation. When unbending in familiar and confidential converſation, her manners had a charm that ſubdued the heart.

RIGHT HONOURABLE EDMUND BURKE.

Of all the gifts of nature, or acquirements of education, that of eloquence is perhaps the moſt faſcinating, and alſo the beſt calculated to make an inſtantaneous and powerful impreſſion on the hearts of mankind. It is however confined, like many of the productions of natural hiſtory, to certain favoured regions; for it is to be found only in perfection in the mild climate of liberty, as it always ſhrinks from the blaſt of deſpotiſm, and withers beneath the baneful frowns of a tyrant. Hiſtory, both ancient and modern, atteſts this fact. We have all been told of the luxury and refinements of Perſia, but her orators are yet to be named; while thoſe of the little republican ſtates of Greece, which ſhe vainly endeavoured to ſubdue, are familiar to our ears, and conſtitute the theme of every ſchool-

boy.

boy. Before the expulſion of the Tarquins we hear but little of Roman eloquence; and until the memorable conteſt between Charles I. and his parliament, that of England hardly deſerves to be named. It was at that critical period, amidſt the ſtruggles between the liberties of the ſubject on one hand, and the prerogatives of a king on the other, that the elegant and flowing diction of the ſenate began to be cultivated and eſteemed. But its ſplendour was reſerved for a more recent epoch: as it was not until a civil war had taken place between Britain and her colonies, that our vernacular eloquence attained its full perfection. It was then that the patriot ardour of a Saville, the maſculine ſenſe of a Barré, the epigrammatic force of a Dunning, and the inſinuating addreſs of a Shelburne, were exerted with uncommon energy and effect; it was then that a Fox diſplayed a vigour of intellect, joined to a variety and a compaſs of diction, that had never been equalled before that period; it was then that a Burke exhauſted all the powers of a commanding genius, and a claſſical imagination; and while the thunders of one Pitt yet vibrated on the aſtoniſhed ear, the milder eloquence of another captivated all hearts, and flattered the nation with the fond hope that he was deſtined to ſurpaſs his father both in talents and in virtue.

Edmund Burke was a native of Ireland. The people of that iſland, ſo long curſed and diſtracted by religious feuds, did not accede ſo readily to the principles of the reformation as their neighbours the Engliſh; and a decided majority are catholics at this day. To that claſs of men the immediate progenitors of Mr. Burke appertained; but either actuated by the dread of penal ſtatutes, and legal diſabilities, or, what is far leſs probable, converted, by the voice of perſuaſion, to the faith of their oppreſſors, they conformed to the eſtabliſhed church. Certain it is that his father, who was an attorney firſt in Limerick, and afterwards in Dublin, avowed himſelf a proteſtant; for ſuch was the ungenerous and cruel perſecution of the times, that thoſe of another perſuaſion were ſhut out not only from the public offices of the ſtate, but alſo from the emoluments of the law. Edmund was born in the capital January 1, 1730; and, after receiving

receiving a prefatory education in his own vicinage, he was ſent to Ballytore* boarding ſchool, and placed under the tuition of Abraham Shackleton, a quaker of conſiderable celebrity, on whom the courteſy of the neighbourhood had conferred a degree†, which his own modeſty would neither permit him to ſolicit, nor accept from an univerſity.

Committed to the care of a maſter ſo admirably qualified for the important buſineſs of inſtruction, young Burke applied to his ſtudies with commendable aſſiduity, and became one of the numerous examples that might be adduced, to demonſtrate the falſehood of that popular but dangerous maxim, *that young men of genius are always deſtitute of application.*

In this ſeminary he laid the foundation of his knowledge in the languages of antiquity; whence he was hereafter to borrow the elegance of his taſte, and the models and imagery of his eloquence. From this ſource was alſo, moſt probably, derived that love of liberty, which germinating at certain periods in his boſom, ſo often pointed his oratory, inflamed his paſſions, and animated his ſentiments; which in his beſt days acquired him a reputation almoſt unequalled in our times; and even after declining age, and approaching death, had ſapped both mind and body, was at length ſtifled rather than extirpated.

At this reſpectable ſchool ſeveral years of his life were ſpent; and the attachment of the maſter, and the gratitude of the pupil, reflect honour on both. The former lived to ſee his ſcholar attain a conſiderable degree of reputation; and he on his part was accuſtomed to ſpend a portion of his annual viſit to Ireland at Ballytore‡. How different this from the uſual intercourſe

* Ballytore, or, as it is ſometimes called Ballitore, is a village chiefly peopled, and built by, quakers. It is ſituated near Timolin, on the river Griſt in the county of Kildare, and province of Leinſter.

† That of Dr. Shackleton.

‡ The ſon, and grandſon, of Abraham Shackleton, ſucceeded him at Ballytore-ſchool. The latter is reported to be ſtill alive; and the following eccentric advertiſement is ſaid to have been circulated ſome time ſince by him:

courſe between perſons ſo ſituated? The pedant often views the emancipated youth, over whom he has exerciſed an uncontrolled dominion, with no friendly eye; while the aſſociation of ideas, connecting puniſhment with learning, frequently preſents to the mind of the latter the form of a tyrant under the vizor of an inſtructor.

From a provincial ſeminary Edmund was ſent to the univerſity of Dublin. Here, however, he does not appear to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf either by application or talents. His character, as a ſtudent, was merely negative. He exhibited no ſymptoms of a precocious genius, obtained no palms in the academic race, and departed even without a degree. During this period, however, he commenced author; and his firſt eſſays, which were of a political nature, appear to have been not only unfavourable to liberty, but alſo to his country.

Nations governed with a mild and beneficent ſway are always peaceable and contented: for we do not diſcover in the hiſtory of mankind, that any ſociety ever yet exiſted which acted in uniform hoſtility to its own happineſs. Now it muſt be allowed, that from the time of Elizabeth, Ireland, with a few ſhort intermiſſions, has exhibited an almoſt continued ſcene of commotion; and the frequent conceſſions, either reluctantly granted or manfully extorted, prove that her ſtate was ſuch as to be in want of melioration. Soon after the laſt attempt for reſtoring the houſe of Stuart had proved abortive, in conſequence of the battle of Culloden, the people ſeemed to awaken from the ſlumber of ages, and meditate their enfranchiſement. Among the patriots of that period, Dr. Lucas, a

" BALLYTORE BOARDING-SCHOOL.

" Abraham Shackleton informs his friends, and the public, that being placed guardian over the morals of the youth under his care, he declines, from conſcientious motives, to teach that part of the academic courſe which he conceives injurious to morals, and ſubverſive of ſound principles: particularly thoſe authors who recommend, in ſeducing language, the illuſions of love, and the abominable trade of war. Thoſe who deſign their ſons for the college will take their meaſures accordingly. He profeſſes to fit youth for buſineſs, and inſtruct them in polite literature. His terms are 6l. per quarter: no entrance money demanded."

phyſician

phyſician of great reſpectability, was eminently conſpicuous; and the people of the capital, actuated by gratitude, returned him one of their members to parliament. Not content with expoſing the exiſting ſyſtem of miſgovernment, in the houſe of commons, he publiſhed ſeveral ſtrictures on the meaſures of the day, and became proverbially popular.

Mr. Burke, either ſeduced by the proſpect of fame, or actuated by motives that then appeared to him to be honourable, imitated the ſtyle and manner of the doctor with conſiderable ſucceſs; and by inſidiouſly exaggerating his principles, attempted to bring both them and their aſſertor into diſgrace. The ſtudent ſo far ſucceeded as to exhibit his own ingenuity; but he failed completely in the main object, for Doctor Lucas enjoyed a high reputation to the day of his death *.

Mr. Burke now addicted himſelf to other purſuits, particularly logic and metaphyſics; and is ſaid to have planned a refutation of the ſyſtems of Berkley and Hume. While thus employed in treaſuring up the means of attaining a ſpecies of celebrity, which far different avocations prevented him afterwards from aſpiring to, he was not inattentive to the grand object of obtaining a ſuitable ſettlement in life; for his family was not opulent, and he already panted after independence. He accordingly became a candidate for a vacant chair † at the univerſity of Glaſgow. The immediate reaſon of his failure is not directly known; but

* This circumſtance is repreſented in the following manner, by a perſon who profeſſes to write the life of Edmund Burke, but appears to be utterly unacquainted with Dr. Lucas:

"In the year 1749, Lucas, a demagogue apothecary, wrote a number of very daring papers againſt government, and acquired as great popularity at Dublin, as Mr. Wilkes afterwards did in London. Burke, whoſe principal attention had been directed to more important objects than the categories of Ariſtotle, perceived the noxious tendency of levelling doctrines. He wrote ſeveral eſſays in the ſtyle of Lucas, imitating it ſo completely as to deceive the public: purſuing Lucas's principles to conſequences obviouſly reſulting from them, and at the ſame time ſhewing their abſurdity and danger. The firſt literary effort of his mind was the expoſure of the abſurdity of democratical innovation. This was the Ticinus of our political Scipio." *Biſſet's Life of Edmund Burke*, p. 18, 19.

† The profeſſorſhip of logic.

his

his youth did not entitle him to this advancement; and it is not at all unlikely that his intereſt in Scotland, and the obſcurity of his name and attainments, were ſuch as to afford him no rational proſpect of ſucceſs. On this he repaired to the metropolis, and enrolled his name as a ſtudent of the Inner Temple.

It appears from his ſpeeches, his writings, and his converſation, that he ſtudied the grand outline of our municipal juriſprudence with particular attention; but it may be doubted whether he ever entered into the minutiæ. Indeed the variability of his talents, and his avocations, was but little calculated for that dull and plodding circuit which can alone lead to an intimate knowledge of our laws. Beſides, if he had been gifted with the neceſſary application, both time and opportunity were wanting: for it is well known that at this period of his life the "*res anguſta domus*" did not permit the ſtudent to dedicate his attention ſolely to this, or indeed to any other ſingle object.

The exhauſted ſtate of his finances called frequently for a ſpeedy ſupply, and inſtead of peruſing the pages of Bracton, Fleta, Littleton, and Coke, he was obliged to write eſſays, letters, and paragraphs, for the periodical publications of the day. But if theſe purſuits diverted his attention from graver ſtudies, they acquired him a facility of compoſition, and a command of ſtyle and of language, which proved eminently ſerviceable in the courſe of his future life.

His health, however, became at length impaired, and a nervous fever enſued. This circumſtance induced him to call in the aid of Dr. Nugent, one of his own countrymen, a medical man whoſe manners were more amiable than his practice was extenſive. This gentleman, who had travelled on the continent, and was an author * himſelf, readily diſcovered the ſource of his malady, and, by removing him from books and buſineſs to his own houſe, ſoon effected a cure. That event is ſaid to have been haſtened, if not entirely completed, by a phyſician of an-

* Dr. N. publiſhed "The Grand Tour," &c. and occaſionally acted as travelling tutor to ſeveral young men of rank.

other kind; the accompliſhed daughter of his hoſt. This lady was deſtined to become his wife; a circumſtance particularly fortunate for him, as her diſpoſition was mild and gentle, and ſhe continued, through a long ſeries of years, and many viciſſitudes of fortune, to ſoothe and tranquillize paſſions always violent, and often tumultuous.

Our ſtudent ſeems at length to have determined once more to endeavour to diſtinguiſh himſelf as an author, and he accordingly took advantage of the death of a celebrated peer to write a work * after the manner of that nobleman; in which, by exaggerating his principles, he ſhould be enabled to bring them into contempt. What he had before attempted againſt the patriotiſm of Dr. Lucas, was now again tried in reſpect to the philoſophy of lord Bolingbroke: but it is allowed on all hands that this effort alſo proved unſucceſsful, for the treatiſe in queſtion was for a long time conſigned to oblivion, and would never have been heard of, had it not been reſuſcitated by his future fame. Another performance made ample amends: his "Eſſay on the Sublime and Beautiful" attracted a high degree of reputation, and acquired him conſiderable celebrity as a man of letters. In addition to the profits of the publication, he is ſaid on this occaſion to have received a preſent from his father of one hundred pounds †. But his circumſtances muſt have been greatly embarraſſed about this time, as he was obliged to ſell his books; and ſurely nothing but the extremity of diſtreſs could have forced a man of letters to ſuch a meaſure.

The work we have juſt mentioned, having an immediate relation to taſte, excited a deſire in ſir Joſhua Reynolds, even then at the head of his profeſſion, to become acquainted with Mr. B. and a friendſhip enſued which continued uninterrupted during the life of the painter, and was unequivocally teſtified by a handſome bequeſt in his will. Dr. Johnſon alſo ſought and obtained an intimacy with him, and he now became the conſtant frequenter of two clubs, compoſed of ſome of the moſt celebrated men of that day ‡.

A literary

* A Vindication of Natural Society. † Biſſet's Life of Ed. Burke, p. 36.

‡ One of theſe met at the Turk's Head tavern in Gerrard-ſtreet, and conſiſted of the following

A literary work on a new plan, firſt ſuggeſted in 1750, and by ſome attributed to the Dodſleys, and by others to Mr. Burke, became, for ſome time, a conſiderable ſource of emolument to him. This was called the "Annual Regiſter;" a publication that ſoon obtained conſiderable celebrity, and of which he had the ſuperintendance for ſeveral years.

He was, at length, called off from his literary labours by avocations of a far different kind. A gentleman who afterwards derived the *cognomen* of "ſingle ſpeech Hamilton," from a celebrated oration, having been appointed ſecretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, invited his friend Mr. Burke to accompany him thither; this offer he readily complied with, and although he acted in no public ſtation, and performed no ſervices to that then, as now, unhappy country, he was rewarded with

following members: Dr. Johnſon, Mr. (afterwards ſir Joſhua Reynolds), Dr. Goldſmith, Mr. Topham Beauclerc, Dr. Nugent, Sir John Hawkins, Mr. Bennet Langton, Mr. Chamier, Mr. Garrick, and Mr. Burke.

The other aſſembled at the St. James's coffee-houſe, and beſides many of the above, was compoſed of the following members: Mr. Cumberland, Dr. Douglas, the preſent biſhop of Saliſbury, Dr. Bernard, dean of Derry, Mr. Richard Burke, Mr. William Burke, Mr. Hickey, &c. Dr. Goldſmith, who was Mr. Burke's contemporary at Dublin college, was a member of both, and wrote the epitaphs of thoſe who compoſed the latter. That on Mr. B. has often been praiſed. The part, however, in which he terms him "too cool" for a patriot, appears ironical at the preſent moment.

"Here lies our good Edmund, whoſe genius was ſuch,
"We ſcarcely can praiſe it, or blame it too much;
"Who, born for the Univerſe, narrow'd his mind,
"And to party gave up what was meant for mankind.

"Though fraught with all learning, yet ſtraining his throat,
"To perſuade Tommy Townſhend to lend him a vote;
"Who too deep for his hearers ſtill went on refining,
"And thought of convincing, while they thought of dining;
"Though equal to all things, for all things unfit,
"Too nice for a ſtateſman, too proud for a wit;
"*For a patriot too cool*; for a drudge diſobedient;
"And too fond of the *right*, to purſue the *expedient*.
"In ſhort, 'twas his fate, unemploy'd or in place, ſir,
"To eat mutton cold, and cut blocks with a razor."

a penſion of 300l. per annum, which he ſoon after diſpoſed of for a ſum of money *.

On his return to England he amuſed himſelf, as uſual, with literary compoſition. A ſeries of Eſſays, written by him in a newſpaper †, which, at one time, obtained great celebrity, attracted the notice of the late marquis of Rockingham; and Mr. Fitzherbert, a member of parliament, and father of the preſent lord St. Helen's, in conſequence of this circumſtance, introduced him to that nobleman. From this moment he was deſtined to become a public man, and to dedicate his ſtudies, his eloquence, and his pen, to politics.

Lord Rockingham having proved more compliant than the earl of Chatham, the former nobleman was brought into power, and ſeated on the treaſury bench. On this occaſion he ſelected Mr. Burke as his private ſecretary, an office of no power and very little emolument, but which naturally leads to both. As it was now neceſſary he ſhould have a ſeat in parliament, although it cannot be ſuppoſed that he was legally qualified in reſpect to property, he applied to lord Verney, who was patron of Wendover, a borough at that time dependent on him, and principally occupied by his tenants. By conſtituents of this deſcription the private ſecretary of a firſt lord of the treaſury was inſtantly nominated; and it is not a little remarkable that the ſame men, who, during the period of his opulence, would have returned his *horſe*, had he been preſented as a candidate with a *chriſtian-name*, actually eſpouſed the cauſe of fortune againſt his lordſhip, and at the latter part of his life refuſed to return their quondam maſter!

* Soon after his return all political connexion with Mr. Hamilton ceaſed; but we truſt that the motive was more honourable than that aſſigned by a late biographer, in conſequence of information derived "from an intimate friend of both, a member of the preſent parliament." On finding Mr. H.'s abilities unaccompanied by that degree of induſtry which leads to ſucceſs, "he (Mr. B.) wrote a letter, the ſubſtance of which was an expoſtulation concerning Hamilton's indolence; reminding him *that he himſelf had a growing family to maintain, and muſt turn his talents to what would be uſeful; and on that account, that he muſt politically aſſociate with men of more active exertions.*"

† The Public Adverti[ſ]er.

Having

Having thus obtained a ſeat in 1765, he prepared to fit himſelf for his new ſituation. He was already provided with all the neceſſary talents, and was only deficient in the forms of buſineſs, and the facility of expreſſing his ſentiments before a public audience. The firſt of theſe was mattered by ſedulous attention; and as to the ſecond, if we are to give credit to thoſe who pretend to be intimately acquainted with this period of his life, he overcame all difficulties by a previous initiation elſewhere. In ſhort he had acquired celebrity at the "Robinhood," before he attempted to ſpeak in the Britiſh ſenate, and vanquiſhed an eloquent "baker" ere he began to cope with the great orators of the nation.

Holding a confidential place under the Rockingham adminiſtration, he of courſe ſupported all its meaſures. A former miniſtry, anxious to increaſe its influence by means of increaſed impoſts, had conceived the idea of taxing America through the medium of a parliament in which ſhe was not repreſented. Having attempted to carry this into effect by means of the famous "ſtamp act," the Americans, alarmed at what they conceived to be a flagrant violation of every principle of the Engliſh conſtitution, made ſuch a ſpirited reſiſtance to the meaſure that it was abandoned, and the Rockingham party readily conſented to the repeal. Under the pretext, however, of vindicating the honour of the crown, they unfortunately propoſed and carried the "Declaratory Act," by means of which, although the original ſcheme had been abandoned, the principle on which it was built was aſſerted anew, and a foundation laid for all the miſeries that afterwards enſued. But if this ſhort-lived adminiſtration deſerved no great credit on this occaſion, it is entitled to conſiderable praiſe on account of other parts of its conduct; for it repealed the cyder act, procured a declaration of the houſe of commons, condemning the ſeizure of papers, and a reſolution againſt general warrants. The firſt of theſe afforded great relief to ſuch of the counties as cultivated orchard grounds, and the two laſt were called for by the criminal conduct of their predeceſſors in reſpect to Mr. Wilkes.

On retiring from office they, however, did not carry much popularity along with them, as lord Chatham and his friends, who in ſome meaſure monopolized the public favour, were entruſted with the management of affairs for a ſhort time; and it is extremely probable that they would have ſunk into neglect, had not America been driven into reſiſtance.

It now fell to the lot of lord North to enforce the ſcheme which the Grenville party had projected, and wiſhed to carry boldly into execution; which the Rockingham adminiſtration had by an unaccountable blunder at once annihilated and recogniſed, and which they afterwards manfully, and at length ſucceſsfully oppoſed.

This forms the moſt brilliant epoch of Mr. Burke's life. He was hoſtile to the expulſion of Mr. Wilkes; an act which the houſe of commons afterwards reſcinded from its records. On the application of the diſſenters for relief, he took up their cauſe, and expreſſed his reſentment, in very animated terms, againſt that miſguided policy, which permits all thoſe not within the pale of eſtabliſhment to enjoy liberty leſs by right than by connivance *. But perhaps

* On February 18, 1773, ſir Harry Houghton moved for leave to bring in a bill for the Relief of Proteſtant Diſſenters in the Article of Subſcription. This was vehemently oppoſed by ſir Wm. Bagot on two grounds: firſt, becauſe the penal laws againſt ſuch of the diſſenters as did not ſubſcribe were never put in force; and ſecondly, becauſe he believed that the attempt to ſet aſide the thirty-nine articles was agitated with a deſign unfavourable to Chriſtianity. The reply of Mr. Burke was nearly as follows:

"I propoſe, ſir, taking notice of what fell from the honourable gentleman's lips, conſidered in a two-fold point of view. He advanced the following poſitions:—That the diſſenters enjoyed liberty by connivance; and that toleration was an attack upon Chriſtianity. The diſſenters enjoy liberty by connivance? My good ſir, what ſort of liberty is this? *What, ſir, is liberty by connivance, but a temporary relaxation of ſlavery?* Is this a ſort of liberty calculated for the meridian of England?

"Monteſquieu places liberty in an exemption from fear. Are perſons who enjoy it by connivance only—are they exempt from fear, and diveſted of apprehenſion? To talk then, ſir, of a *connivance*, is to talk of a *temporary ſuſpenſion of tyranny*. You are deſirous to keep the rod hanging over the diſſenters' heads, at the very inſtant you aſſure them they ſhall never ſmart under its ſtripes. Why then, at once, not ſet their hearts at reſt, by removing the impending danger? Why not releaſe them

perhaps the nobleſt part of his conduct conſiſted in his ſteady and uniform oppoſition to the American war, and his marked and declared hoſtility to the abettors of it. His ſpeech againſt the "Boſton Port Bill" was one of the moſt charming ſpecimens of oratory that had ever been exhibited in the Britiſh ſenate; and on the 19th of April, 1774, on a motion for the repeal of the tea duty, he diſcovered ſuch talents, that an old and reſpectable member* exclaimed, "Good God! what a man is this!—How could he acquire ſuch tranſcendent powers†?"

And

them from the dread of thoſe penal ſtatutes, the cruelty of which ſo ſhocks your generous nature, that you think it incumbent on you to declare they never ſhall be put in execution? The queſtion, ſir, anſwers itſelf, and to cavil at its propriety, is to carp at truth, and elude conviction.

"As to what the honourable gentleman let fall concerning toleration being an attack upon Chriſtianity, it is an aſſertion ſo contrary to truth and hiſtory, that it ſcarcely ſtands in need of refutation. By toleration Chriſtianity flouriſhed. While the Eaſtern and Weſtern churches were tolerant they were illuſtrious; they were venerated; they were held in ſacred eſtimation. When the Romiſh church ſet aſide its toleration, and had recourſe to threatenings, ſlaughter, and perſecutions, commotions enſued; eccleſiaſtical anarchy prevailed; and the kingdom of darkneſs was erected on the ruins of Chriſtianity. Inſtead of combating the common foe, Chriſtians combated each other. Inſtead of taking arms againſt the grand deceivers, they ſtrove by every deceptious art to haraſs and torment thoſe whom they ought to have cheriſhed and loved as brethren. In ſhort, the want of toleration has leſſened the number of believers; and for that reaſon I would have all proteſtants united, that we may be better enabled to make a common cauſe againſt infidels of every denomination.

"The church of England, ſir, has not a firmer friend than myſelf. I wiſh h illuſtrious. I wiſh her head may reach that heaven to which ſhe would conduct us; but I would alſo wiſh her family as numerous as poſſible. I would wiſh a brotherly affection to prevail among her offspring. I would have Chriſtians united. I would have them join in every attempt to cruſh the powers of darkneſs, and trample under foot the foe to God and man. Like a mother, tender of her children, I would have the church, with wide-extended arms, receive in her boſom every believing ſon; not with unnatural auſterity reproach her offspring, and drive them to ſeek for eaſe, for pleaſure, and for comfort, in the harlot lap of infidelity."

* Lord John Cavendiſh.

† This ſpeech abounds with the effuſions of genius, and diſplays many fine ſallies of wit, as well as ſeveral maſterly delineations of public characters; but the ſubject itſelf is often loſt in the ſplendour that ſurrounds it; and it may be objected, that he

And when in reply to another who had ſaid, "That the Americans were our children, and it was horrible to revolt againſt their parent!" the orator uttered the following paſſage, the whole houſe was electrified:

"They are our children, it is true; but when children aſk for bread, we are not to give them a ſtone.—When thoſe children of ours wiſh to aſſimilate with their parent, and to reſpect the beauteous countenance of Britiſh liberty, are we to turn to them the ſhameful parts of our conſtitution? Are we to give them our weakneſs for their ſtrength; our opprobrium for their glory; and the ſlough of ſlavery, which we are not able to work off, to ſerve them for their freedom?"

One of Mr. Burke's chief opponents in this memorable debate

too often brings himſelf and his friends into the foreground of the picture, as if they, and not the Americans, had been the principal objects.

"On this buſineſs of America, I confeſs I am ſerious," ſays he at the concluſion, "*even to ſadneſs.* I have had but one opinion concerning it ſince I ſat, and before I ſat in parliament. The noble lord (lord North) will, as uſual, probably, attribute the part taken by me and my friends in this buſineſs, to a deſire of getting his place. Let him enjoy the happy and original idea. If I deprived him of it, I ſhould take away moſt of his wit, and all his argument. But I had rather bear the brunt of all his wit, and indeed blows much heavier, than ſtand anſwerable to God for embracing a ſyſtem that tends to the deſtruction of ſome of the very beſt and faireſt of his works. But I know the map of England as well as the noble lord, or as any other perſon; and I know that the way I take is not the road to preferment. My excellent and honourable friend under me on the floor (Mr. Dowdeſwell), has trod that road with great toil, for upwards of twenty years together, and he has not yet arrived at the noble lord's deſtination. However, the tracks of my worthy friend are thoſe I have ever wiſhed to follow; becauſe I know they lead to honour. Long may we tread the ſame road together, whoever may accompany us, or whoever may laugh at us on our journey."

In the courſe of this celebrated oration Mr. Burke, after recapitulating all the tranſactions, and referring to the correſpondence of miniſters reſpecting America, made the following emphatical and ſolemn declaration:

"I will be content to be declared infamous, if I do not to the laſt hour of my life, at all times, in all places, and upon all occaſions, exert every power with which I either am, or ever ſhall be, legally inveſted, in order to obtain and maintain for the continent of America, that ſatisfaction which I have been authoriſed to promiſe this day, by the confidential ſervants of our gracious ſovereign, *who to my certain knowledge rates his honour ſo high, that he would rather part with his crown than preſerve it by deceit.*"

was Mr. Wedderburne, now lord Loughborough, who had left the oppoſition, and accepted the place of ſolicitor-general; but this was amply compenſated by the acceſſion of a youthful orator, who, ſpurning the trammels with which he had hitherto been ſurrounded and beſet, ſtarted indignant from the treaſury bench, and ranged himſelf on the ſide of his country. Although Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke had often broken a lance with each other, in the "wordy war," from oppoſite ſides of the houſe, they now united in the moſt cordial bonds of friendſhip, and it had been happy, perhaps, for their country, and for themſelves, if names which ſo long ſhared the joint applauſe of their fellow-citizens, had glided down the ſtream of time together.

On the diſſolution of a parliament which had inflicted ſo many miſeries on its country, Mr. Burke, who had hitherto repreſented Wendover, as the *nominee* of Lord Verney, was now elected for Malton, by the appointment of the marquis of Rockingham. A circumſtance occurred, however, about this period, which afforded him the proſpect of being reſcued from ſuch an ignominious dependence, and tended to render the ſenator, who was always talking of freedom, *free* himſelf.

The city of Briſtol, the merchants of which had become rich by the commerce with America, were likely to ſuffer by its interdiction. This conſideration alone rendered many of them hoſtile to the proceedings of the miniſtry; but nobler and more exalted motives actuated the boſoms of others, particularly the quakers, diſſenters, and other ſectariſts, who were moved by zeal againſt oppreſſion, and a love of liberty imprinted on their minds by a conſtitution which had remained until then inviolate. Gratified by the exertions of Mr. Burke in behalf of civil and religious freedom, they put him in nomination for their city, and ſent into Yorkſhire, to requeſt his immediate perſonal attendance. After conſulting with his patron concerning an offer ſo flattering and unexpected, accompanied at the ſame time with aſſurances moſt punctually fulfilled, *that he ſhould be put to no expence whatever*, he immediately ſet out for the weſt of England, and found that no leſs than three candidates had ſtarted before him. The firſt was lord Clare, afterwards lord Nugent, one of the former repreſentatives,

ſentatives, whoſe unpopularity was ſuch, that he ſoon diſcovered the neceſſity of reſigning all his pretenſions; two, therefore (Mr. Cruger and Mr. Brickdale), only remained in the field, and the former of theſe, like Mr. Burke himſelf, was averſe to a rupture with America.

The new candidate did not appear on the huſtings until the afternoon of the ſixth day's poll, on which occaſion he addreſſed the electors in a very able ſpeech, admirably calculated for the occaſion. He began by expreſſing a modeſt diffidence of his own abilities, and a high opinion of the important truſt they were aſſembled to confer. He then boldly declared himſelf hoſtile to a conteſt with America, and aſſerted, that England had been rendered flouriſhing by liberty and commerce, the firſt of which was dear to his heart, while the latter had been a favourite object of his ſtudies, both in its principles and details *.

This harangue was well received by the electors, the conteſt proved propitious to his wiſhes, and when the ſheriffs had

* "But though Mr. Burke appeared ſo ſincere in his panegyrics on trade, and ſo ambitious, as he pretended, to derive authority and ſupport from the repreſentation of a great commercial city, yet no man had in his heart ſo deeply rooted a contempt for the character and profeſſion of a merchant. He had imbibed all the prejudices of the old Romans with reſpect to trade: the words *merchant* and *thief* always appeared to him nearly ſynonymous; and he never could ſeparate the idea of commerce from that of excluſion, monopoly, and avarice.

"Do not talk to me," ſaid he once in the houſe of commons, "of the liberality and patriotiſm of a merchant: his God is his gold—his country his invoice—his deſk his altar—his ledger his bible—his church his exchange—and he has faith in none but his banker."

"In converſing with his moſt intimate friends he often amuſed himſelf with turning into ridicule the narrow, contracted ideas of the generality of merchants; and ſaid, it was juſt as abſurd for the citizens of Briſtol to chooſe a merchant for their repreſentative, as it would be in the people of Birmingham, had they the right of ſuffrage, to ſend a ſmith to parliament.

"By way of illuſtration, he uſed to relate the circumſtance of his having made a well received ſpeech from the huſtings of Briſtol, when poor CRUGER, ſtanding by his ſide, but maſter of no other language than the ſhort vocabulary of the compting-houſe, cried, "I ſay *ditto* to Mr. Burke—I ſay *ditto* to Mr. Burke."

"Here was a fellow," obſerved the orator, "fit to be truſted with the defence of the deareſt rights and intereſts of a great nation, and at a criſis too, which required the utmoſt combination of wiſdom and talents."

M'Cormick's Mem. of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, p. 164.

notified, at the close of the poll, that he and Mr. Cruger were elected, he made the most brilliant address on the occasion that had ever been heard within the walls of a city celebrated rather for its opulence than its eloquence.

Mr. Burke immediately returned from his new constituents to parliament, with increased vigour, reputation, and zeal. The earl of Chatham, having failed, notwithstanding his reputation for wisdom, in an attempt to adjust the troubles of the colonies by means of a conciliatory bill introduced by him into the house of peers for that purpose, the criminal obstinacy of the ministry now became apparent to every one. This circumstance, which would have appalled an inferior man, did not, however, discourage the member for Bristol from a similar attempt in another place; and accordingly, March 22, 1775, he brought forward his thirteen celebrated propositions, which were intended to close the fatal breach, and heal all the differences between the mother country and her colonies.

He began by asserting, that the plan about to be submitted to their consideration, was founded on the sure and solid basis of experience; for neither the chimeras of imagination, abstract ideas of right, nor general theories of government, ought to be attended to on such an occasion as this. Governments, he observed, to be practicable and beneficial, should be adapted to the feelings, habits, and opinions of the governed, for without this every scheme of rule would prove ineffectual, and even dangerous, as despotism itself must bend to circumstances and situations.

Disclaiming, therefore, every consideration of *right*, he wished to contemplate the whole merely as an object of policy. Without inquiring whether they had a right to render their people miserable, he would ask whether it was not their interest to make them happy?—and instead of arguing with the lawyers, what they *could do*, he deemed it more consonant to the principles of reason, humanity, and justice, to consult rather what they *ought to do* in an emergency like the present?

After observing that the colonies, as they had hitherto been governed, were living monuments of the wisdom of our ancestors,

he

he took a view of their origin and progreſs, their ardent love of liberty*, the aſtoniſhing growth of their population, the rapid increaſe of their commerce †, fiſheries, and agriculture. He then pointed

* "In the character of the Americans, a love of freedom is the predominating feature which marks and diſtinguiſhes the whole: and as an ardent is always a jealous affection, your colonies become ſuſpicious, reſtive, and untractable, whenever they ſee the leaſt attempt to wreſt from them by force, or ſhuffle from them by chicane, what they think the only advantage worth living for.

"This fierce ſpirit of liberty, is ſtronger in the Engliſh coloniſts, probably, than in any other people of the earth, and this from a great variety of powerful cauſes."

† "As to the wealth the colonies have drawn from the ſea by their fiſheries, you had all that matter fully opened at your bar.

"You ſurely thought thoſe acquiſitions of value, for they ſeemed even to excite your envy; and yet the ſpirit by which that enterpriſing employment has been exerciſed, ought rather, in my opinion, to have raiſed your eſteem and admiration. And pray, ſir, what in the world is equal to it? Paſs by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fiſhery. Whilſt we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepeſt frozen receſſes of Hudſon's bay and Davis's ſtraits, whilſt we are looking for them beneath the Arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the oppoſite regions of Polar cold, that they are at the Antipodes, and engaged under the frozen ſerpent of the South.

"Falkland iſland, which ſeemed too remote, and too romantic an object for the graſp of national ambition, is but a ſtage and reſting place in the progreſs of their victorious induſtry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more diſcouraging to them, than the accumulated winter of both the poles.

"We know, that while ſome of them draw the line, and ſtrike the harpoon on the coaſt of Africa, others run the longitude, and purſue their gigantic game along the coaſt of Brazil. No ſea but what is vexed with their fiſheries. No climate that is not witneſs to their toils. Neither the perſeverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm ſagacity of Engliſh enterprize, ever carried this moſt perilous mode of hardy induſtry to the extent to which it has been puſhed by this recent people; a people who are ſtill as it were but in the griſtle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood.

"When I contemplate theſe things; when I know that the colonies in general, owe little or nothing to any care of ours, and that they are not ſqueezed into this happy form by the conſtraints of watchful and ſuſpicious government, but that through a wiſe and ſalutary neglect, a generous nature has been ſuffered to take her own way to perfection: when I reflect upon theſe effects, when I ſee how profitable they have been to us, I feel all the pride of power ſink, and all preſcription in the wiſdom of human contrivances melt, and die away within me. My rigour relents. I pardon ſomething to the ſpirit of liberty.

"I now paſs to the colonies in another point of view—their agriculture. This they

pointed out the manner in which Wales, and the counties palatine of Cheſter and Durham had been admitted into "an intereſt in the conſtitution;" and endeavoured to deduce from theſe facts, that it had always been the grand principle of Britiſh policy to ſecure the attachment of all parts of the empire by ſimilar means. To this good old principle he therefore wiſhed to recur; he took the doctrine, language, and mode of reaſoning contained in former acts of parliament as his models, and on theſe he meant "to eſtabliſh the equity and juſtice of a taxation of America, by *grant* and not by *impoſition*; to mark the legal competency of the colonial aſſemblies for the ſupport of their government in peace, and for public aids in times of war; to acknowledge that this legal competency has had a dutiful and beneficial exerciſe; and that experience has ſhewn the benefit of their *grants*, and the futility of parliamentary *taxation*, as a method of ſupply."

His plan, on this occaſion, embraced not only an immediate conciliation, by a repeal of the late coercive acts, but alſo the creation of an independent judicature, and the regulation of the courts of admiralty. The whole however was quaſhed by a large majority * on the ſide of the miniſter, who moved the previous queſtion, and got rid of the ſubject.

Thus, while the Britiſh cabinet rejected every idea of reconciliation on one hand, it prepared, on the other, to inflict new acts of vengeance on the colonies, by means of odious laws, which

they have proſecuted with ſuch a ſpirit, that beſides feeding plentifully their own growing multitude, their annual export of grain, comprehending rice, has ſome years ago exceeded a million in value. Of their laſt harveſt I am perſuaded they will export much more.

"At the beginning of the century ſome of theſe colonies imported corn from the mother country. For ſome time paſt the old world has been fed by the new. The ſcarcity which you have felt would have been a deſolating famine, if this child of your age, with true filial piety, with a Roman charity, had not put the full breaſt of its youthful exuberance to the mouth of its exhauſted parent."

* The numbers were, for the previous queſtion..... 270
Againſt it..... 78

Majority for rejecting the firſt propoſition.. 192

The other propoſitions were put merely *pro forma*, the fate of the firſt having decided all the reſt.

expoſed

expoſed the commerce of the Americans to be ſeized, and their perſons to be ſent priſoners to England*. Troops were levied, ſtores and ammunition provided, and foreign mercenaries hired by means of extravagant ſubſidies, with a view to produce unconditional ſubmiſſion.

The government of Maſſachuſſet's bay had been altered; the port of Boſton had been ſhut up; the Newfoundland fiſhery had been interdicted; and the king's army in America was placed beyond the reach or cognizance of the civil power there, even in caſes of murder.

The inhabitants of the Tranſatlantic continent were now rouſed to a degree of energy, of which they had hitherto been deemed incapable, and at length publiſhed their memorable declaration, which they ordered to be read at the head of each of their regiments, for by this time they had organized both a civil and a military power, and were determined either to ſucceed or to periſh in the conteſt.

"We are reduced," exclaimed they, "to the alternative of unconditional ſubmiſſion, or reſiſtance by force. The latter is our choice! We have counted the coſt of this conteſt, and find nothing ſo dreadful as voluntary ſlavery. Honour, juſtice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to ſurrender that freedom which we received from our anceſtors, and which our poſterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of reſigning ſucceeding generations to that wretchedneſs which inevitably awaits them, if we baſely entail hereditary bondage upon them."

Mr. Burke and the Rockingham party did every thing in their power to avert the fatal cataſtrophe which they ſaw was prepared for this country. At length, perceiving all their en-

* An act was now paſſed, founded on a ſtatute of Henry VIII. by which all perſons charged with, or *ſuſpected* of the crime of high treaſon in America, &c. might be detained and tried in England. Mr. Burke oppoſed this, as a wanton ſtretch of power, and a denial of all that was ſubſtantial and beneficial in a trial by jury.

"A perſon is brought hither," ſays he, "in the dungeon of a ſhip's hold: thence he is vomited into a dungeon on land, loaded with irons, unfurniſhed with money, unſupported by friends, three thouſand miles from all means of calling upon or confronting evidence, where no one local circumſtance that tends to detect perjury can poſſibly be judged of—Such a perſon," adds he, "may be executed according to form, but he can never be tried according to juſtice."

deavours

deavours uſeleſs, they determined to ſecede from parliament; and as this was a ſtep equally novel and delicate, it was reſolved that it ſhould be accompanied by a declaration to the throne, ſhewing the grounds of their conduct*. A reſpectable part of the

* This addreſs, although never preſented, was actually drawn up by Mr. Burke, and has been lately publiſhed. After many profeſſions of loyalty on the part of "ſeveral peers of the realm, and ſeveral members of the houſe of commons, choſen by his majeſty's people to repreſent them in his parliament," who are ſuppoſed to ſtep forward "in their individual capacity," he obſerves:

"A ſituation without example neceſſitates a conduct without precedent. We are driven into this mode of addreſſing your majeſty, reluctantly, to ſuperſede thoſe forms which, in other circumſtances, we ſhould highly reſpect; and to regulate ourſelves by no other rules than thoſe of our laws, our rights, and the profound reverence we bear to our ſovereign.

"We are called, ſire, in a manner peculiarly marked, ſingularly emphatical, and from a place from whence any thing implying cenſure falls with a deciſive weight, to concur in unanimous approbation of thoſe meaſures which have produced our preſent diſtreſſes, and threaten us in future with others far more grievous. We hold ourſelves therefore bound for the preſervation of our honour, and, what ſtands next in our eſtimation, your majeſty's good opinion, to preſent at the foot of your throne, to your majeſty and our country, our humble apology for inflexibly perſevering in our diſſent from every part of thoſe proceedings, on the experience of their miſchief, which we originally gave, from a ſure foreſight of their unhappy and inevitable tendency.

"We deplore, along with your majeſty, the diſtractions and diſorders which prevail in your empire. But we are convinced *that the diſorders of the people in the preſent times are owing to the uſual and natural cauſe of ſuch diſorders at all times*—THE MISCONDUCT OF GOVERNMENT; that they are owing to plans laid in error, purſued with obſtinacy, and conducted without wiſdom."

Mr. Burke next proceeds to aſſert that the reſiſtance of the Americans aroſe out of their own grievances, and did not originate in the ſuggeſtions of a faction at home. He then obſerves, that the ſenſe of a whole nation ought never to be contemned by wiſe and beneficent rulers, the only "firm ſeat of all authority" being "in the minds, affections, and intereſts of the people."

After pointing out the advantages of conciliation, the writer deprecates the idea, that his majeſty "ſhould owe the recovery of his dominions to their total waſte and deſtruction; or ſuffer difficult queſtions, lying deep in the vital principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, to be ſolved by the coarſe barbariſm, and very unprincipled military conduct of German mercenaries."

"Sire," adds he, "your throne cannot ſtand ſecure upon the principles of unconditional ſubmiſſion, or paſſive obedience—on powers exerciſed without the concurrence of the people governed—on acts made in defiance of their prejudices and habits—on acquieſcence procured by foreign mercenary troops, and ſecured by ſtanding armies. They may poſſibly be the foundation of other thrones—they muſt be the ſubverſion of yours.

"It was not to paſſive principles in our anceſtors that we owe the honour of appearing

the oppoſition, however, thought otherwiſe, for they remained at *their poſts*, and contributed not a little to ſoften the rigour of many of the public proceedings; they refuſed, therefore, to join in this public act of defiance, and it was not preſented to the king, as had been originally intended.

That his labours, however, might not be loſt to the public, Mr. Burke contrived to infuſe ſimilar ſentiments into a letter addreſſed to the ſheriffs of Briſtol, April 3, 1777, which was publiſhed by them ſoon after; and he did not ſecede from parliament with ſo determined a ſpirit, but that he was ready to return thither on every proper occaſion. Accordingly, no ſooner was a meſſage delivered from the throne, communicating a debt on the civil liſt of £. 618,340, and expreſſing a wiſh for its diſcharge, than the Rockingham party appeared once more within the walls of St. Stephen's chapel.

Mr. Burke, at this period, ſeems to have been actuated by more than common indignation; his ſpeech was an admirable one*, but

pearing before a ſovereign, who cannot feel that he is a prince, without knowing that we ought to be free. The revolution is a departure from the ancient courſe of the deſcent of this monarchy. The people re-entered into their original rights; and it it was not becauſe a poſitive law authoriſed the act, but becauſe the freedom and ſafety of the ſubject, the origin and cauſe of all laws, requires a proceeding paramount and ſuperior to them. At that ever memorable and inſtructive period, the letter of the law was ſuperſeded in favour of the ſubſtance of liberty. To the free choice, therefore, of the people, without either king or parliament, we owe that happy eſtabliſhment of which both king and parliament were regenerated," &c.

* "The miniſtry have plunged us," ſaid he, "into a dreadful war, which has already coſt the nation twenty millions of money: they have ſevered the empire, deſtroyed our commerce, ſunk the revenue, and given a mortal blow to public credit: we have loſt thirteen flouriſhing and growing provinces, ſome of which were already in port of importance, if not of power, nearly equal to ancient kingdoms; and we are now engaged in a deſtructive and hopeleſs attempt to recover by force what our folly and violence have loſt.

"Is this then a ſeaſon, when we ſhall be under the neceſſity of taxing every gentleman's houſe in England, even to the ſmalleſt domeſtic accommodation, and to accumulate burthen upon burthen, on a people already ſinking under their load, to come and tell us that we have not hitherto made a proviſion for the crown adequate to its grandeur, and that we muſt now find new funds for the increaſe of its ſplendour? Is the real luſtre, which it has unhappily loſt, to be ſupplied by the falſe glare of profu-

And the oſtenſive expences of government to increaſe in a due proportion to its poverty

but it was ineffectual, for the miniſtry not only carried their point, of providing for the payment of debts which they themſelves were accuſed by him of contracting, but enabled, by an addition of £. 100,000 per annum, to the department in queſtion, to evince more liberality to their dependents, provided the ſuſpicions, and indeed aſſertions, of the oppoſition were on this occaſion juſtly founded.

The miniſtry had now conceived a ſcheme which was to give the death blow to American liberty; the effect, however, was directly the reverſe, for it completely failed in point of ſucceſs, occaſioned the interference of France, and finally eſtabliſhed the independence of the Tranſatlantic empire. The project here alluded to was worthy of the man who planned it, for it has been ſaid, with every appearance of truth, that the expedition of general Burgoyne originated with a nobleman who had been diſgraced by George II. for his conduct on the plains of Minden. The adminiſtration, indeed, were not very delicate as to the mode of effecting their purpoſes; for, in addition to the horrors of civilized warfare againſt our brethren in America, the Indians were induced, by promiſes and preſents, to take up the *hatchet*, and let looſe all the furies of barbarian hoſtility.

The proclamation iſſued upon this occaſion excited the indignation of the oppoſition, but more particularly of Mr. Burke, who at the ſame time condemned the folly and ferocity of ſuch a meaſure, and prognoſticated, with great truth, that this ſtep would prove equally ridiculous and impotent, as it was not calculated for the purpoſe of ſubjugation, but deſtruction, and would incite the ſpirit of a free people to a more deſperate reſiſtance*.

Mr.

poverty and weakneſs? It will be a new diſcovery in the policy of nations, that the only means of replacing the loſs of half an empire, is by the boundleſs prodigality of the remainder." Mr. Burke concluded by obſerving "that the debt incurred could not be for the royal dignity, but in ways not fit to be avowed by miniſtry, and therefore very fit to be inquired into by the houſe."

* Mr. Burke, always happy at quotations, called general Burgoyne's proclamation "a murder-breathing paraphraſe" of the following lines in Shakeſpeare's "Timon of Athens:"

——— "Let not thy ſword ſkip one—
"Pity not honour'd age for his white beard—

Mr. Burke had hitherto chiefly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in oppoſition to the meaſures of others; but in 1780, he himſelf ſtood forth as the original author and propoſer of a ſcheme which ſoon engaged the attention of the public, and actually appeared big with the moſt proſperous reſults. When he found miniſters obſtinately perſiſting in a diſaſtrous war, and perceived that the people began to bend beneath the weight of the taxes for its ſupport, it ſtruck him as advantageous on one hand, and political on the other, to diminiſh the public burdens and the number of adherents to the court at the ſame time. Accordingly, on the 11th of February, he brought in a bill "for the regulation

"Strike me the matron—let not the virgin's cheek
"Make ſoft thy trenchant ſword.—Spare not the babe,
"Whoſe dimpled ſmiles from fools exhauſt their mercy—
"Silence it without remorſe."

he father of the preſent *premier* alſo diſplayed a manly indignation upon this occaſion. "Who is the man," exclaimed he, in a torrent of virtuous indignation, "Who is the man, that in addition to the diſgraces, and miſchiefs of war, has dared to authorize and aſſociate to our arms the tomahawk and ſcalping knife of the ſavage?—to call into civiliſed alliance the wild and inhuman inhabitants of the woods?—to dedicate to the mercileſs Indian the defence of diſputed rights, and to wage the horrors of this barbarous war againſt our brethren!"

Lord Suffolk, then a ſecretary of ſtate, having attempted to conſider the employment of the Indians "as one of the means which God and nature had put into our hands," and to juſtify it accordingly, the earl of Chatham roſe again, and expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at hearing ſuch principles confeſſed and avowed in that houſe.

"My lords," added he, "I did not intend to have encroached again on your attention—but I cannot repreſs my indignation—I feel myſelf impelled to ſpeak. My lords, we are called upon as members of this houſe, as men, as Chriſtians, to proteſt againſt ſuch horrible barbarity.

"*The means that God and nature had put into our hands!*"

"What ideas of God and nature that noble lord may entertain, I know not;—but I know that ſuch deteſtable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the ſacred ſanction of God and nature to the maſſacres of the Indian ſcalping knife!—To ſend forth the mercileſs cannibal, thirſting for blood! and againſt whom? Your Proteſtant brethren—to lay waſte their country, to deſolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name, by the inſtrumentality of theſe horrible hell-hounds of war!"

"The arms of Britain," ſaid his lordſhip ſoon after, "have been ſullied and tarniſhed by blending the ſcalping-knife and tomahawk with the ſword and firelock. Such a mode of warfare is a contamination which all th waters of the Hudſon and the Delawar would never waſh away."

of

of his majeſty's civil eſtabliſhments, and of certain public offices; for the limitation of penſions, and the ſuppreſſion of ſundry uſeleſs, expenſive, and inconvenient places, and for applying the monies ſaved thereby to the public ſervice."

This ſcheme was manifeſtly founded on the late reforms that had taken place in France; for by an edict of the king, regiſtered in the parliament of Paris, it appeared that he had ſuppreſſed no leſs than *four hundred and ſix places* in his houſehold by one regulation. The orator, with great judgment, faſtened upon this event, and endeavoured to make uſe of it as an incitement to a ſimilar attempt here; nay he called in national rivalſhip itſelf, by way of an inducement to conſent to this ſacrifice on the part of the crown.

"Neckar, the miniſter," ſaid he, "who does theſe things, is a great man—but the king, who deſires they ſhould be done, is a far greater. We muſt do juſtice to our enemies—theſe are the acts of a patriot king. I am not in dread of the vaſt armies of France: I am not in dread of the gallant ſpirit of its brave and numerous nobility: I am not alarmed even at the great navy which has been ſo miraculouſly created.

"All theſe things Louis XIV. had before. With all theſe things the French monarchy has more than once fallen proſtrate at the feet of the public faith of Great Britain. It was the want of public credit which diſabled France from recovering after her defeats, or recovering even from her victories and triumphs. It was a prodigal court, an ill ordered revenue, that ſapped the foundation of all her greatneſs. Credit cannot exiſt under the arm of neceſſity. Neceſſity ſtrikes at credit, I allow, with a heavier and quicker blow under an arbitrary monarchy, than under a limited and a balanced government: but ſtill neceſſity and credit are natural enemies, and cannot be long reconciled in any ſituation.

"From neceſſity and corruption a free ſtate may loſe the ſpirit of that complex conſtitution which is the foundation of confidence. On the other hand, I am far from being ſure that a monarchy, when once it is properly regulated, may not for a long time furniſh a foundation for credit upon the ſolidity of its

own maxims, though it affords no ground of truſt in its inſtitutions. *I am afraid I ſee in England and in France ſomething like a beginning of both theſe things. I wiſh I may be found in a miſtake.*"

In ſupport of this meaſure, Mr. B. defended the principle of timely reforms, and exhibited the policy of them, by adverting to a period when the incenſed inhabitants of a country "fall into the temper of a furious populace, provoked at the diſorder of a houſe of ill-fame: they never attempt to correct or regulate; they go to work the ſhorteſt way; they abate the nuiſance; they pull down the houſe."

"There is a time," ſaid he in another part of his ſpeech, "when men will not ſuffer bad things, becauſe their anceſtors have ſuffered worſe. There is a time when the hoary head of inveterate abuſe will neither draw reverence nor obtain protection*."

To

* Many parts of this ſpeech exhibit ſuch ſpecimens of a rich imagery, that it has been deemed proper to ſelect one or two in this place:

"The houſehold troops form an army who will be ready to mutiny for want of pay; and whoſe mutiny will be really dreadful to a commander in chief. A rebellion of the thirteen lords of the bed-chamber would be far more terrible to a miniſter, and would probably affect his power more to the quick, than a revolt of thirteen colonies.

"What an uproar ſuch an event would create at court! What petitions, and committees, and aſſociations, would it not produce! Bleſs me! What a clattering of white ſticks and yellow ſticks would be about his head. What a ſtorm of gold keys would fly about the ears of the miniſter; what a ſhower of Georges and thiſtles, and medals, and collars of S. S. would aſſail him at his firſt entrance into the antichamber, after an inſolvent Chriſtmas quarter. A tumult which could not be appeaſed by all the harmony of the new year's ode. Rebellion it is certain there would be; and rebellion may not now, indeed, be ſo critical an event to thoſe who engage in it, ſince its price is ſo correctly aſcertained at juſt a thouſand pounds." (This laſt expreſſion alludes to the ſentence of the court of King's-bench on thoſe who had oppoſed lord Pigott's government in India, and taken himſelf priſoner.)

"An attempt was lately made to improve this branch of local influence, (he was then ſpeaking of certain regulations which had lately been attempted in Wales) and to transfer it to the fund of general corruption. I have on the ſeat behind me the conſtitution of Mr. John Probert, a knight-errant dubbed by the noble lord in the blue ribband (lord North), and ſent to ſearch for revenues and adventures upon the mountains of Venadotia.

"The

To this bill the minority did not at firſt give much oppoſition. Indeed the mover of it contrived to ſoften thoſe features

" The commiſſion is remarkable, and the end not leſs ſo. The commiſſion ſets forth, that " Upon a report of the deputy-auditor (for there is a deputy-auditor of the principality of Wales), it appeared that his majeſty's land revenues, in the ſaid principality, *are greatly diminiſhed*;" and " that upon a report of the ſurveyor-general of his majeſty's land revenues, upon a memorial of the auditor of his majeſty's revenues, *within the ſaid principality*, that his mines and foreſts have produced very *little profit either to the public revenue or to individuals*;" and therefore they appoint Mr. Probert, with a penſion of three hundred pounds a year from the ſaid principality, to try whether he can make any thing more of that very little which is ſtated to be ſo greatly diminiſhed.

" A beggarly account of empty boxes! And yet, ſir, you will remark, that this diminution from littleneſs (which ſerves only to prove the infinite diviſibility of matter) was not for want of the tender and officious care (as we ſee) of ſurveyors-general, and ſurveyors particular; of auditors, and deputy-auditors; not for want of memorials, and remonſtrances, and reports, and commiſſions, and conſtitutions, and inquiſitions, and penſions.

" Probert, thus armed and accoutred, and paid, proceeded on his adventure; but he was no ſooner arrived on the confines of Wales, than all Wales was in arms to meet him. That nation is brave, and full of ſpirit. Since the invaſion of king Edward, and the maſſacre of the bards, there never was ſuch a tumult and alarm through the region of *Preſtatyn*. *Snowdon* ſhook to its baſe. *Cader Edris* was looſened from its foundations. The fury of litigious war blew her horn on the mountains. The rocks poured down their goat-herds, and the deep caverns vomited out their miners. Every thing above ground, and every thing under ground, was in arms.

" In ſhort, ſir, to alight from my Welch Pegaſus and to come to level ground, the *preux* chevalier Probert went to look for revenue, like his maſters upon other occaſions; and like his maſters he found rebellion. But we were grown cautious by experience. A civil war of paper might end in a more ſerious war; for now remonſtrance met remonſtrance, and memorial was oppoſed to memorial. The wiſe Britons thought it more reaſonable that the poor, waſted, decrepit, revenue of the principality, ſhould die a natural rather than a violent death. In truth, ſir, the attempt was no leſs an affront upon the underſtanding of that reſpectable people, than it was an attack on their property. They choſe that their ancient moſs-grown caſtles ſhould moulder into decay, under the ſilent touches of time and the ſlow formality of an oblivious and drowſy Exchequer, than they ſhould be battered down all at once by the lively efforts of a penſioned engineer.

" As it is the fortune of the noble lord to whom the auſpices of this campaign belonged, frequently to provoke reſiſtance; ſo it is his rule and nature to yield to that reſiſtance *in all caſes whatſoever*. He was true to himſelf upon this occaſion. He

 ſubmitted

tures that appeared harſh to them. Notwithſtanding this, it did not prove ſucceſsful during lord North's adminiſtration; and when it was at length carried, it was ſo modified and altered as to loſe its bold and original air, and aſſume all the marks of a ſpurious deſcent.

The war in America had by this time become hopeleſs; and as thoſe who had expected a revenue from that country now felt the preſſure of taxes levied upon themſelves at home, in conſequence of the mad attempt to enforce this darling project, many of the warmeſt ſupporters of adminiſtration began to abate in their zeal. On the other hand, thoſe who had always conſidered the project as not only dangerous but unjuſt, now carried their reſentment to a degree of rage nearly bordering on fury. The people too of all deſcriptions—the people who are ſo immediately affected by the errors and crimes of their rulers —began to prove refractory; and this, in a ſhort time, became one of the moſt odious adminiſtrations recorded in our hiſtory. All men were eager to inquire, how it was poſſible to carry on a war, during ſo many years, in expreſs oppoſition to the wiſhes and the intereſts of the nation; and they accordingly, as if by common conſent, fixed their eyes on the houſe of commons, and began to agitate the dangerous queſtion, why it did not reflect the image of its conſtituents?

Meetings were accordingly held, aſſociations formed, petitions and remonſtrances drawn up and preſented. It ſeemed to be the general opinion, that the future ſafety of the empire depended on a reform of the third eſtate. A great diverſity of opinions, in reſpect to the *means*, indeed exiſted; but the end with all was the ſame. Some contended for triennial parliaments, in the manner practiſed during the period that had intervened between the revolution and the ſeptennial act. Others thought with lord Chatham, that an *exciſion* of the rotten bo-

ſubmitted with ſpirit, to the ſpirited remonſtrances of the Welſh. Mr. Probert gave up his adventure, and keeps his penſion; and ſo ends "the famous hiſtory of the revenue and adventures of the bold baron North, and the good knight Probert, upon the mountains of Venadotia."

rough

roughs ſhould take place, while an addition to the knights of the ſhire would infuſe the new life-blood, ſo much wanted, into the conſtitution. A third party, affecting to argue from policy, analogy, and juſtice, urged the neceſſity of allowing all, who were not incapacitated by idiotcy or nonage, to give their votes; and with this they coupled the idea of ſhort parliaments. With none of theſe, however, did Mr. Burke cordially unite. He appertained, indeed, to a county aſſociation, but this he intended to uſe merely as an engine to batter down the miniſter by means of petitions and remonſtrances, that ſo a breach might be effected through which he and his party might enter in triumph. He was well aware too, that ſpeculations of this kind were neither friendly to the intereſts, nor congenial to the inclinations, of his patron. Inſtead, therefore, of aſſiſting ſuch of his friends as were deſirous of melioration, he was content to ſee abuſes multiply around him, and become inveterate by habit and practice, rather than join in a generous effort to redreſs them *.

* Mr. Burke's averſion to any ſpecies of reform may be gueſſed at (for he does not frankly diſcloſe his ſentiments), in a letter to a member of the Buckinghamſhire committee:

"The county will, in ſome way or other (ſays he), be called upon to declare it your opinion, that the houſe of commons is not ſufficiently numerous, and that the elections are not ſufficiently frequent; that an hundred new knights of the ſhire ought to be added; and that we are to have a new election once in three years for certain, and as much oftener as the king pleaſes. Such will be the ſtate of things if the propoſitions made ſhall take effect.

"All this may be proper; but as an honeſt man I cannot poſſibly give my vote for it until I have conſidered it more fully. I will not deny that our conſtitution may have faults, and that thoſe faults when found ought to be corrected. It is not ſo with every thing which appears at firſt view to be faulty, in ſuch a very complicated plan as our conſtitution. To enable us to correct that conſtitution, the whole conſtitution muſt be viewed together; and it muſt be compared to the actual conſtitution of the people, and the circumſtances of the time. For that which, taken ſingly, and by itſelf, may appear to be wrong, when conſidered with relation to other things may be perfectly right; or at leaſt ſuch as ought to be patiently endured, as the means of preventing ſomething that is much worſe.

"So far with regard to what, at firſt view, may appear a *diſtemper* in the conſtitution. As to the *remedy* of that diſtemper, an equal caution ought to be uſed, &c. &c."

The tumults that diſgraced the capital and alarmed the nation, about this period, preſented a moſt favourable opportunity for an unpopular adminiſtration to diſſolve the parliament. This was accordingly effected September 1, 1780. Mr. Burke immediately repaired to Briſtol, but was not fortunate in his canvaſs; for he had by this time increaſed the number of his enemies among his conſtituents, and even weakened the intereſt of his friends, in conſequence of certain parts of his conduct, which tended not a little to render it equivocal in their eyes. The objections of the firſt of theſe, however, were ſo many titles to applauſe and eſteem*. In conformity to the narrow notions of traders, they blamed him for the part he had taken in the very humane and neceſſary bill introduced by lord Beauchamp, now marquis of Hertford, for reſtraining arreſts and impriſonment for trifling debts. A ſecond charge conſiſted in his voting for the extenſion of the trade of Ireland; a liberal and enlightened policy, by the neglect of which, if we have not loſt that country, it has been reduced to a ſituation equally diſgraceful to itſelf, and burdenſome to us. A third implicated a neglect of the inſtructions of his conſtituents; which he attempted to get rid of by obſerving, "that he had been choſen along with others to be a pillar of the ſtate, and *not a weather-cock on the top of the edifice, exalted for his levity and verſatility, and of no uſe but to indicate the ſhiftings of every faſhionable gale.*" But while the alluſion is allowed to be admirable, the principle itſelf is ſurely incorrect. For where is

* "Gentlemen," ſaid he in his addreſs to his former conſtituents, "I do not here ſtand before you accuſed of venality, or of neglect of duty. It is not ſaid that, in the long period of my ſervices, I have in a ſingle inſtance ſacrificed the ſlighteſt of your intereſts to my ambition or to my fortune. It is not alledged that, to juſtify any anger, or revenge of my own or of my party, I have had a ſhare in wronging or oppreſſing any deſcription of men, or any man of any deſcription. No! The charges againſt me are all of one kind:—that I have puſhed the principles of general juſtice and benevolence too far; further than a cautious policy would warrant, and further than the opinions of many would go along with me. In every accident which may happen through life, in pain and ſorrow, in depreſſion and diſtreſs,—— I will call to mind this accuſation, and be comforted."

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the ſhadow of *repreſentation*, if a member is not to enforce the opinions of his conſtituents? And how can he be ſaid to *repreſent them*, if he refuſes to obey their injunctions?

Notwithſtanding the inauſpicious appearance of things, Mr. Burke exerted himſelf with more than common ardour on this occaſion, and appears to have condeſcended to ſolicitations which on a former occaſion he had pretended to ridicule and deſpiſe. Perceiving, at length, that the iſſue would inevitably prove unfavourable, he declined the conteſt in an elegant ſpeech, in which he obſerved, "that by being returned into the maſs of private citizens, his burdens were leſſened, and his ſatisfactions not deſtroyed." But notwithſtanding he now appeared to affect retirement, ſuch was neither his wiſh nor his fate; for the voters of Malton, obedient to the dictates of his patron, once more ſtretched out their willing arms to receive him.

The diſappointment that had occurred at Briſtol is ſaid to have made a deep impreſſion on the mind of the orator; but this muſt have been obliterated by the important events that ſpeedily enſued; for the miniſter now tottered on the treaſury bench, being abandoned by many of his ſtaunchеſt ſupporters, and but little confident in his own ſchemes, all of which had proved eminently unſucceſsful. The oppoſition, having by this time increaſed to a conſiderable degree, unceaſingly aſſailed him, until at length, March 28, 1782, lord North aſſured the houſe of commons, that his adminiſtration was at an end.

The day had now arrived when the miniſtry and oppoſition were to change places, and the former to be arrayed in the ſpoils of the latter. Of this rich booty Mr. B., whoſe ſervices had been ſo conſpicuous in hunting the enemy into the toils prepared for them, had his portion: for he was made a privy counſellor, and inveſted with the lucrative appointment of paymaſter-general of the forces. He at length now enabled to enforce his plan of political economy, tendered before in vain; and the board of trade, the board of works, the offices of third ſecretary of ſtate, treaſurer of the chamber, cofferer of the houſehold, the lords of police in Scotland, the maſter of the harriers, the maſter of

happineſs will be felt. There is not a tongue, a nation, or religion, in India, which will not bleſs the preſiding care and manly beneficence of this houſe, and of him who propoſes to you this great work. Your names will never be ſeparated before the throne of the Divine Goodneſs, in whatever language, or with whatever rites, pardon is aſked for ſin, and reward for thoſe who imitate the Godhead in his univerſal bounty to his creatures. Theſe honours you deſerve, and they will ſurely be paid, when all the jargon of influence, and party, and patronage, are ſwept into oblivion."

This celebrated bill, notwithſtanding much oppoſition both within and without, was carried triumphantly through the houſe of commons; but in the houſe of peers it experienced a far different fate, and with it fell the power and conſequence of its authors, framers, and ſupporters.

No ſooner had Mr. Pitt, who even from his boyiſh days aſpired to the ſupreme command of the empire, acquired the aſcendancy, than a houſe of commons, which had exhibited ſuch a marked predilection for his rivals, was diſſolved March 25, 1784; and on the convocation of a new parliament, he was found to have a large majority on his ſide. This, however, did not deter the member for Malton from moving a ſeries of reſolutions relative to the late diſſolution and the *unconſtitutional* means by which, according to him, the memorable bill relative to India had been ſtopped in its progreſs.

In the courſe of the next year (February 28, 1785), he made a celebrated ſpeech relative to the nabob of Arcot's debts; and depicted one of his creditors, who had taken an active ſhare in the late elections, "as a criminal who long ſince ought to have fattened the region kites with his offal; the old betrayer, inſulter, oppreſſor, and ſcourge, of a country (Tanjore), which had for years been an object of an unremitted, but unhappily an unequal, ſtruggle, between the bounties of Providence to renovate, and the wickedneſs of mankind to deſtroy."

But there appeared to Mr. B. to be a ſtill greater *delinquent*, on whom he was determined to inflict all the wounds of his eloquence, and ſacrifice, if poſſible, the powerful offender himſelf

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at the ſhrine of national vengeance. This was Mr. Haſtings; and ſoon after his arrival in England the orator gave notice of his intentions*. On the 17th of February, 1785, he opened the accuſation by a moſt eloquent ſpeech; in which he depicted the ſuppoſed crimes of the late governor-general in the moſt glowing and animated colours†. This trial, however,

* "On the day Mr. Haſtings arrived in London (in June 1785), Mr. Burke notified to the houſe of commons, that early in the next ſeſſions he would move an inquiry into the conduct of Mr. Haſtings. During the receſs Mr. Haſtings was ſtrenuouſly adviſed by men who well knew the nature of parliament, to pay no attention to this menace; or if he was determined to notice it, to come into parliament himſelf, and a ſeat was offered to him. He rejected the advice in both inſtances, declaring that he neither wiſhed to court nor to elude the inquiry, ſtill leſs was he diſpoſed to owe his ſecurity to the forbearance of Mr. Burke; he therefore expreſsly deſired Major Scott to aſk Mr. Burke in his place, at the next meeting of parliament, whether he meant to inſtitute the inquiry or not? To this queſtion Mr. Burke gave an evaſive anſwer, but Mr. Fox a direct one.

"Subſequent to this converſation in the houſe, a general meeting of the party in oppoſition aſſembled at Burlington-houſe. The queſtion was debated, and great difference of opinion prevailed. The late lord North, the preſent marquis of Hertford, the duke of Norfolk, then lord Surry, and many other gentlemen, were againſt any further proceedings; but Mr. Fox, with an unjuſtifiable generoſity, for which he has been amply repaid, ſupported Mr. Burke; and, conceiving his character to be at ſtake, ſtrenuouſly contended for the proceeding, and it was taken up as a party meaſure.

"Mr. Dempſter, the late colonel Cathcart, Mr. Sloper, Mr. Nichols, and a few other members, ſeceded; but the party in general went with Mr. Fox. Two years were ſpent in the houſe of commons before the impeachment was voted. The trial laſted ſix years in Weſtminſter-hall, and a ſeventh in the chamber of parliament; ſo that, if we reckon from 1785, when Mr. Burke gave his notice, to 1795, when the acquittal was pronounced, this celebrated trial might vie for duration with the ſiege of Troy."

Memoirs of Mr. Haſtings by Major John Scott, Biographiana, Vol. II. p. 621.

† "Had Mr. Haſtings," ſaid he, "taught the pyramid to ſeek the ſky, had he conducted the plough into the deſolate boſom of the valley, raiſed the proud arch over the foaming flood, put the ſluggard to the ant, and the politician to the bee, and the plunderer to priſon, I ſhould be readier to applaud him than I am to accuſe him; but inſtead of that he baniſhed ſcience from her natal ſeat; the native princes were packed up in priſons like bales of muſlin, and left to feed on the vapours of a gaol, even deprived of opium to lull their ſenſes into forgetfulneſs; the plough was arreſted in its ſhining career; and wherever he trod he marked his footſteps in blood and devaſtation."

After

ever, turned out in the event far different from his hopes and expectations; while the length of it failed not to involve both himſelf and party in reproach.

During

After recapitulating the conduct of Mr. H. and ſeveral of his agents, he at length came to Debi Sing.

"This monſter," ſaid he, "raiſed the rents of the inhabitants. He crowded the priſons with perſons of all ranks, and made them give bonds to what amount he pleaſed, as the price of their liberty; theſe bonds were put in force, and their demeſnes ſold at one year's purchaſe to cancel the unjuſt debt. This was not ſufficient; he ſold even the very ground deſtined for the burial of the owners, and this was to them, from the nature of their education and religion, the moſt heart-rending of all their loſſes. Having robbed the living of their liberty, food, &c. and the dead even of a reſting place, he recollected there was another claſs, the poor peaſantry, who, though unable to aſſiſt in the gratification of his avarice, they could ſtill, however, adminiſter to his cruelty.

"This inoffenſive race was cruelly tortured: cords were drawn tight round the fingers, until the fleſh of the four in each hand was actually incorporated and become one ſolid maſs; the fingers were then ſeparated by wedges of iron, and wood driven in between them. Others were tied two and two by the feet, and thrown acroſs a wooden bar, upon which they hung with their feet upperm oſt; they were then beat on the ſoles of their feet until their toe nails dropped off.

"They were afterwards beat about the head until the blood guſhed out at the mouth, noſe, and ears; they were alſo flogged upon the naked body with bamboo canes and prickly buſhes, and above all with ſome poiſonous weeds, which were of a moſt cauſtic nature and burnt at every touch. The cruelty of the monſter who had ordered all this, had continued to tear the mind as well as the body; he frequently had a father and ſon tied naked to one another by the feet and arms, and then flogged until the ſkin was torn from the fleſh; and he had the deviliſh ſatisfaction to know that every blow muſt hurt, for if one eſcaped the ſon, his ſenſibility was wounded by the knowledge he had that the blow had fallen upon his father; when the ſame torture was felt by the father, then he knew that every blow that miſſed him had fallen upon his ſon.

"The treatment of the females could not be deſcribed: dragged forth from the inmoſt receſſes of their houſes, which the religion of the country had made ſo many ſanctuaries, they were expoſed naked to the public view; the virgins were carried to the courts of juſtice, where they might naturally have looked for protection, but now they looked for it in vain; for in the face of the miniſters of juſtice, in the face of the ſpectators, in the face of the ſun, theſe tender and modeſt virgins were brutally violated.

"The only difference between their treatment and that of their mothers was, that the former were diſhonoured in the face of day, the latter in the gloomy receſſes of their dungeons. Other females had the nipples of their breaſts put in a cliſt of bamboo and torn off; what modeſty in all nations moſt carefully conceals, this monſter

During the debate on the commercial treaty with France (January 23, 1787), the member for Malton exhibited an undiminiſhed verſatility of talents, and pointed his ridicule with no common ſucceſs at Mr. Pitt, who, according to him, contemplated the ſubject with a narrowneſs peculiar to limited minds:—"He ſeems to conſider it," adds he, "as an affair of two little compting-houſes, and not of two great nations. He ſeems to conſider it as a contention between the ſign of the *Fleur-de-lis* and the ſign of the old *Red lion*, for which ſhould obtain the beſt cuſtom."

"The love," continues he, "that France bears to this country, has been depicted in all the glowing colours of romance. Nay, in order to win upon our paſſions at the expence of our reaſon, ſhe has been perſonified,—decked out in all her *lilies*,—and endued with a heart incapable of infidelity, and a tongue that ſeems only at a loſs to convey the artleſs language of that heart. She deſires nothing more than to be in friendſhip with us. She has ſtretched forth her arms to embrace us; nay more, ſhe has ſtretched them through the ſea, witneſs Cherbourg. Curioſity may be indulged without danger in ſurveying the pyramids of Egypt, thoſe monuments of human power for no human purpoſe. Would I could ſay the ſame of Cherbourg. We gaze at the works now carrying on in that harbour like the ſilly Trojans, who gazed at the wooden horſe whoſe bowels teemed with their deſtruction."

The next public event of importance in which we find Mr. Burke engaged, occurred in conſequence of his majeſty's indiſpoſition. On this occaſion he took an active part in the debates of the houſe of commons; and is ſuppoſed to have penned a letter for one, and a ſpeech for another, branch of the royal family. When Mr. Pitt moved his declaratory reſolutions relative to the proviſional exerciſe of the royal authority, he attacked him with much aſperity of language, and was particularly ſevere on the manner in which the royal

ſter revealed to view, and conſumed by ſlow fires; nay ſome of the monſtrous tools of that monſter Debi Sing had, horrid to tell, carried their unnatural barbarity ſo far as to introduce death into the ſource of life."

aſſent

aſſent was to be given to all future acts of parliament *. The men who held moſt of the high places under the government were treated as "jobbers," "old hacks of the court," and the "ſupporters and betrayers of all parties;" and it was "a mock crown, a tinſel robe, and a ſceptre from the theatre, lackered over and unreal," which were about to be conferred on the prince of Wales.

The oppoſition, leſſened indeed by a few occaſional deſertions, had hitherto acted as a great public body, ſuppoſed to be united in general principles, for the common welfare and proſperity of the ſtate; but the French revolution thinned their ranks, diſpelled their conſequence, and, by ſowing jealouſy between the chiefs, ſpread conſternation and diſmay among their followers.

It was on the 2d of March 1790, when Mr. Fox moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the corporation and teſt acts, that this diſunion became evident; and ſoon after this Mr. Burke declared "that his honourable friend and he were ſeparated in their politics for ever." All his ſpeeches, after this

* But what is to be done when the crown is in a *deliquium*? We are to take a man with a *large brow* and a *big wig*; he is a fit perſon: truſt none of the royal family, for they will all rob the crown, becauſe they are the relatives of the ſovereign; and in order to fix a proper and legal ſanction upon our proceedings, we will give a fictitious aſſent to our own acts. This is called the *royal aſſent*, without any intimation to the royal perſon of any ſuch aſſent, or to the illuſtrious perſonage who is to act for him! This is a glaring falſehood, a palpable abſurdity. I do not approve of robbery, houſebreaking, highway robbery, or any other felony: yet each of them is leſs inexcuſable than law-forgery. The great ſeal is to be affixed to a commiſſion robbing the executive power of its due function; a certain compoſition of wax and copper is to repreſent the monarch: this is a ſpecies of abſurd metaphyſics and abſurd mechanics—a fiction ſo prepoſterous, that I do not ſee how it is poſſible to treat it otherwiſe than with contempt and ridicule; but the great effect which this abſurdity is to have, makes it ſerious and important. I diſclaim all allegiance—I renounce all obedience and loyalty to a king ſo choſen, a crown ſo formed.—I have given my alligiance already to the houſe of Hanover, to poſſeſs the power given by the conſtitution. I worſhip the gods of our glorious conſtitution; but I will not worſhip PRIAPUS!—I have the pleaſure to coincide with the idea of my right honourable friend (Mr. Fox), concerning the right of the prince of WALES. If the king be blind, dumb, lethargic, or apoplectic, there muſt be ſome perſon who is perfect, or elſe to whom do we owe our allegiance? Gentlemen on the other ſide ſeem to value themſelves, like antiquaries, who have a HOMER without a head; and the conſtitution is thus made a MUSEUM."

period,

period, were replete with acrimony againſt the French nation, and their ſuppoſed abettors in this country; and, not content with rhetorical flouriſhes, he at length introduced a *practical trope*, by drawing a dagger from his pocket, waving it in the air, and exclaiming, "that it was *this* they were to gain by an alliance with France." At length, on the evening of the fourth of March, after Mr. Sheridan had moved for a committee to inquire into the ſeditious practices alledged to exiſt in the country, Mr. Burke, who had already withdrawn his name from the Whig club *, ſtarted up from his ſeat, ran towards the treaſury bench, and when he had got to the middle of the floor, ſurveying his former colleagues with an air of indignation, and exclaiming "I quit the camp, I quit the camp† !" ſeated himſelf by the ſide of his quondum adverſaries.

The miniſtry now ſeemed anxious to provide for their new aſſociate; and he, on his part, certainly appeared deſerving of ſome remuneration at their hands, for he had abandoned all his old friends, and not a few of his old principles. In addition to this, his "Reflections on the Revolution in France ‡," had afforded ſome degree of countenance, and even popularity, to the meaſures of adminiſtration; and, not content with his own exertions, he had enliſted his ſon on the ſame ſide, and even ſent him to Coblentz. The royal munificence at length gratified his warmeſt wiſhes, for by a warrant, dated September 24th, 1795, and made to commence January 5th, 1793, he received a penſion of £. 1,200 for his own life, and that of his wife, on the civil liſt; while two other penſions of £. 2,500 a year for three lives, payable out of the four and a half per cent. fund, dated October 24, 1795, were made to commence from July 24, 1793. Honours as well as wealth now ſeemed to await him, for he was about to be ennobled, and his family rendered one of the "Corinthian capitals" of the Britiſh conſtitution, when the untimely death of an only child put an end to his dreams of

* February 28, 1798.

† Mr. Sheridan is reported to have ſaid, "that he hoped, as the honourable gentleman had quitted the camp as a deſerter, he would not return as a ſpy."

‡ Publiſhed in 1790.

ambition, and contributed not a little to haſten his own, which occurred at his houſe at Beaconsfield, July 8, 1797.

Thus died, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, Edmund Burke, one of the greateſt orators, ſtateſmen, and authors, of his age; one whoſe name will long continue to be celebrated; and who, had he fallen during the meridian of his fame and character, would have ſcarcely been conſidered as ſecond to any man, either of ancient or modern times.

As a man of letters, he ranks high in point of genius, learning, and compoſition; and his works are attended with this peculiarity, that they are the production of almoſt the only orator of his day, who could wield his pen with as much fluency as his tongue, and ſhine equally in the ſenate and the cloſet. His diſſertation on the "Sublime and Beautiful" acquired him the applauſe of all, and ſecured him the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of many men of taſte in the nation. His political tracts betoken much reading, deep thought, uncommon ſagacity; and even thoſe who may be diſpoſed to object to his doctrines, cannot but admire his various talents, his happy alluſions, and his acute penetration. There is no ſpecies of compoſition which he has not attempted; no ſubject on which he has not occaſionally treated: his firſt and his laſt days were equally dedicated to literature, and he diſdained not any ſpecies of it, from the newſpaper column, that ſupplied needful bread to his early youth, to the more elaborate performance that procured unneceſſary opulence to his old age.

As an orator, notwithſtanding ſome glaring defects, he almoſt ſtands unrivalled. His geſticulation was at times violent and repulſive, his manner harſh and overbearing, his epithets coarſe and diſguſting; on many occaſions he made uſe of aſſertions which were not bottomed in fact, and on one in particular, toward the latter end of his life, had recourſe to ſtage trick and pantomime, inſtead of ſenſe and argument. But on the other hand, no man was better calculated to arouſe the dormant paſſions, to call forth the glowing affections of the human heart, and to "harrow up" the inmoſt receſſes of the ſoul. Venality and meanneſs ſtood appalled in his preſence; he who was dead to the feelings of his own conſcience, was ſtill alive to his animated reproaches;

reproaches; and corruption for a while became alarmed at the terrors of his countenance. His powers were never more conſpicuous than on that memorable day on which he expoſed the enormities of a ſubaltern agent* of Oriental deſpotiſm—on which he depicted the tortures inflicted by his orders, the flagrant injuſtice committed by his authority, the pollution that enſued in conſequence of his ſanction—when he painted agonizing nature vibrating in horrid ſuſpenſe between life and deſtruction—when he deſcribed, in the climax of crimes, "death introduced into the very ſources of life," the boſoms of his auditors became convulſed with paſſion, and thoſe of more delicate organs and weaker frame actually ſwooned away. Nay, after the ſtorm of eloquence had ſpent its force, and the captivated ears no longer liſtened to his voice, his features ſtill ſpoke the purpoſe of his heart, his hand ſtill ſeemed to threaten puniſhment, and his brow to meditate vengeance.

In the life of this great man two critical epochs appear to be equivocal. He has been accuſed of entering into the proſecution of Mr. Haſtings from unworthy motives. For this, however, there is ſcarcely a colourable pretext; and ſurely there was ſufficent ground for the charges he adduced, for they were eagerly voted by the commons, and re-echoed from one end of the nation to the other with reſponſive indignation. In the conduct of that buſineſs he cannot, however, be ſaid to have been blameleſs, for the idea of a *life of impeachment*, is in expreſs oppoſition to the benignant genius and ſpirit of our laws. The indelicacy with which he treated the priſoner at the bar, and the language he made uſe of on that occaſion, were highly cenſurable; and Coke, while he termed Raleigh a "viper," and Burke, when he called Haſtings "captain general of iniquity," ſeem to have equally violated all modeſty and decorum.

The other ſubject to which we have juſt alluded, is his acceptance of a penſion, and that too amidſt the immenſe expenditure of a war which he himſelf had ſo ſucceſsfully contributed to promote.

* Deby Sing.

For his manly conduct during the conteſt with America, and the feeble reform bill that followed it, by which he "ſcotch'd, not killed the ſnake" of influence, he was amply rewarded; as the juſtice of his coadjutors had adjudged him the emoluments of a lucrative office, while the generoſity of a munificent patron beſtowed a noble eſtate, and the applauſe of a grateful country preſented him with civic crowns. What old claims remained unſatisfied? What new debts had the nation incurred? Although anxious to probe the frailties of every other department, he would not reform the very office in which he himſelf preſided*; reſerving all his vengeance for *Oriental* ſpoilers, he not only ſcreened but defended the peculations of a domeſtic delinquent; eager to diſcover the abuſes and malverſations of the royal buttery and pantry, burning with indignation at the *vails* of turnſpits and perquiſites of lords of the bedchamber, he ſet his face againſt thoſe grand conſtitutional meliorations which could alone prevent the inroads of deſpotiſm on the one hand, and of anarchy on the other.

It was not until he had turned his tongue to ſlaviſh pæans, and re-echoed the ſtrains of a Filmer and a Sacheverel, that he preſumed to look to the throne for reward. It was then that a penſion, which, when converted into *Banco* crowns, would have purchaſed a German principality, was readily beſtowed. And this, too, was wreſted, in the firſt inſtance, from the toils of a nation which he had ſo recently and indignantly characteriſed as

* "With what pleaſure ſhould we add, as a proof of Mr. Burke's real patriotiſm and diſintereſtedneſs, that his bill of retrenchments was followed by another for the regulation of his own office, the principal object of which was to prevent the poſſibility of any balance accumulating in the hands of the paymaſter! But unfortunately Mr. Burke *did not practiſe what he preached*: his accounts remain unſettled at the Exchequer to this day; nor did Mr. Pitt, as chancellor, ceaſe to teaſe him with importunate letters on that ſubject, till a political compromiſe, not very honourable to either of the parties, took place between them at the cloſe of the year 1789."

M'Cormick's Life of E. Burke, p. 255.

"But the ſhameleſs profligacy of this ſelf-degraded old man was never, perhaps, more conſpicuous than in his oppoſition to Mr. Harriſon's motion reſpecting places and penſions. Mr. Burke treated the matter as a jeſt; and conſidered the propoſal to make ſinecures an object of reſource as a flagrant invaſion of the rights of individuals—rights which were as ſacred as any landed property, &c. *Page* 373.

"a ſwiniſh

"a ſwiniſh multitude,"—it was conferred by a prince whom, in the hour of his deep diſtreſs, he had indecently repreſented "as a monarch ſmitten by the hand of Omnipotence, hurled from his throne by the Almighty;" and, to ſum up the whole, it was ſolicited through the interceſſion of a man, whom he had accuſed of "gigantic prodigality," and whoſe government he had cenſured as "ſurpaſſing the heroic ages of Roman corruption." How much more noble was the conduct of that hoary courtier, the duke of Newcaſtle, who, when obliged to retire with an impaired, if not a ruined fortune, rejected with ſcorn the boon that was offered, and gallantly replied, "that if he were not allowed to ſerve, he ſhould not become a burthen to his country!"

But in private life he ſeems to have been more fortunate, in conſequence of his early marriage with a woman of mild manners, who ſoothed the perpetual cares by which he was ſurrounded, alleviated a morbid irritability of temper to which he was ſubject, and by ſharing, leſſened all his afflictions, and rendered his home comfortable. His reſpect for her extended even to her religion, and the virulence of his early prejudices againſt her ſect ſeems to have worn off by contact with an amiable individual of the Romiſh church. In his friendſhips he was warm, in his enmities deadly. He was ready to ſacrifice his life for the object of his attachment; and left few of his family unplaced, unpenſioned, or unprovided for. On the other hand, he would have inflicted even torture itſelf on the ſubject of his abhorrence. With a boldneſs approaching to temerity, he boaſted that he kept up a connexion with Franklin, although the law termed him a "rebel," while he conſigned his friend Paine to the vengeance of "criminal juſtice;" and rejoicing over a fallen enemy, when impriſoned in a loathſome jail, he, with an air of triumph, adviſed lord George Gordon to extricate himſelf, if he were able, "by thumping his Talmud*!"

It

* During that election for Weſtminſter, in which Mr. Fox was oppoſed by lord Lincoln, Mr. Burke, who had a vote which he was about to beſtow on his friend, was challenged as a Papiſt, and the mob before the huſtings exclaimed, "Tip him the long oath!" At the concluſion of the ceremony, having kiſſed the book, he

It was at his own table that he diſcovered the charms of private virtue, and diſplayed all the powers of ſocial converſe; it was amidſt his own fields that he exhibited gentle and endearing manners; it was in the village circle, or at the harveſt home, that the philoſopher, the ſtateſman, the author, the orator, relaxing and unbending from the ſterner purſuits to which he had been accuſtomed, would mingle with his fellow men, and become more exalted than before, by ſinking to the level of theſe ſons of toil *.

Poſterity will finally decide relative to the *motives* and the *principles* of this extraordinary man. His reputation, ſo far as concerns his writings or his ſpeeches, is already eſtabliſhed, but his political ſagacity will certainly be ranked either high or low by the ſituation to which he may have aſſiſted to reduce or to elevate his country; while, in reſpect to pecuniary matters, his conduct will probably be eſtimated by the ſordid venality, or generous independence, of a ſucceeding age. On this ſubject the preſent is divided, and indeed this account of ſo extraordinary a man cannot perhaps be better cloſed than by the following ſhort extracts containing the jarring and diſcordant opinions of two of his avowed biographers.

By one we are told that

"The qualities of his heart were not leſs amiable and eſtimable than his talents were aſtoniſhing:—benevolent, juſt, temperate, magnanimous. He loved his country, loved its conſtitution, becauſe he believed it the beſt adapted for its happineſs: at different times, from the ſame principle, he ſupported different members of it, when he thought the one or the other likely to be overbalanced. During the prevalence of the Bute plans, dreading the influence of the crown, he ſupported the people; and for the ſame reaſon, during the American war.

turned round, and threw it with great indignation amidſt the crowd. In 1778, he ſeized the book of eſtimates for the ordinary and extraordinary ſervice of the navy, and *hurled* it at the treaſury bench. Lord North, who conſidered him, no doubt, as a *volcano*, was accuſtomed to term the abuſive language he made uſe of upon theſe occaſions, "the lava of his eloquence."

* It would appear from Mr. M'Cormick's account, that his political antipathies had at length extended to the peaſantry, and thus deformed one of the moſt amiable traits in his character.

"After

"After the overthrow of the French monarchy, the ariſtocracy, and the diſſemination in Great Britain of the principles that had deſtroyed theſe powers, apprehending ſimilar effects, if not vigorouſly oppoſed in England, he ſtrenuouſly ſupported the monarchy and ariſtocracy. Thus diſcriminately patriotic in public life, in his private relations his conduct was highly meritorious. A fond and attentive huſband, an affectionate and judiciouſly indulgent father, a ſincere friend, at once fervid and active, a liberal and kind maſter, an agreeable neighbour, a zealous and bountiful patron, he diffuſed light and happineſs. His principles were as ſtrict, and habits as virtuous, as his diſpoſitions were kind.*"

Another expreſſes himſelf in very different language:

"Integrity is the firſt requiſite, and eloquence the next. Mr. Burke poſſeſſed the latter accompliſhment, but he wanted the former virtue. His tongue was perſuaſive, but his heart and hands were not pure. He had the misfortune, by the abuſe of his extraordinary powers, to do more miſchief than, perhaps, ever fell to the lot of any other individual. Such characters hold out an awful leſſon to mankind; and it is the moſt ſacred duty of the hiſtorian, or biographer, not only to embalm the memories of the great and good in the odours of never-dying praiſe, but to hang up the baſe, the degenerate, and the wicked, as a terror to others, on the gibbets of eternal infamy†."

THE REVEREND JOHN FELL.

THE Rev. John Fell was born Auguſt 22d, 1732, at Cockermouth, in the county of Cumberland. Like many celebrated characters in the literary world, he could not boaſt of his own

* Biſſet's Life of Edmund Burke.

† Mem. of the Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke, by Charles M'Cormick, LL.B. p. 383.

lineage; nor was he, on the other hand, diſpoſed to envy thoſe who could recount a long ſeries of noble anceſtors. His father, Mr. Daniel Fell, was clerk at the Independent meeting-houſe at Cockermouth, and ſupported himſelf and family by keeping a day and evening-ſchool: he was a man of conſiderable abilities and exemplary piety, but ſuffered greatly from bodily affliction, and there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that his circumſtances were not the moſt flouriſhing, though perhaps not particularly diſtreſſing.

Mr. John Fell was deſigned for trade, and ſerved an apprenticeſhip of ſome few years to a perſon in Cockermouth; he afterwards removed to London, and, in conſequence of the letters of recommendation which he carried with him, was immediately employed by a perſon of conſiderable reſpectability in the ſame line of buſineſs: this perſon, who was alſo a native of Cumberland, ſoon diſcovered in Mr. Fell a taſte for literature, and an avidity in the purſuit of knowledge, joined to conſiderable abilities; nor did he view theſe qualities with indifference, for he was conſcious of the propriety and neceſſity of bringing them forward to public notice: and as the object of Mr. Fell's higheſt ambition was the Chriſtian miniſtry, this good man, in conjunction with a few other gentlemen of wealth, ſenſe, and philanthropy, placed him, when he was about nineteen or twenty years of age, at the academy at Mile-End, an inſtitution appertaining to that claſs of Proteſtant Diſſenters commonly ſtyled "Independents."

The tutors of this ſeminary were three eminent diſſenting miniſters, Dr. Walker, Dr. Conder, and Dr. Gibbons; and Mr. Fell ſoon convinced them that he was not diſmayed by ordinary obſtacles; for, in the courſe of a few months, his progreſs in learning excited their wonder and applauſe. He allotted but a very few hours for reſt and relaxation, and, by a judicious arrangement of his varied ſtudies, and a peculiar manner of huſbanding his time, he acquired in a few years ſuch a ſtock of information on various ſubjects, as is ſeldom gained but by tedious application whilſt young, and the conſtant attention of riper years. The diligence of Mr. Fell could not fail to attract the particular notice of the reſident tutor, Dr. Walker; and

and it is almoſt needleſs to ſay of that reverend gentleman, that he was a claſſical ſcholar of the firſt rank, a man of univerſal knowledge, who rejoiced in diſcovering genius, and delighted no leſs in foſtering it. Mr. F. ſoon became not merely his favourite pupil, but conſtant companion, and the doctor every day ſpent an hour or two with him alone, in order to aſſiſt him in his ſtudies: this portion of time was generally employed in reading the works of the beſt Roman and Grecian writers; and, as a proof of the favourable opinion he entertained of Mr. Fell's abilities, Doctor W. in more than one or two inſtances, predicted his future celebrity, and expreſſed to various friends, and even to Mr. Fell himſelf, his full aſſurance that he would one day become his ſucceſſor in that academy. Dr. Conder and Dr. Gibbons were alſo affectionately attached to him, and he never mentioned their names but with veneration and gratitude.

"During the few years which Mr. Fell paſſed at Mile End" (ſays a *writer of ſome celebrity) "were treaſured up thoſe diverſified ſtores of knowledge which he afterwards diſplayed in the courſe of a long, honourable, acceptable, and ſucceſsful miniſtry; in no leſs than nine literary publications, on a variety of uſeful, ingenious, and intereſting ſubjects; in cultivating, with high benefit and improvement to them, the minds of ingenuous youth committed to his care; in diſcharging the public duties of tutor to that ſeminary in which he had been a pupil; and which, in proceſs of time, entitled him to rank, as a literary character, in the eſtimation of prelates themſelves, with the moſt learned dignitaries of our eſtabliſhed church."

Dr. Walker informed Mr. Fell, a ſhort time before he left the academy, that the tutor of a ſeminary at Norwich, with whom he had been in habits of friendſhip for many years, had written to him, intimating that he wanted a young man who was a good claſſical ſcholar, and a perſon of character and reſpectability, as an aſſiſtant in his houſe; and as Mr. Fell had no expectation of ſettling in any ſituation as a preacher immediately on his leaving Mile-End, the doctor adviſed him to accept

* Dr. Hunter's Funeral Sermon for Mr. Fell, pages 31 and 32.—Third Edition.

the

the invitation, which he did, and remained for a conſiderable time at Norwich, : he afterwards removed to Beccles, near Great Yarmouth, on the confines of Suffolk and Norfolk, where he preached to a ſmall, but attentive and affectionate congregation, and received an invitation from them to become their paſtor; but he declined it, as they were not regularly formed into a Chriſtian church. It was during Mr. Fell's reſidence at Beccles that the late Dr. King of Hare-court, being on a viſit in that part of the country, accidentally fell in company with him at a friend's houſe; the doctor immediately had recourſe to his ſuppoſed talent at wit and criticiſm, by addreſſing Mr. Fell in the following manner: "Well, young man, I hear you are a critic; pray, Sir, how do you define a critic?"—Mr. Fell immediately replied, "Doctor, I never did define a critic; but if I were to attempt it, I think I ſhould ſay, he is one who labours to make *eaſy* things *difficult*:" as might be expected, the laugh turned on the doctor, and the repartee of Mr. Fell was highly commended.

To omit enumerating a great number of other engagements which occupied Mr. Fell's time and attention, from the period of his leaving Norwich till the year 1770, our attention is now called to the intereſting circumſtance of his accepting the paſtoral charge of the church at Thaxted, in Eſſex. When he was ordained paſtor of that reſpectable ſociety of Independent Diſſenters, "he was in the full maturity of life, and in the poſſeſſion of all his intellectual powers. He was planted in the boſom of a beautiful and fertile country, and in the heart of an united, affectionate, and proſperous flock. He found at once ſufficient employment in the neceſſary duties of his ſtation, and enjoyed ſufficient leiſure to proſecute his favourite ſtudies*."

Here he became the guide of the young, the admiration of the old, the friend of the poor, the favourite companion of the rich and the learned, and the inſtructor of the illiterate; his exemplary deportment, his laudable activity, his extenſive knowledge, and his love of communicating it, his pleaſing addreſs, added to his affability, combined to render him the object of univerſal re-

* Dr. Hunter's Funeral Sermon for Mr. Fell, Page 33.

ſpect;

ſpect; nor were his admirers and moſt intimate friends to be found only among the diſſenters; members of the eſtabliſhed church thought themſelves honoured by his friendſhip, and one of his moſt conſtant viſitors was the rector of the pariſh: his ſucceſſor, the Rev. Mr. Maynard, brother to lord Maynard, ſcorning every thing like party ſpirit, ſoon followed the example of his predeceſſor, and rejoiced in the friendſhip of ſuch a worthy and intelligent man; this was the caſe alſo with Mr. Heckford, and indeed with all the celebrated literary characters in that part of the country. Though Mr. Fell was ſo conſtantly engaged with his pupils (for he had eſtabliſhed a very reſpectable boarding-ſchool), and preached twice every Sunday, yet it was during his reſidence at Thaxted that he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the rapid production of ſome well-written publications, which could not fail to eſtabliſh his literary character; particularly his reply to Farmer's Treatiſe on the Demoniacs, which immediately ranked him among the ableſt polemical writers of the day.

Mr. Fell's firſt, and for ſome time, ſole pupil, was the only ſon of his early patron, now a profeſſional gentleman of very high reſpectability, to whom he addreſſed an able and affectionate letter, on his entering into the world, whence we ſhall give the following extract.

"Do you, my dear youth, think nobly, act juſtly. Always remark that there are more in this country than yourſelf and favourite party. Never forget that your own country is not the only one in the world, which has a right to divine privileges. Be aſſured that whatever is unjuſt in England, can never be juſt elſewhere. You have a natural right to eat and drink, and to enjoy likewiſe all the advantages of your own nature, which is intelligent and rational; ſo have the wild Africans, and the wretched ſlaves in Jamaica. You ought to think and judge what is beſt for yourſelf, and follow your own conſcience; ſo ought your neighbours. Others ought not to purſue their own intereſt at your expence, nor to provide for their own ſafety, by ſtripping you of all defence; nor ought you, in any caſe, to act ſo towards others. Abhor what is mean, ſelfiſh, and baſe. As far as poſſible, let your conduct be conſiſtent with your profeſſions:

and be always aſſured that you have more defects than are known to yourſelf. For this reaſon, be modeſt before men, be abaſed in the ſight of God, who looks into the heart.

"Forgive the length of this letter. I love to talk with you. I expect to hear good things of you. But if ever it ſhould be ſaid in my hearing that you encouraged what is in itſelf unjuſt, oppreſſive, tyrannical, or injurious to the rights of human nature, I will weep for it in ſilence."

After Mr. Fell had reſided ſeveral years at Thaxted, in the midſt of happineſs and proſperity, he received a preſſing invitation from the conſtituents of the independent academy (which had been removed from Mile-End to Homerton, in the pariſh of Hackney, Middleſex), to become reſident and claſſical tutor of that inſtitution; this he was prevailed on to accept; and whilſt, on the one hand, the inhabitants of Thaxted univerſally regretted his departure, it was, on the other, a circumſtance which afforded no ſmall pleaſure to thoſe intereſted in the welfare of the academy, that it was to be placed under the direction of a man ſo well calculated for ſuch an important ſituation. Unhappily, however, in the courſe of a ſhort time, ſome very ſerious and alarming differences aroſe between the tutor and ſtudents: theſe continued to increaſe, and at the annual examination in June 1795, when many of the truſtees were in the houſe, Mr. Fell brought forward ſeveral charges againſt the ſtudents, and, in return, various accuſations were adduced by them againſt Mr. Fell; theſe unhappy differences were to be ſettled at ſome future period.

Numerous public and private meetings were accordingly held on the buſineſs, from September 1795, till February or March 1796, incluſive; the ſtudents were all examined and re-examined, ſeparately and together. With regard to Mr. Fell, he was not permitted to ſpeak in his own defence, but the various charges were ſent him in writing, and he was required to return his anſwers in the ſame manner, which he complied with. Some gentlemen belonging to the ſociety then brought forward freſh charges againſt Mr. Fell, *viva voce*, of a more ſerious nature than any of the former: Mr. Fell's friends conſidered it to be juſt and ſuitable that he ſhould have an opportunity of anſwering theſe

theſe *new* accuſations likewiſe *viva voce*, and accordingly informed the ſociety that, by their deſire, he was at that very moment in another room in the ſame houſe. They at the ſame time moved that he ſhould be called in, meet his accuſers face to face, and be permitted to ſpeak in his own defence: this was inſtantly refuſed in the moſt peremptory manner; and, about the month of February or March 1797, he received a letter, informing him, that by a majority of votes he was expelled from the academy as reſident and claſſical tutor, and muſt leave it at the Midſummer or Chriſtmas following. The debate was high at moſt of their public meetings, and the friends of Mr. Fell formed a very active and reſpectable, though ſmall minority, for only eleven lay-gentlemen, and five miniſters, ſtood forward in his defence, the others being either neutral or adverſe. At length, when his friends found, that by a majority of votes he was thus rudely to be forced from the honourable ſtation he had ſo long occupied and graced, in conſequence of charges which they thought by no means proved, and without being allowed the privilege of a common felon at the Old Bailey, namely, that of ſpeaking in his own defence, and meeting his accuſers face to face, they unanimouſly joined in drawing up the following proteſt.

A Proteſt, ſigned by Eleven Members, againſt the late Proceedings of the King's Head Society, which relate to the Rev. Mr. Fell.

We, the underſigned members of the ſociety for educating young men for the miniſtry, at Homerton,

Having ſeriouſly reflected on the various charges which have been brought againſt the Rev. Mr. Fell, in that ſociety, together with his anſwers to the ſame; and after mature deliberation upon the debates which have taken place upon the diſcuſſion of this buſineſs,

We are (for the following reaſons) of opinion, that he has been treated with no common marks of harſhneſs and ſeverity; that his character has been much miſrepreſented, and that he has been denied thoſe means of defence which are, in this country, conſidered as eſſential to the ends of public juſtice.

I. We

I. We diſſent from the violent ſentence which has been pronounced on the reſident tutor, becauſe we are of opinion, that if *all* the charges had been proved againſt him, it would have been diſproportioned to the offence, until further means had been adopted for the regulation of the ſociety.

II. Becauſe it is contrary to the recommendation of a committee, who had carefully inveſtigated the cauſes of uneaſineſs at Homerton, and had perſonally examined the tutor and ſtudents.

III. Becauſe the charges appear in a very queſtionable ſhape, without the name of any one evidence to ſupport them.

IV. Becauſe the allegations, of a want of a due authority in the houſe, being preſerved by the reſident tutor, have not been proved to have ariſen from *his* miſconduct, but from a variety of other reaſons. Partly from the complex nature of the inſtitution, being ſupported by two diſtinct bodies, the fund and the ſociety; ſo, that when certain heavy complaints have been made to one body, of the conduct of ſtudents, no effectual redreſs has been given; and thus examples of inſubordination have been countenanced; and there is the ſtrongeſt preſumptive evidence, that theſe diſorders are not chargeable on the preſent tutor, becauſe it is well known that they exiſted under other tutors, againſt whom no one has dared to inſinuate a want of perſonal religion, or general miſconduct; and becauſe there is great reaſon to think, that many irregularities have ariſen from ſome members of the ſociety having countenanced the ſtudents in frivolous complaints privately made againſt their tutors, thereby encouraging an oppoſition to his authority.

V. Becauſe the charge of perſonal miſconduct has not been *proved* againſt the reſident tutor, and his anſwers to them appear very ſatisfactory.

VI. Becauſe the mode of trial adopted in the caſe of the reſident tutor has been contrary to the beſt maxim of the Engliſh juriſprudence, namely, that of bringing the *accuſer* and *accuſed face to face.*

VII. Becauſe, when ſeveral members ſtated *new* matter againſt the reſident tutor, which was not contained in the written ...es, and many obſervations were made on his defence, in which

which the parties were at iſſue, on matters of fact, he was poſitively refuſed the liberty of explaining, or denying theſe new allegations, although he was ſtated *to be in the houſe at that time, and was anxious to have the exerciſe of that right, of meeting his accuſer*, which is not denied in any caſe to the vileſt malefactor.

VIII. Becauſe many members of the ſociety, ſo far from wiſhing to hear what was urged on the part of Mr. Fell, manifeſted a ſpirit of extreme impatience, and moſt of his friends were interrupted in their arguments in a moſt diſorderly manner, under the pretence of calling them to order.

IX. Becauſe the vexations which the reſident tutor has experienced in his office for ſome years, concluded by ſuch a violent and unjuſt ſentence, is highly injurious to the inſtitution; tends greatly to diſcourage any other gentleman of talents, adequate to the ſituation, to relinquiſh his engagements, and put his reputation, his peace of mind, and general welfare, into the hands of the ſociety.

X. Finally—Becauſe we conſider that the principles of common juſtice, and the charities of Chriſtianity, have been violated againſt a character of no common excellence; againſt a genius of no ordinary ſize; againſt a Chriſtian miniſter, well furniſhed with gifts and graces for that office; againſt a tutor, who, for biblical knowledge, general hiſtory, and claſſic taſte, has no ſuperior, perhaps no equal, among any claſs of diſſenters; againſt a man of no low cunning, artifice, or intrigue; but of a mind noble, frank, and generous, diſdaining to ſacrifice his perſonal independence for any pecuniary advantages.

With theſe views we do moſt ſolemnly proteſt againſt the proceedings of the ſociety, which relate to the reſident tutor, and declare, that he carries with him our ſincere regret; that, notwithſtanding perſons of his own houſehold have watched the moſt private actions of his life, we are convinced that ſo little worthy of cenſure is rarely to be found among the imperfect characters of men and Chriſtians. We do therefore teſtify, that nothing that has occurred during the diſcuſſion of this buſineſs has impaired our veneration and eſteem for his general character; but that a freſh claim has been made on our regard, when

when we conſider him now, as a great and good man perſecuted among his brethren.

N. B. A letter of the moſt reſpectable teſtimony, in favour of Mr. Fell's conduct, was ſigned and ſent him by five of the miniſters who voted with the above minority.

At Chriſtmas 1796, Mr. Fell was about to retire from the academy, but as his ſucceſſor was not at that time prepared to enter on his new ſituation, he, at the deſire of the fund and King's Head ſociety, remained there till the latter end of January 1797, for which he received an addreſs of thanks from both thoſe bodies.

Mr. Fell continued to reſide in Homerton after he had left the academy; and his friends, anxious to provide for him in a genteel and honourable manner, and at the ſame time wiſhing his talents to be employed in a way conducive to the public good, requeſted him to deliver a courſe of twelve lectures on the evidences of Chriſtianity. This invitation being readily accepted, the Rev. Dr. Hunter, and the elders of his church, kindly granted the uſe of it on this occaſion, and it was agreed that one diſcourſe ſhould be delivered the third Sunday evening in every month during the year 1797. The plan being made public, his friends were active in forwarding its execution, ſubſcribers became numerous, and in a very ſhort time the ſum of two hundred pounds and upwards was contributed; in addition to this, a merchant in the metropolis, anxious for the future happineſs of Mr. Fell, procured, in a very ſhort time, a ſufficient ſum of money to purchaſe him an annuity of one hundred pounds.

Four of the lectures were delivered during the months of January, February, March, and April, to crowded and attentive congregations; but ſickneſs, and at length death, hindered his further progreſs in this great undertaking. Mr. Fell ſuffered ſeverely from the wanton and malicious attacks made upon his character, and the thought of being "turned adrift upon the wide world," and "waſting the dregs of ebbing life in ſilence and ſolitude, a poor dependent on precarious bounty," agitated and

med his mind; he felt alſo from the kindneſs of thoſe at-

d to him; he melted away under the too potent flame of

zeal

zeal and friendſhip:" finally, his extreme anxiety reſpecting the courſe of lectures which he had engaged to deliver, the intenſe application of mind neceſſary to the compoſition, and the bodily exertion requiſite for the delivery of them in public, combined to impair and ſubdue that conſtitution which had already received a very portentous ſhock. Is it then a matter of wonder, that at the age of ſixty-five, when nature was decaying, and theſe various ills aſſailed, he ſhould fall a prey to a wounded ſpirit, and ſink into the grave, where even perſecution and ſlander cannot diſturb, where the oppreſſor and the oppreſſed lie down together?

Accordingly, after having languiſhed nearly four months under a complicated diſorder, which baffled the ſkill of three phyſicians, he expired on Wedneſday the 6th of September, 1797.

On Friday, September 15th, his remains were interred at Bunhill-fields burying ground, City Road, attended by a train of fourteen mourning coaches, and ſeveral gentlemen's carriages. The Rev. Joſeph Brookſbank, of Haberdaſhers' hall meeting, Staining-lane, Cheapſide, a very worthy and intimate friend of the deceaſed, delivered the funeral oration to a very numerous auditory. On Sunday evening, September 24th, the Rev. Dr. Hunter, of the Scots' church, London Wall, preached the funeral ſermon to a very crowded audience, at the Old Jewry meeting-houſe; it has ſince been publiſhed, and paſſed through three editions.

The eight remaining lectures on the evidences of Chriſtianity were continued, at the requeſt of Mr. Fell's friends, by Dr. Hunter, and were delivered to very numerous congregations, at the Old Jewry meeting-houſe, during the months of December 1797, and January, February, and March 1798; they are ſince publiſhed, with Mr. Fell's four prefixed, in an octavo volume.

A large tomb-ſtone is prepared for the grave of Mr. Fell, which will be laid down in the courſe of a few weeks, with the following epitaph, written by one of his moſt intimate friends:

TO THE MEMORY
OF THE REV. JOHN FELL,
WHO FROM AN OBSCURE SITUATION,
ROSE
TO BE EMINENT AMONG THE LEARNED
FOR HIS TALENTS AND HIS ERUDITION,
AND AMONG THE GOOD,
FOR HIS BENEVOLENCE AND HIS PIETY.

HE WAS MANY YEARS
THE BELOVED MINISTER
OF A LARGE CONGREGATION OF PROTESTANT DISSENTERS
AT THAXTED IN ESSEX;
WHENCE HE WAS CALLED
TO BECOME THE RESIDENT TUTOR
AT THE OLD COLLEGE IN HOMERTON,
THAT HE MIGHT INSTRUCT OTHERS
IN THOSE DUTIES OF THE MINISTRY
WHICH HE HAD HIMSELF MOST ABLY
AND MOST DILIGENTLY DISCHARGED.

READER!
WE CANNOT ALL BE SELECTED BY PROVIDENCE,
TO EXCEL IN LITERATURE, OR IN SCIENCE;
BUT WE MAY ALL IMITATE THIS GOOD MAN
IN THE CHEERFULNESS OF HIS MANNERS,
IN THE INDEPENDENCE OF HIS SPIRIT,
AND IN THE FERVENCY OF HIS DEVOTION.

THIS STONE WAS ERECTED
BY A FEW OF THOSE WHO HAD ENJOYED
(ALAS! FOR TOO SHORT A PERIOD)
THE CHARMS OF HIS CONVERSATION,
THE HONOUR OF HIS FRIENDSHIP,
AND THE BENEFIT OF HIS INSTRUCTIONS.

HE DIED SEPTEMBER 6, 1797,
AGED SIXTY-FIVE YEARS.

It now remains to take a general view of Mr. Fell's character, as a gentleman, a ſcholar, and a Chriſtian.

If we conſider him as a gentleman merely, there is every reaſon to ſay that his manners were of the poliſhed kind, and his addreſs that of a well-bred man; he was always affable and communicative, and, deſpiſing every thing like moroſeneſs or auſterity, he did not affect reſerve, in order to counterfeit ſuperior wiſdom; ſuch means of gaining reſpect he ever deſpiſed, and the diſagreeable ſtiffneſs and formality which are too often attendant on profeſſional men, particularly ſome in the higher ranks of the clerical order, he would frequently ſpeak of in terms of the ſevereſt ſatire: he was happy in his manner of enlivening every ſociety with the moſt intereſting converſation, and all thoſe who enjoyed his friendſhip will acknowledge, that they never left his company without finding themſelves conſiderably improved, as well as delighted.

As a ſcholar, it may be ſaid of Mr. Fell, that by cloſe attention to ſtudy, and the aſſiſtance of a memory aſtoniſhingly retentive, he was enabled to lay up a ſtore of knowledge which very few poſſeſs: he once informed a friend, that when he was about twelve years of age, and living at home in his father's family, ſome accident threw Locke's Eſſay on the Human Underſtanding in his way, which he borrowed without knowing its value, and read with the greateſt avidity in a corner by the fire-ſide; from that period he always had a deſire for knowledge and mental improvement; his ſtrong and energetic mind fitted him for any attempt however arduous, and his perſeverance always overcame every obſtacle however formidable; he was well verſed in Oriental literature, and was particularly happy in his knowledge of metaphyſics, or what ſome call the philoſophy of mind. The vague, frivolous, and inconſiſtent theories which have been offered on this important, but abſtruſe ſcience, he combated, both in his lectures and converſations, with great acuteneſs and ſucceſs. Of his philological knowledge we have indubitable evidence in his obſervations on Mr. Horne Tooke's Diverſions of Purley, and in his Eſſay towards an Engliſh Grammar. He was a ſtrenuous advocate for the old Engliſh idiom, in oppoſition to thoſe innova-

tions which modern authors have introduced. Mr. Fell excelled in teaching; and his lectures on the Greek Teſtament were particularly deſerving of every poſſible commendation. The following correct liſt of his publications will ſerve to ſhew that he was by no means an inactive citizen in the republic of letters.

1. Eſſay on the Love of one's Country, 8vo. Buckland.

2. Four Letters on genuine Proteſtantiſm, 8vo. Buckland and Dilly.

3. The Juſtice and Utility of Puniſhment in Caſes of Conſcience, examined, in a letter to Mr. Burke, 8vo. Dilly.

4. Eſſay on the Demoniacs, 8vo. Dilly.

5. The Idolatry of Greece and Rome, diſtinguiſhed from that of other ancient Nations, in a Letter to the Rev. Hugh Farmer, 8vo. Dilly.

6. Eſſay towards an Engliſh-Grammar, with a Diſſertation on the Nature and Uſe of the auxiliary Verbs, 12mo. Dilly.

7. A Review of the ΕΠΕΑ ΠΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ, or Diverſions of Purley, by Mr. Horne Tooke.

8. A Review of Savary's Letters on Egypt.

9. An Examination of the Poems of Rowley, publiſhed by Chatterton, 8vo. Bathurſt.

As a clergyman, he was celebrated for the extreme correctneſs of his public diſcourſes, and the animated manner in which they were delivered; he was well verſed in every branch of theology, and merited a place among the moſt judicious divines of his day. During the former part of his life, he conſtantly read his ſermons, but for the laſt fifteen or ſixteen years he attained the habit of preaching *extempore*. So excellent was his memory, that he ſeldom committed above twenty words to paper, and very frequently not one, yet he was as correct as if he had read the whole: he always peruſed and ſtudied his text in the original before he pronounced it from the pulpit, a practice which he conſtantly recommended to all his pupils in divinity, and from which he repeatedly aſſerted he had reaped the greateſt advantages; he was particularly fond of biblical criticiſm, and had ſtudied very minutely both the ſcriptural hiſtory and chronology.

Mr. Fell's voice was naturally weak, but he was particular in his

his attention to emphaſis and pronunciation, and that in a conſiderable degree remedied the evil. He was no bigot, but always viewed charity or candour as a diſtinguiſhing feature in the Chriſtian religion. To conclude, with regard to his religious tenets, I cannot refrain from again adopting the impreſſive language of Dr. Hunter:—

"Mr. Fell, it is well known, was a firm and ſtrenuous aſſertor of the peculiar doctrines of Chriſtianity. I will not apply to him the quaint epithets of orthodox, or Calviniſtical; terms which, in the eſtimation of ſome, imply all that is ſilly and fooliſh, and of others, all that is venerable and dignified; which the one can never mention without a ſneer, and which the other pronounces as a charm; but which ought not, in juſtice, to excite either the one feeling or the other: our friend was John Fell, the intelligent, pious, zealous, liberal-minded, bible Chriſtian. He was too great to be the echo of a Shibboleth; he was not deſtined to be the laſt expiring ſpark in the tail of a comet, but to be himſelf a ſtar of the firſt magnitude, with ſatellites, and belts, and rings, ſurrounding him."

Such was the ſubject of this memoir, who, after having paſſed a life of uſefulneſs, and gained ſuch a ſhare of well-earned celebrity, as falls to the lot of a few only, fell at laſt a victim to miſguided zeal; but his memory muſt be venerated by every impartial man, who is a friend to religion and literature, and a well-wiſher to the human race. In a word, in the preſent day, Mr. Fell's death muſt be viewed as a public loſs.

The writer of this article, who was the pupil of Mr. Fell from the ſummer of 1793 till that of 1796, is proud to boaſt that the mutual friendſhip which ſubſiſted between them continued uninterrupted till Mr. Fell was removed to a better world; and he is happy in this opportunity of attempting to delineate his character—a character which highly deſerves every eulogium which either has, or can be, pronounced upon it.

JOHN WILKES, ESQ. F. R. S.

ALDERMAN OF THE WARD OF FARRINGDON WITHOUT, CHAMBERLAIN OF THE CITY OF LONDON, &c.

THE hiſtory of free ſtates exhibits many ſingular inſtances of public virtue. The annals of all the ancient, and ſome even of the modern republics afford the moſt appoſite proofs of this remark; nor have monarchies themſelves been always totally deficient in reſpect to that ſpecies of heroiſm.

Our own mixed form of government has produced a long catalogue of illuſtrious men, who have devoted themſelves for their country, and there is ſcarcely a critical period in our own annals that has not been accompanied with and adorned by ſome extraordinary inſtance of patriotiſm. It is not to be denied, however, that as nations advance in luxury and refinement, they recede from thoſe principles and habits which lead to noble, generous, and diſintereſted actions. They do not ceaſe, however, to *affect* them; and it ought to be conſidered as a high compliment to our more intrepid anceſtors, that their deſcendants, however baſe, or however degenerate, they may be eſteemed by ſome, generally wiſh to enter into life with a ſemblance, at leaſt, of their good qualities. But the promiſes of modern *whiggiſm* have proved nearly as deluſive as the bloſſoms of a precocious ſpring, and this has at length inſtilled a ſalutary ſuſpicion relative to the pretenders to public virtue. It is not, therefore, until death hath cloſed the ſcene, that the audience can with propriety beſtow their plaudits. Then only can they ſit in judgment, and determine on the merits of a departed citizen, with the ſame impartiality that the Egyptians of old were accuſtomed to decide on thoſe of a deceaſed king.

The commerce and manufactures of Great Britain have produced an opulent and reſpectable claſs of men, unknown to our forefathers,

forefathers, who, by uniting great induſtry with great capitals, overtop our country gentlemen and rival the peerage itſelf in wealth. Nathaniel Wilkes, an eminent diſtiller in Goſwell-ſtreet, Clerkenwell, appertained to that claſs. He had ſeveral children: two of his ſons, Iſrael and Eaton, were bred to buſineſs, one of his daughters was married to the late Mr. Alderman Hayley, and another appears to have died, in the language of the lawyers, a *ſpinſter**. The mother is known to have been a diſſenter; and the father ſeems to have inclined that way himſelf, for he frequented the meeting in Southwood-lane, Highgate, whither the family uſually repaired on a Sunday in their coach and ſix, according to the teſtimony of ſome perſons not long ſince dead, who, in addition to this fact, remember to have ſeen the late chamberlain there while a boy.

John, the ſubject of theſe memoirs, was born in St. John's-ſtreet, Clerkenwell, October 28, 1727, and, on more than one occaſion, appears to have boaſted that he was a native of London. It was in the town of Hertford he received the rudiments of his education; after ſome ſtay there, he was removed into Buckingſhire, where he was placed under a private tutor, of diſſenting principles, who in the ſequel accompanied him to the continent.

There can be but little doubt, however, that it was in the paternal manſion that the eldeſt ſon imbibed the peculiar notions which gave a hue to his future life. The old gentleman, diſdaining thoſe narrow and niggardly ideas but too commonly coupled with a deſire of obtaining wealth, lived in a ſtyle becoming an opulent trader, and enjoyed all the delights, and practiſed all the duties, of hoſpitality. His houſe was accordingly frequented by many men of worth and talents, and the intereſting ſubjects of religion, govern-

* Concerning this lady the author of the preſent article has been favoured with the following note.

"The eldeſt daughter of Mr. N. Wilkes, a noted diſtiller in Goſwell-ſtreet (and ſiſter to Mr. John Wilkes), lived cloſely ſecluded from the world for many years, in Charterhouſe-ſtreet, near Charterhouſe-ſquare. She had apartments up two pair of ſtairs, with thick blinds before the windows, to keep out the daylight, and ſhe burnt either a lamp or candle continually. She is reported to have done this on account of a diſappointment in love, and in conſequence of it never married. She died about the year 1766 or 1767."

ment, literature, and commerce, were frequently agitated and diſcuſſed at his table.

Having attained conſiderable eminence in claſſical literature, to which he was devoted during the whole courſe of his life, young Wilkes was ſent to Leyden, where it was intended that he ſhould finiſh his ſtudies: for at that period this was conſidered as one of the few *orthodox* ſchools, either at home or abroad, moſt of the other foreign univerſities being zealous in behalf of the church of Rome, and our own, ſince happily reconciled to the family of Brunſwick, lying at that time under the ſtigma of *Jacobitiſm*.

While in Holland he formed an acquaintance with the ingenious Mr. Andrew Baxter, author of a work entitled "An Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul, wherein its Immateriality is evinced from the Principles of Reaſon and Philoſophy:" and alſo of "Matho; ſive, Coſmotheoria puerilis, Dialogus; in quo prima Elementa de Mundi ordine et ornatu proponuntur," &c.

It appears from their correſpondence, that they met again, in the Capuchins' garden at Spa, in the ſummer of the year 1745; and ſuch was Mr. Baxter's eſteem and attachment to his young friend, that he dedicated one of his publications to him *, and carried on a friendly intercourſe by letter, until his death, which occurred in 1750.

After reſiding a conſiderable time abroad, and viſiting ſeveral parts of Germany, Mr. Wilkes returned to his native country, and married Miſs Mead, heireſs to the Meads of Buckinghamſhire, with whom he got a conſiderable fortune, which, like that of his own family, had been acquired in trade. He now ſettled at Ayleſbury, and being, in conſequence of the whig principles

* Dedication to the Appendix to Matho.

"To John Wilkes, of Ayleſbury, in the county of Bucks, Eſq.

"Sir,

"The ſubject of our converſation in the Capuchins' garden at Spa, in the ſummer of the year 1745, lies ſtill by me in the dreſs in which it was firſt put. I have no leiſure at preſent to prepare it for public view. In the mean time I ſend you the following ſheets, as a token of my ſincere reſpect. It is with pleaſure I think on the time we ſpent ſo agreeably together; and am, Sir,

"Your moſt obedient ſervant, &c."

in

in which he was educated, a warm advocate for the eſtabliſhment of a militia, as a conſtitutional balance to a ſtanding army, he accepted of a commiſſion in the regiment raiſed in the county of Bucks. After remaining ſome time, in the capacity of lieutenant-colonel, he became colonel, on the reſignation of Sir Francis Daſhwood, afterwards lord le Deſpencer, who obſerved in his farewell letter to the officers, "If the ſucceſſion goes in the regiment (as I hope it will, and think it ought), then I muſt add, my ſucceſſor is a man of ſpirit, good ſenſe, parts, and civil deportment, who has ſhewn reſolution and induſtry in putting this ſalutary meaſure into execution."

Mr. Wilkes commenced his political career at the general election in 1754; for on the 16th of April of that year, we find him offering himſelf a candidate for Berwick. In his addreſs to the electors he manifeſted his ſteady attachment to liberty, and emphatically obſerved:

"I come here uncorrupting, and I promiſe you I ſhall ever be uncorrupted. As I never will take a bribe, ſo I never will offer one. I ſhould think myſelf totally unworthy," adds he, "of the great and important truſt I am now ſoliciting, if I ſought to obtain it by the violation of the laws of my country, which I hold ſacred." On this occaſion he polled one hundred and ninety-two votes, but proved unſucceſsful, in conſequence, perhaps, of a rigid adherence to theſe principles. It is evident, by a letter addreſſed to him by Mr. George Grenville a little before the election, that he had the good wiſhes of ſome of the miniſtry of that day.

Soon after this he proved more fortunate in his own than he had been in a diſtant county, for being much beloved in Buckinghamſhire, on account of the amiableneſs of his manners, and the expenſive hoſpitality in which he then indulged, he was elected a burgeſs for Ayleſbury, in the room of Mr. Potter, and on the diſſolution of that parliament, in 1761, was once more returned for the ſame place.

During Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration the nation was united at home, and formidable abroad; but no ſooner did this great commoner retire, in conſequence of the diſguſt experienced by him, than a formidable party aroſe, and oppoſed the meaſures of lord Bute,

Bute, who ſoon became equally obnoxious to the nobility and the people. Mr. Wilkes, who had given his moſt ſtrenuous ſupport to all the meaſures of the former miniſter, attacked his ſucceſſor with uncommon zeal; and knowing that a *ſingle vote* could have but little effect, he determined to have recourſe to a paper war, in which he ſhould be able to aim far deadlier blows at his adminiſtration. The nobleman in queſtion, aware that the nation was jealous of his authority, and ſuſpicious of his deſigns, employed a number of writers to ſupport his own cauſe, and blacken the principles, characters, and conduct of his opponents. The member for Ayleſbury had already publicly diſplayed his hoſtility to the "Thane," in "obſervations on the papers relative to a rupture with Spain;" but he now prepared to inflict more ſevere and laſting marks of his enmity. Accordingly, June 5th, 1762, he publiſhed the firſt number of the "North Briton;" and, whether it proceeded from the odium already attached to the miniſter, the keen ſatire and happy wit of the author, or the lucky union of both, certain it is, that no periodical work, antecedent to that period, was ever in ſuch requeſt. Its effect on the public mind, and the future fortune of the writer, were alike conſpicuous, for it is ſuppoſed to have been one of the efficient cauſes of the removal of that adminiſtration, and actually involved Mr. Wilkes not only in many public proſecutions, but alſo in many private diſputes.

The firſt of theſe that occurred was in 1762, when the colonel was along with his regiment, then quartered at Wincheſter; for Lord Talbot applied to him by letter, on the 10th of September, demanding that he ſhould either "avow or diſclaim being author of the paper entitled the North Briton, of the 21ſt of Auguſt." Mr. W. having denied his lordſhip's right to put the queſtion, and refuſed any anſwer, received a challenge; in reply to which he gaily obſerved to colonel Berkeley, who delivered it, that he might reſt aſſured, "if he was between heaven and earth, he would be on Tueſday evening at Tilbury's, the Red Lion, at Bagſhot, and on Wedneſday morning would play this *duet* with his lordſhip." He accordingly repaired thither, accompanied by his adjutant, Mr. Harris, who acted as his ſecond; and the combat took place by moon-

moon-light, at ſeven o'clock in the evening, in a little garden in the neighbourhood. Both parties fired at the ſame time, but the piſtol of neither took effect, on which Mr. W. walking up to his antagoniſt, told him "that he now avowed the paper."

On this lord T. declared that "he was the nobleſt fellow God had ever made," and they immediately retired to the inn, where, after drinking a bottle of claret together, they parted exceeding good friends*.

As the ſteward of his majeſty's houſehold had thus failed in procuring ſubmiſſion, or inflicting puniſhment, on the colonel of the Buckinghamſhire militia, other ſteps were ſoon recurred to; for he had by this time ſoared at a higher *quarry*, and in No. 45 of the North Briton, even royalty itſelf was not ſacred from his literary talons.

During the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt (by far the moſt brilliant in our hiſtory) he himſelf was attacked with all the bitterneſs of rancour, and the perſon of George II. was not always ſpared by the writers of the day; but that great miniſter, intent on the glory of his country, and determined not to abridge her liberties, under the ſpecious pretext of *correcting licence*, was accuſtomed to obſerve, that the preſs, like the air, was "a chartered libertine," when urged to proſecute the libellers of his

* The particulars of this engagement were inſtantly communicated by Mr. Wilkes to earl Temple, with whom he was in habits of intimacy, and to whoſe care and protection he had conſigned his daughter, Miſs Wilkes, in caſe of his death. The following curious paſſage, relative to the converſation that took place previouſly to the duel, is tranſcribed from the letter ſent on this occaſion:

"He (lord T.) ſoon after flamed out again and ſaid to me, You are a murderer, you want to kill me, but I am ſure that I ſhall kill you; I know I ſhall, by God. If you will fight, if you kill me, I hope you will be hanged. I know you will.

"Berkley and Harris were ſhocked. I aſked, if I was firſt to be killed, and afterwards hanged. I remarked that I knew his lordſhip fought me with the king's pardon in his pocket; I fought him with a halter about my neck; that I would fight him for all that, and that if he fell, I ſhould not tarry here a moment for the tender mercies of ſuch a miniſtry, but would directly proceed to the next ſtage, where my valet de chambre waited for me, and from thence I would make the beſt of my way to France, for men of honour were ſure of protection in that kingdom.

"He then told me I was an unbeliever, and wiſhed to be killed. I could not help ſmiling at this, and obſerved, that we did not meet at Bagſhot to ſettle articles of faith, but points of honour; that indeed I had no fear of dying, but I enjoyed life as much as any man in it; that I was as little ſubject to be gloomy, or even peeviſh, as any Engliſhman whatever, &c."

ſovereign

ſovereign and himſelf. Unhappily for the grandſon of this monarch, far different principles now prevailed in the cabinet, and it was determined to have recourſe even to illegal means to puniſh the man who dared to arraign the meaſures of government. A *general warrant* * was therefore iſſued, under the hand and ſeal of the earl of Haliſax, one of his majeſty's ſecretaries of ſtate, for the apprehenſion of the printers and publiſhers of the ſuppoſed libel already alluded to. Accordingly, on the evening of the 29th of April 1763, ſeveral meſſengers arreſted the perſon and entered the houſe, of Mr. Wilkes, in Great George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter; but he objected to the equivocal terms in which their authority was drawn up, and refuſed compliance. On this they departed, but returned next morning; and on intimation of *force* being about to be recurred to, he at length proceeded in a chair to the ſecretary of ſtate's office, where he underwent an examination, during which he denied the authority of *general warrants*, and was ſoon after conducted *cloſe priſoner* to the Tower, all his papers being previouſly ſeized and rifled, his will broken open and read, and even a love letter from the wife of a married man, who had a ſeat in parliament, diſcloſed to a friend of the huſband.

In the mean time, application being made by the priſoner's friends to the court of Common Pleas, then ſitting, an *Habeas Corpus* was iſſued to the conſtable of the Tower; in conſequence of which Mr. Wilkes was brought up next day to Weſtminſter-hall, and remanded until Friday, May 6, that the judges might have leiſure to form their opinion. On that day he accordingly appeared once more at the bar, and pleaded his privilege as a

* The following is a copy of this celebrated inſtrument, which was afterwards declared illegal.

L. S.

"George Montague Dunk, earl of Haliſax, viſcount Sunbury, &c.

"Theſe are in his majeſty's name, to authoriſe and require you (taking a conſtable to your aſſiſtance), to make ſtrict and diligent ſearch after the *authors, printers*, and *publiſhers*, of a ſeditious and treaſonable paper, entitled the North Briton, No. 45, Saturday, April 23d, 1763, printed for George Kearſley, Ludgate-ſtreet, London; and them or any of them having found, to apprehend and ſeize, together with their papers, and to bring in ſafe cuſtody before me, &c.

(Directed) "To Nathan Carrington, &c.

(Signed) "DUNK HALIFAX."

member

member of parliament. Chief juſtice Pratt, ennobled in the ſequel for this very act, after deſcanting on the power of a ſecretary of ſtate, and obſerving that his warrant was not of ſuperior force to that of a juſtice of peace, pronounced that the *privilege of parliament* had been violated in the perſon of Mr. Wilkes, as it could only be forfeited by treaſon, felony, or breach of the peace. The priſoner was accordingly diſcharged amidſt the plaudits of a crowded court.

On this occaſion the member for Ayleſbury diſplayed uncommon firmneſs, and evinced a wonderful command of temper*; but his triumph was of ſhort duration, for the attorney-general immediately commenced a proſecution againſt him in the court of King's Bench, and, in conſequence of his majeſty's command, ſignified by the earl of Egremont, the lord lieutenant of the county of Bucks, who had viſited him in the Tower, and offered

* The following is a copy of a letter addreſſed to Miſs Wilkes, and tranſmitted to her at Paris, by the ſecretary of ſtate. It was written by her father, the day after his commitment to the Tower.

"My deareſt Polly, Tower, Sunday, May 1, 1763.

"I have now full leiſure to pay my compliments to you, and entirely to relieve you from the anxiety your kind affection for me will neceſſarily give you at the hearing of my commitment to this place. Be aſſured that I have done nothing unworthy of a man of honour, who has the happineſs of being your father. You ſhall never in life bluſh for me.

"I am only accuſed of writing the laſt North Briton, yet my ſword has been taken from me, all my papers have been ſtolen by ruffians, and I have been forcibly brought here. I have not yet ſeen my accuſers, nor have I heard who they are.

"My friends are refuſed admittance to me. Lord Temple and my brother could not be allowed to ſee me yeſterday. As an Engliſhman I muſt lament that my liberty is thus wickedly taken away, yet I am not unhappy, for my honour is clear and health good, and my ſpirit unſhaken; I believe, indeed, invincible. The moſt pleaſing thoughts I have are of you, the moſt agreeable news I can hear will be the continuance of your health.

"I beg you not to write a word of public buſineſs, or of my public ſituation—Can you get me made *membre du parliament de Paris*, for that of Weſtminſter is loſing all its privileges?

"Continue to love me, and believe me, with the greateſt warmth of affection,

"Your obliged father,

"JOHN WILKES."

 ſecurity,

ſecurity, to the amount of one hundred thouſand pounds, for his appearance, was obliged, reluctantly, to diſpoſſeſs him of his commiſſion. This nobleman * himſelf alſo experienced the weight of the royal diſpleaſure, for he was deprived of his lieutenancy, and that office was conferred on Sir Francis Daſhwood, then lord le Deſpencer, who, when chancellor of the exchequer, had incurred ſo much odium by his tax upon cyder.

Mr. Wilkes now prepared to lay his complaint before parliament, the franchiſes of which had been ſo groſsly violated in his perſon; but he was anticipated by a royal meſſage delivered by Mr. Grenville, accompanied by a copy of the North Briton, and a recital of the ſteps taken in conſequence of it. On this, after a long debate, the houſe, without either the examination of witneſſes on oath, or the intervention of a jury, on the motion of lord North, declared the paper in queſtion "a falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel," and ordered it to be burnt at the Royal Exchange by "the common hangman;" which, however, was not effected without conſiderable difficulty, on account of the oppoſition of the populace.

Soon after this the houſe reſolved, "that privilege of parliament does not extend to the caſe of libels," and thus, merely with a view to puniſh one of its members, relinquiſhed a franchiſe, ſanctioned not only by its own records, but alſo by the recent deciſion of a court of juſtice.

While Mr. Wilkes was expoſed on one ſide to proſecutions and disfranchiſements, on the other he experienced all the effects of private reſentment. Mr. Martin, member for Camelford, and lately employed as one of the ſecretaries of the treaſury, had been accuſed of malverſation in the North Briton, and on the very firſt day that parliament met †, he took an opportunity to riſe in his place, and aſſert "that the writer who had ſtabbed him in the dark, was a cowardly as well as a malignant and infamous ſcoundrel." Although no name was mentioned, the member for Ayleſbury was not diſpoſed to put up with ſuch language, and he accordingly tranſmitted him a note, in which,

* Earl Temple. † November 15, 1763.

ſaid

ſaid he, "to cut off every pretence as to the author, I whiſper in your ear, that every paſſage of the North Briton, in which you have been named, or even alluded to, was written by

Your humble ſervant,'

JOHN WILKES."

They accordingly met next day, at the ring in Hyde-park, and at the ſecond ſhot Mr. Martin's ball lodged in his antagoniſt's groin. On this Mr. Wilkes replied that his adverſary had behaved like a man of honour, and that, as the wound was mortal, he inſiſted on his eſcaping immediately. Mr. Wilkes was inſtantly carried home, and imagining himſelf to be in the greateſt danger, he returned Mr. Martin's letter, that no evidence might appear againſt him, and made a point with his relations, that, in caſe of his death, a proſecution ſhould not enſue*.

Notwithſtanding his apparent jeopardy, the member for Ayleſbury began to recover, and ſoon found ſtrength ſufficient to enable him to travel to the ſea-coaſt, whence he repaired to France, and arrived in Paris, where Miſs Wilkes then was, December 28, 1763. He had found it neceſſary to take this ſtep, for although he had got a verdict, with one thouſand pounds damages, and full coſts of ſuit, in conſequence of the illegal ſeizure of his perſon and papers †, yet the vengeance of the court of King's Bench, and of both houſes of parliament, was now

* The author of the "Hiſtory of the late minority," third edition, p. 236, after remarking on Mr. Martin's "tamely bearing above eight months the abuſe upon him," adds, "has he been *all this time, Sundays not excepted, practiſing at a target?* That report is confirmed by all his neighbours in the country, &c." Nothing but a mere *rumour* is here aſſigned for this inſinuation, and it is to be hoped, that, like many of the allegations ariſing in the party ſpirit of the day, it was totally unfounded.

It ought not to be forgotten, however, that while confined by his wound, the life of Mr. Wilkes was attempted by a perſon of the name of Dunn.

† The *nominal* defendant was Mr. Wood, under ſecretary of ſtate. The cauſe was tried in the Common Pleas, before chief juſtice Pratt and a ſpecial jury, December 6, 1763, on which occaſion that judge declared the warrant under which Mr. Wilkes was apprehended, illegal. "If," ſaid this great lawyer, "theſe ſuperior juriſdictions" (alluding to the houſe of peers and the twelve judges) "ſhould declare my opinion erroneous, I ſubmit, as will become me, to kiſs the rod; but I muſt ſay, I ſhall always conſider it as a rod of iron for the chaſtiſement of the people of Great Britain."

ready

ready to be poured down on his devoted head. Indeed, ſo anxious were the commons to aſcertain the ſtate of his health during his confinement, that they appointed a phyſician, and one of his majeſty's ſergeant-ſurgeons (Dr. Heberden, and Mr. Cæſar Hawkins), "from time to time, at proper intervals, to obſerve the progreſs of his cure, and report their opinion thereon, on the 19th of January*."

On the 11th of the ſame month, Mr. Wilkes addreſſed a letter

* On this, as on many other occaſions, Mr. Wilkes relied chiefly on the friendly aſſiſtance of Dr. Brocklesby, with whom he kept up an intimate intercourſe, as may be ſeen by the following letters, communicated by the kindneſs of his nephew.

"My dear Sir, *Paris, Rue St. Nicaiſe, April* 20, 1764.

"I will not trouble ſo good a friend as I have experienced you to be, with apologies for my ſilence. Ill health, and a variety of other hindrances, will be a ſufficient excuſe to ſo much good-nature as you poſſeſs. Let me beg you to do me the juſtice to believe that I feel as I ought, the variety and extent of the obligations with which you have honoured me.

"I have been much out of order for near a fortnight, owing I believe to the very bad weather and the almoſt inceſſant rains. Monſieur Ninnin viſits me from time to time, and I ſuppoſe *now* I may find faith, when I am forced to complain.

"I am not idle, and I rather lead a philoſophical than a diſſipated life. I hope to give you a work, *quod et hunc in annum-vivat et plures*. You ſhall ſoon hear more of this.

"I gave your paper about the hoſpitals to Monſieur Goy. He did not ſend you the reſult of his reſearches, becauſe he was ſo ſoon to come to London. I ſuppoſe you have received it perſonally from him before this, as he has been for ſome time in England.

"You would oblige me exceedingly, if you would favour me with your correſpondence, and let me know the ſentiments of our friend *Charles**, &c. &c. You need not ſign any letters. I wiſh to know your opinion of Pitt's conduct, of D'Eon's, &c.

"I have read the encloſed letter. What ſtrange ſtuff people write to you, dear Doctor!—but you cannot help it.

"I am ever your obliged friend and humble ſervant,

"JOHN WILKES."

"*Prince's-Court, Monday.*

"Will you forgive me, my dear old ſchool-fellow, if I beg the favour of you to call here, ſhould you be at Weſtminſter before two, and I will ſhew you a particular paper? I know how much you are my friend, or I dare not aſk you for five guineas, only till after Lady-day; but I am a poor patriot without one. You know they will be faithfully returned to you.

"Goodmorrow."

Dr. Brocklesby (ſuperior), Norfolk-ſtreet.

* Townſhend.

"My

er to the right honourable Sir John Cuſt, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, in which he ſtated his concern at his not being able to attend his duty in parliament on the day fixed by the houſe, adding, that he "had ſuffered very much from the tour he had made in the holidays to ſee his daughter," and that his "wound is again become extremely painful, the parts are very much inflamed, and a fever attends it." He at the ſame time encloſed a certificate from one of the king of France's phyſicians, and an eminent ſurgeon in the army, by which it actually appeared that he could not undertake ſo long a journey without imminent danger*.

Not-

"My dear Doctor, *Prince's-Court, Wedneſday, Feb.* 26.

"You know to what a low ebb patriotiſm and politics are ſunk, but the love of our country, and a ſtrong deſire to ſerve it, will in you and me only ebb with the laſt moment. I hope you approved what I ſuppoſe you read on Saturday. It would be a high pleaſure to me.

"I am ſure private friendſhip will ever preponderate in your heart, and as an old friend and ſchool-fellow, I venture to aſk a favour of you for only *one month to an hour exactly*, for you may truſt my honour you ſhall not wait a moment longer. It is for the diſcount of the encloſed note of forty guineas. You love to do obliging ſervices to your friends, but I will never intrude on your goodneſs.

"I am always, my dear Doctor,

"Your affectionate humble ſervant,

"JOHN WILKES."

* "Nous, ſouſſignés, medicin conſultant du roi, ci-devant médecin en chef de ſes armées en Allemagne et en Eſpagne; et nous, chirugien conſultant des armées, et chirugien-major du regiment des gardes Françoiſes, certifions que M. Jean Wilkes eſt dans un état qui ne lui permet point, tant par rapport à ſa bleſſure, qui n'eſt pas entierement cicatriſée, que par rapport à la fiévre qui lui eſt ſurvenue, d'entreprendre la ronte de Paris a Londres; qu'il ſeroit a craindre, &c. &c.

A Paris, ce 11 *Janvier*, 1764. "NINNIN.

"DUFOUART."

The above certificate was afterwards ſigned by M. De la Rue, and M. Robineau, two notaries; and, by way of greater authenticity, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris made the following

DECLARATION.

"This day, the 5th of February 1764, there appeared before me M. De la Rue, and made oath that he was a notary public, that he had ſigned the above paper, that M. Robineau was alſo a notary public, and had ſigned the ſame. In witneſs whereof I have hereunto affixed my hand and ſeal.

"HERTFORD." (L. S.)

Notwithſtanding this, the commons voted him guilty of contempt; after which they determined to proceed on the charge againſt him; and on the 20th of January 1764, expelled him from his ſeat in parliament. This, however, was not effected until after a long and violent debate, in which the injuſtice of ſuch a meaſure was ably enforced by the members in oppoſition.

On the very ſame day a charge of a more malignant nature was exhibited againſt him in the houſe of peers. A parody had been written on the "Eſſay on Man," of which Mr. Wilkes printed part of twelve copies only, at a private preſs in his own houſe; all of theſe he carefully locked up in his bureau, never having diſtributed any of them. This circumſtance having tranſpired, a miniſter of that day did not bluſh to recur to the foulеſt means to obtain an incomplete copy *. No ſooner was this in his

The above, which, it muſt be acknowledged, is very looſely worded, excited all the ſeverity of Mr. Wilkes's criticiſm.

"It has been one of the diſgraces of a late adminiſtration," ſays he, "that ſcarcely a ſingle ſentence of any public act was good *Engliſh*. The reaſon perhaps is that no *Engliſh* were employed in the real buſineſs. Lord Hertford ſigns a paper of only *two* ſentences, in our language, drawn up by his Scottiſh ſecretary *David Hume*, and yet we find three palpable blunders in it. THERE appeared. Where? It is not mentioned in the act of the Engliſh ambaſſador where M. de la Rue *appeared*. *Where* did lord Hertford ſee M. de la Rue? Was it at Paris, Verſailles, Fontainbleau, or Compeigne?

"*There appeared M. de la Rue*, is a ſtrange and harſh conſtruction, not very uſual. The verb takes the place of its own nominative. It ſhould rather be, *Monſieur de la Rue appeared before me, &c.* We ſhould know firſt, who the perſon is, before the quality of *appearing*, or indeed any other is given to him. Such is the general *concord* of our grammar; but that adminiſtration were as little ſolicitous to preſerve *concord* among *verbs* and *nouns*, as among *provinces* and *kingdoms*. They made a libel on the late French miniſter, *Monſieur d'Eon*, I charitably hope, more from ignorance than malice. When that gentleman's *public character* ceaſed, they declared he had *no character*. The *London Gazette* told the world, "his majeſty has been pleaſed to declare that Monſieur d'Eon has no longer ANY CHARACTER here, and has forbid him the court."

"Lord Hertford ſays, that he has *affixed his hand and ſeal*. How does a man *affix his hand*? I may *ſet my hand and ſeal*, or I may *affix my ſeal*; but how can *I affix my hand*?"

* "The fact is, that after the affair of the *North Briton*, the government bribed one of my ſervants to *ſteal* a part of the "Eſſay on Woman," and the other pieces, out of my houſe.

Not

his poſſeſſion, than he determined to make the moſt effectual uſe of it; accordingly, on the very afternoon that the commons voted the expulſion of Mr. Wilkes, the earl of Sandwich, his former friend, and a nobleman not very celebrated for the decorum of his own conduct, roſe in his place, and aſſerted "that Mr. Wilkes had violated the moſt ſacred ties of religion, as well as of decency, by printing in his own houſe a book or pamphlet entitled "An Eſſay on Woman," with notes or remarks, to which the name of a right reverend prelate, Warburton biſhop of Glouceſter, had been ſcurrilouſly affixed."

In conſequence of this accuſation, and under pretence that the privileges of the houſe were violated in the perſon of the prelate juſt mentioned, an addreſs was voted to his majeſty, requeſting him to order a proſecution to be immediately inſtituted againſt the author, Mr. Wilkes, and the attorney-general received inſtructions accordingly for that purpoſe.

In the mean time, the expelled and outlawed member, whoſe health was now perfectly reſtored, continued to reſide in Paris; and although he did not viſit at the Engliſh ambaſſador's, ſaw the

"Not quite a *fourth* part of the volume had been printed at my own private preſs. The work had been diſcontinued for ſeveral months, before I had the leaſt knowledge of the theft. Of that *fourth* part only twelve copies were worked off, and I never gave one of thoſe copies to any friend. In this infamous manner did government get poſſeſſion of this new ſubject of accuſation, and except in the caſe of Algernon Sydney, of this new ſpecies of crime; for a *Stuart* only could make the refinement in tyranny of ranſacking and robbing the receſſes of cloſets and ſtudies, in order to convert *private amuſements* into *ſtate crimes*.

"After the ſervant had been bribed to commit the theft in his maſter's houſe, the moſt abandoned man of the age, who in this *virtuous* reign had riſen to be ſecretary of ſtate, was bribed to make a complaint to the houſe of lords, that I had *publiſhed* an infamous poem which no man there had ever ſeen. It was read before that great aſſembly of *grave lords and pious prelates*, excellent judges of wit and poetry, and was ordered to lie on the table, for the clerks of the houſe to copy and to publiſh through the nation. The whole of this proceeding was, I own, a public inſult on order and decency; but it was committed by the houſe of lords, not by the accuſed member of the houſe of commons.

"The neat, prim, ſmirking *chaplain* of that babe of grace, that *gude cheild* of the prudiſh *kirk* of *Scotland*, the earl of March, was highly offended," &c.

See Mr. Wilkes's "Letter to the worthy Electors of the Borough of Aylesbury." Vol. i. of "Letters between the Duke of Grafton, the Earl of Halifax, &c. and John Wilkes, Eſq. p. 212.

beſt company in that gay capital. On the 4th of June, the anniverſary of his majeſty's birth-day, we find him giving a dinner to "two noble *Swediſh Whigs*," and a jovial company, toaſting the king's health in Joly's champaigne, and, with Miſs Wilkes's help, ſinging the loyal ſong of "God ſave great George," &c.

"As I am an univerſal Whig," ſays he in a letter to a friend, "I could not avoid giving an additional ſtanza, the poetry of which I endeavoured to bring DOWN as low as the reſt of the ſong; and I believe I ſucceeded. The thought was good—that the name of Brunſwick may ever be as propitious to the liberties of mankind as that of Naſſau, and that our gracious ſovereign, through a long and glorious reign, *equally feared abroad and beloved at home*, may prove himſelf as ſteady a patron of the rights of Engliſhmen as his grandfather was. On the whole, it proved the moſt agreeable day I have paſſed ſince a few of us in April kept the anniverſary of the victory at CULLODEN, which a good many others ſeem to have a *memorandum to forget*, or at leaſt to neglect very ſhamefully."

After an exile of two whole years, during which he viſited Italy, the vindictive adminiſtration, that had exhibited ſo much perſonal animoſity againſt Mr. Wilkes, and the unpopular parliament, that had ſacrificed its own privileges out of enmity to that gentleman, were both diſſolved; and toward the latter end of 1776, he returned once more to England. He had been induced to this ſtep, in conſequence of the recent changes, by which his old and intimate friend, the duke of Grafton, had got into place, along with Mr. Pitt; the latter of whom, notwithſtanding ſome harſh expreſſions, uſed by him in reſpect to Mr. Wilkes, had ever maintained that he was a perſecuted man, and that the late miniſtry were highly culpable in their proceedings againſt him. In addition to this conſideration, he had learned in the courſe of an interview at Paris with lord Southampton, that "he ſhould find his brother his real and ſincere friend, extremely deſirous to concur in doing him juſtice;" and that he had it in charge to tell this from the duke of Grafton, "but that many intereſting particulars relative to him could not be communicated by letter or by the poſt."

Actuated

Actuated by theſe conſiderations, the author of the North Briton addreſſed a letter to the duke, dated London, November 1, 1766, in which he congratulated his native country, "that a nobleman of his grace's ſuperior talents and inflexible integrity was at the head of the moſt important department of the ſtate." He added at the ſame time, "that though he had been cut off from the body of his majeſty's ſubjects by a cruel and unjuſt proſcription, he had never entertained an idea inconſiſtent with the duty of a good ſubject. My heart," continues he, "ſtill retains all its former warmth for the dignity of England, and the glory of its ſovereign. I have not aſſociated with the traitors to our liberties, nor made a ſingle connexion with any man that is dangerous, or even ſuſpected by the friends of the proteſtant family on the throne. I now hope that the rigour of a long unmerited exile is paſt, and that I may be allowed to continue in the land, and among the friends of liberty.

"I wiſh, my lord," adds he, "to owe this to the mercy of the prince. I entreat your grace to lay me with all humility at the king's feet, with the trueſt aſſurances that I have never, in any moment of my life, ſwerved from the duty and allegiance I owe to my ſovereign, and that I implore, and in every thing ſubmit to his majeſty's clemency."

To this letter, handſome as it was in reſpect to the miniſter, and humble and ſubmiſſive in regard to the ſovereign, no attention was paid; and to a verbal meſſage to the ſame purpoſe, delivered by Mr. Fitzherbert, a common friend, the following cold reply was returned: "Mr. Wilkes muſt write to lord Chatham."

This advice he refuſed to comply with, on account of the manner in which he had been treated by that nobleman, and finding himſelf thus deſerted on one hand, and expoſed to the hourly danger of impriſonment on the other, in conſequence of the outlawry hanging over his head, he thought fit to return to Paris, whence he diſpatched a bitter *phillippic* addreſſed to the new miniſter, dated December 12, 1766. In this, which was ſoon made public, he obſerved, that he had repaired to England, with the gayeſt and moſt lively hopes, "but that when he found his pardon was to

be bought with the facrifice of his honour, he had the virtue not to hefitate. I ſpurned at the propoſal," adds he, "and left my dear native London with a heart full of grief, that my faireſt hopes were blaſted, of humiliation that I had given an eaſy faith to the promiſes of a miniſter and a courtier, and of aſtoniſhment that a nobleman of parts and diſcernment could continue in an infatuation, from which the conduct of lord Chatham had recovered every other man in the nation."

Soon after this he publiſhed a variety of letters and papers concerning himſelf*, and at length ventured once more to return to his native country in 1768. Being now determined, without recurring to the intervention of any of the miniſters, to throw himſelf on his majeſty's generoſity, he wrote a ſubmiſſive letter to the king, which was delivered at Buckingham-houſe. About the ſame time he publiſhed "Animadverſions on Sir John Cuſt's Speech, February 8, to the ten Oxford Gentlemen, for Bribery," and ſoon after announced "A Hiſtory of England, from the Revolution to the Acceſſion of the Brunſwick line, by John Wilkes."

Notwithſtanding he had been now in exile during four years, was expoſed to the vengeance of the law, and marked out as a victim by the adherents to the court, yet Mr. Wilkes did not ſink under his calamities. On the contrary, he exihibited more than uſual boldneſs upon the occaſion, and although liable to be made a priſoner by a common *tipſtaff*, yet he determined to appear again in London, and even offer himſelf as a candidate to repreſent the firſt city in the empire. On the *ſhew of hands*, at Guildhall, March 16, 1768, he was declared duly elected; but a poll being demanded, and ſeven candidates appearing on the huſtings, this attempt proved unſucceſsful, although there was a moſt reſpectable appearance of the livery in his favour, he having no leſs than twelve hundred and forty-ſeven votes.

Nothing daunted by this repulſe, he next became a candidate

* "A complete collection of the genuine papers, letters, &c. in the caſe of John Wilkes, Eſq. late member for Ayleſbury, in the county of Bucks. *A Paris, chez John Wilkes, imprimeur, rue du Colombier, Fauxbourg St. Germain, à l'hotel de Saxe*, 1767, *avec approbation et privilege.*

for

for the moſt opulent county in the kingdom, and on March 28, was elected one of the knights of the ſhire for Middleſex.

He was thus far triumphant; but the terrors of the law ſtill hung ſuſpended over his devoted head, and he was now anxious either to diſſipate, or encounter their fury. He accordingly ſurrendered himſelf to the court of King's Bench; but as the chief juſtice and the other judges declared that they had no power to commit him, in conſequence of his voluntary appearance, he was diſcharged. A *capias ultegatum*, however, ſoon brought him in due *technical* form within their juriſdiction, April 27, and he was committed to the King's Bench priſon. The ſubject of the outlawry was argued, May 7, by Mr. Serjeant Glynn, who was leading counſel in behalf of the defendant, and Mr. afterwards lord Thurlow, who acted for the crown. In the courſe of next term this was at length declared *illegal*; but the two verdicts obtained againſt him for *republiſhing* the North Briton, and printing and publiſhing the Eſſay on Woman, were unanimouſly confirmed. For the firſt offence he was ſentenced to pay a fine of five hundred pounds, and to a further impriſonment of ten months, making twelve in all; and for the ſecond, he was ſubjected to a like fine, to ſuffer twelve months additional impriſonment, and to find two ſecurities for his good behaviour for ſeven years, of five hundred pounds each, while he himſelf was to be bound in one thouſand pounds.

Theſe ſentences were deemed ſevere, even by moderate men, more eſpecially as the chief juſtice had ordered the record to be altered on the night before the trial; and the populace were ſo incenſed, that by way of ſhewing their reſpect for a man whom they deemed perſecuted on account of his attachment to the liberties of their country, they attempted, a ſhort time afterwards, to procure a general illumination on the evening of his birth-day *,

Although a priſoner he was not idle, for he dedicated moſt of his time to the introduction to his promiſed hiſtory, and alſo found

* They had before reſcued him from the tipſtaves as they were conducting him to priſon; but he ſurrendered himſelf at midnight to the marſhal of the King's Bench priſon.

leiſure for the publication of "A Letter on the Public Conduct of Mr. Wilkes," which appeared on the 1ſt of November. But, leſt it might be urged that he had neglected to appeal to the fountain of mercy, he again ſolicited the royal clemency, in a petition preſented by Sir Joſeph Mawbey, but without effect.

By this time a generous indignation had pervaded the ſouthern part of Great Britain, on account of the ſeries of perſecutions to which Mr. Wilkes had been ſubjected, and in the metropolis his name was never mentioned without eulogium. Charmed with the approbation of his native city, at a period he himſelf was confined in the jail of a neighbouring county, his hopes revived, and he determined to aſpire to its municipal honours. Accordingly, he was propoſed as a candidate for the ward of Farringdon Without, and on the 2d of January 1769, elected alderman by a great majority; but in conſequence of ſome trifling informality, this was declared a void election, and on the 27th he was unanimouſly returned, his intereſt being too formidable for any oppoſition.

On the meeting of parliament, he applied to the houſe of commons for relief, and was brought twice to the bar, but his petition was declared frivolous. Soon after this, in conſequence of a riot in St. George's fields, the military were called out, and an innocent youth of the name of Allen was inhumanly butchered in a cow-houſe belonging to his own father. An imprudent letter from lord Weymouth, then ſecretary of ſtate, addreſſed to the chairman of the bench of juſtices, expreſſive of the higheſt approbation of the late proceedings on the part of the magiſtrates, who had invoked the aſſiſtance of the ſoldiery, having been ſeen by Mr. Wilkes, he immediately publiſhed it, with ſome introductory remarks. Lord Weymouth on this complained of a breach of privilege, and the houſe of commons, as if it had any thing to do with the juriſdiction or privileges of the peers, not only voted it to be "an inſolent, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel," but on the motion of lord Barrington, then ſecretary at war, and Mr. Rigby, the paymaſter of the forces, actually

Mr. Wilkes.

holders of Middleſex, having met to put a candidate

in

in nomination, the aldermen Sawbridge and Townſhend, both of them members of parliament, and at that time ſtrangers to Mr. Wilkes, recommended the re-election of their former repreſentative, wh ch accordingly took place. On this, the houſe of commons, in expreſs oppoſition to the current of their own precedents, declared the ſecond election void, and voted Mr. Wilkes incapable of ſitting in that parliament. The ſheriffs immediately proceeded to a new choice, on which the ſame conſequences enſued as before; on a third attempt, he was once more returned; but on the fourth election, colonel Luterell, now lord Carhampton, who had vacated his ſeat in parliament expreſsly for this purpoſe, and obtained two hundred and ninety-ſix votes, was declared duly elected, although Mr. Wilkes had polled twelve hundred and forty-three. The whole of theſe proceedings were ſo ſcandalous in themſelves, and ſo little conſonant to the principles of juſtice, that the nation became incenſed againſt their repreſentatives, and their ſucceſſors, as if afraid of ſharing their diſgrace, would not permit the minutes to remain on the face of their records.

Mr. Wilkes being no longer incapacitated from obtaining a legal remedy againſt the ſecretary of ſtate who had granted the general warrant for his apprehenſion, now brought an action againſt lord Halifax, and recovered a verdict of four thouſand pounds; this, together with one thouſand pounds from Mr. Wood, was paid out of the civil liſt, and when added to three hundred pounds preſented him by the bill of rights, and money and preſents from various parts of England, America, and the Weſt Indies, ſerved to conſole him in ſome meaſure for his ſufferings *.

On the expiration of his impriſonment he was ſworn in alderman, in oppoſition to the opinion of the crown lawyers, who attempted to prove him incapacitated from diſcharging that office;

* In 1772, a legacy of three hundred pounds was left him by William Temple, Eſq. "for his ſtrenuous exertions in the cauſe of liberty, and his glorious and noble defence of the Engliſh conſtitution, againſt a ſeries of deſpotic tyrants and wicked miniſters." During the ſame year, the city of London preſented him with a large ſilver emboſſed cup, the ſubject of which was the aſſaſſination of Julius Cæſar.

and a more active and indefatigable magiſtrate never appeared upon the bench, whether in reſpect to the diſputes between individuals, or in the caſe of public bodies attempting to trench on the rights of the ſubjects, as in the caſe of the printers *, reſcued, by his interference, from a meſſenger of the houſe of commons, who, in his turn, was obliged to find bail, to prevent him from being committed to the common jail.

On July 3d, 1771, he filled the office of ſheriff, opened the galleries of the Old Bailey, and gave orders that no French wines ſhould be ſerved at his entertainments; he endeavoured to extend this *antigallican* reſolution to the feaſts at the manſion-houſe, but the lord mayor would not accede to the propoſition.

To that honourable poſt he himſelf was elected, October 5th, 1774, and a few days afterwards, being returned a fifth time for the county of Middleſex, he took his ſeat, without any oppoſition, and became not only a conſtant attendant in St. Stephen's chapel, but a bold aſſertor of the cauſe of liberty †, and a ſtrenuous opponent of the adminiſtration of that day.

On

* Meſſ. Millar, Wheble, &c. It was on this occaſion that he received the preſent alluded to in the former note.

When the city of London in 1772 voted a ſilver cup to Mr. Wilkes for his ſpirited defence of the cauſe of freedom in the caſe of the printers, the deſign and ornaments were left to his own direction. He accordingly choſe the *death of Cæſar in the Roman ſenate*, one of the greateſt ſacrifices to public liberty recorded in hiſtory.

Julius Cæſar is repreſented in the *bas-relief* on the vaſe, gracefully covering himſelf with the toga, and falling at the baſe of the pedeſtal which ſupports the ſtatue of his ancient enemy, Pompey the Great. Brutus, Caſſius, and the other noble Romans form a circle around the body. Their daggers ſeem reeking with the tyrant's blood, and are raiſed to heaven. Every eye is fixed on Brutus, who is in the attitude of congratulating Cicero on the recovery of the public liberty, and pointing to the proſtrate and expiring uſurper. The figure of Brutus which ſtands out in very bold and high *relieve*, is particularly ſtriking, and the capital of the whole groupe. At the bottom of the vaſe is the following inſcription from Churchill, encircled with myrtle and oak leaves:

"——————May every tyrant feel
"The keen, deep ſearchings of a patriot ſteel!"

See "the Speeches of J. Wilkes, one of the Knights, &c." P. 66. Vol. 2.

† The following quotation will ſhew to what an extent Mr. W.'s ideas on this ſubject were carried, at a period when he exerciſed the firſt municipal ſtation in the empire:

'A motion

On the propoſition of Mr. Sawbridge, Feb. 1, 1775, "for leave to bring in a bill for ſhortening the duration of parliaments," we find the lord-mayor not only ſeconding the motion, but ſtrenuouſly ſupporting it in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, by means of the following arguments:

1. Becauſe frequent parliaments form part of the ancient conſtitution of England, and the right of the people to them ariſes from the nature of all delegated power, and the neceſſity of a controul;

2. From the impolicy as well as injuſtice of obliging the conſtituents of a man who has betrayed his truſt in the firſt ſeſſion, to wait till the end of a tedious period of ſeven years, before they can have an opportunity of depriving him of a power which he has ſo early abuſed;

And, 3. From the nature of moſt of the petitions then before the houſe.

"The general complaint," ſays he, "is that of bribery and corruption. Short parliaments, ſir, if they do not totally eradicate this moſt pernicious practice, muſt neceſſarily diminiſh the evil in no ſmall degree. By the frequent return of appeals to the people, the public money in the miniſter's hands would not always be found adequate to the crooked counſels of an inſidious court, nor to a determined purpoſe of regularly coun-

Votes of January 25, 1775.

A motion was made, and the queſtion being propoſed, "that the chaplain of this houſe do preach before this houſe, at St. Margaret's, Weſtminſter, upon Monday next, the *thirtieth* day of this inſtant *January*, &c."

The lord-mayor, Mr. Wilkes, ſaid, that "he was for the obſervance of the day, not in the uſual manner by faſting and prayer to deprecate the pretended wrath of heaven, but in a very different way from what ſome other gentlemen had propoſed; that it ſhould be celebrated as a feſtival, as a day of triumph, not kept as a faſt; that the death of the firſt Charles, a determined enemy to the liberties of his country, who made war on his people, and murdered many thouſands of his innocent ſubjects, an odious hypocritical tyrant, who was, in the great *Milton's* words, *ipſe Nerone neronior*, ſhould be conſidered as a ſacrifice to the public juſtice of the nation, as highly approved by heaven, and ought to be had in ſolemn remembrance as the moſt glorious deed ever done in this or any country, without which we ſhould at this hour have had no conſtitution, degenerated into the moſt abject ſlaves on the face of the earth, not governed by the known and equal laws of a *limited* monarchy, but ſubject to the imperious will of an arbitrary ſovereign."

teracting the wiſhes of a nation. The floodgates of the treaſury, however widely opened, would on ſuch repeated occaſions ſcarcely afford torrents copious and impetuous enough to carry away all ſenſe of duty to the conſtitution, all regard to the laws and liberties of the country. If this houſe was elected for a ſhort term only, a commerce of corruption between the miniſter and the repreſentative could not grow up to acquire the ſtrength and conſiſtency which is given by a period of ſeven years ſecurity and independency on the power by which we were created.

" I beg the indulgence of the houſe, Sir, for only one more ſhort obſervation. This motion ſtrikes me as a kind of parliamentary teſt, which brings every thing home to our conſciences. It cannot fail of meeting in this houſe the ſupport of all the true friends of the ancient conſtitution of England; of all who mean to act honeſtly, for they run no riſque. They are ſure of the applauſe and free choice of their conſtituents, on every freſh appeal. The venal and intereſted; all, who think lightly of their ties and obligations to their maſters, and do not hold themſelves bound to hear and redreſs the injuries of the nation they repreſent, but are regardleſs of the feelings of the people, intent only on the public plunder; all theſe have their terrors, and certainly not ill-grounded, on the firſt ſuggeſtion of an appeal to their conſtituents. From ſuch men only an oppoſition to this motion is to be expected. The repreſentative, who is conſcious of having merited well of his conſtituents, will always rejoice at the opportunity of applying for frequent proofs of their regard and truſt, will deſire, will earneſtly ſolicit, this appeal; while the man who has acted contrary to the clear dictates of his duty, and betrayed his truſt, will naturally dread every ſuch occaſion, will tremble even at the diſtant view of the ſpirited indignation with which he would be rejected.

" A guilty mind, Sir, frequently braves the ſilent reproaches of a wounded conſcience, but can ſeldom bear up againſt that public contempt and infamy which I truſt will always purſue parliamentary proſtitution."

During the whole of the memorable and unfortunate conteſt with

with America, Mr. Wilkes exhibited himſelf a moſt ſteadfaſt enemy to the meaſures of taxation and ſubjugation, which cloſely followed each other. Accordingly, on February 6, 1775, when the houſe of commons paſſed a vote declaring that a "rebellion" exiſted within the province of Maſſachuſet's bay, he oppoſed the addreſs on the grounds of its being unfounded, raſh, and ſanguinary.

"It draws the ſword unjuſtly againſt America," ſays he; "but before adminiſtration are ſuffered to plunge the nation into the horrors of a civil war, before they are permitted to force Engliſhmen to ſheathe their ſwords in the bowels of their fellow-ſubjects, I hope this houſe will ſeriouſly weigh the original ground and cauſe of this unhappy diſpute, and in time reflect whether juſtice is on our ſide, and gives a ſanction to the intended hoſtile proceedings?

"The aſſumed right of *taxation without the conſent of the ſubject*, is plainly the primary cauſe of the preſent quarrel. Have we then, Sir, any right to tax the Americans? *That* is the great important queſtion. The fundamental laws of human nature, and the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution, are equally repugnant to the claim. The very idea of *property* excludes the right of another's taking any thing from me without my conſent, otherwiſe I cannot call it my own. No tenure can be ſo precarious as the will of another. What property have I in what another perſon can ſeize at his pleaſure? If any part of my property is ſubject to the diſcretionary power of others, the *whole* may be ſo likewiſe. If we can tax the Americans without their conſent they have no property, nothing they can call their own with certainty, for we might by violence take the whole as well as the part.

"The words *liberty* and *property*, ſo dear to an Engliſhman, ſo pleaſing in our ears, would become a cruel mockery, an inſult to an American. The laws of ſociety are profeſſedly calculated to ſecure the property of each individual, of every ſubject of the ſtate. This point is no leſs clearly determined by the great principles of that happy conſtitution under which we live. All ſubſidies to the crown have always been conſidered, and expreſsly

preſsly declared to be *grants* from the commons of the realm; free gifts from the people. Their full conſent is ſtated in the *grant*.

"Much has been ſaid of the palatinate of Cheſter, and the principality of Wales, and the period of their taxation; but, Sir, there is a more remarkable caſe in point, which alone would determine this queſtion. If gentlemen will ſearch the records in the Tower, and the chapel of the Rolls, they will find that the town of Calais, in France, when it belonged to the imperial crown of this realm, was not taxed till it ſent a repreſentative to parliament. A *Thomas Fowler* actually ſat and voted in this houſe as a burgeſs of the town of Calais. From that period, and not till then, was Calais taxed. The *writ* out of Chancery, and the *return* in the reign of Edward VI. are ſtill extant."

A few days after this, on a motion for reſcinding the famous vote concerning his own expulſion, the member for Middleſex, in ſtill ſtronger language, expreſſed his deteſtation of the conteſt with the Americans, which he termed "an unjuſt, felonious war, becauſe," added he, "the primary cauſe, and confeſſed origin of it is, to attempt to take their money from them without their conſent, contrary to the common rights of all mankind, and thoſe great fundamental principles of the Engliſh conſtitution for which *Hampden* bled. I aſſert, Sir, that it is in conſequence a *murderous* war, becauſe it is an effort to deprive men of their lives for ſtanding up in the juſt cauſe of the defence of their property, and their clear rights. It becomes no leſs a *murderous* war with reſpect to many of our fellow ſubjects of this iſland; for every man, either of the navy or army, who has been ſent to America, and fallen a victim in this unnatural and unjuſt conteſt, has, in my opinion, been *murdered* by adminiſtration, and his blood lies at their door. Such a war, I fear, Sir, will draw down the vengeance of heaven upon this devoted kingdom."

"I ſpeak, Sir," continues he, "as a firm friend to England and America, but ſtill more to univerſal liberty, and the rights of mankind. I truſt no part of the ſubjects of this vaſt empire will ever ſubmit to be ſlaves. I am ſure the Americans are too high ſpirited to brook the idea. Your whole power, and that of your

your allies, if you had any, even of all the German troops, of all the ruffians from the North, whom you can hire, cannot effect ſo wicked a purpoſe. The conduct of the preſent adminiſtration has already wreſted the ſceptre of America out of the hands of our ſovereign, and he has now ſcarcely even a poſtmaſter left in the whole northern continent. More than half the empire is already loſt, and almoſt all the reſt is in confuſion and anarchy. The miniſtry have brought our ſovereign into a more diſgraceful ſituation than any crowned head now living. He alone has already loſt, by their fatal counſels, more territory than the three great united powers of Ruſſia, Auſtria, and Pruſſia, have by a wicked confederacy *robbed* Poland of, and by equal acts of violence and injuſtice from adminiſtration."

In 1777, when a bill was brought in by lord North, for detaining Americans in ſuch places within the realm, &c. as *his majeſty might appoint*, it was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Mr. Wilkes.

"This," ſaid he, while ſpeaking of one of the moſt objectionable clauſes, "may operate in a manner more to be dreaded than any baniſhment or confinement *out of the realm*. A power which may be thus groſsly abuſed, ought not to be truſted without reſtriction, to any man. A perſon *only ſuſpected*, or pretended to be ſo, may be doomed to a damp and noxious dungeon, in the midſt of putrid marſhes, or on the moſt ſwampy coaſt. He may be ſtifled in a vault, *to whoſe foul mouth no healthſome air breathes in*. I, Sir, perhaps may *at laſt be ſuſpected*, and probably it will not be a *ſlight ſuſpicion*. I have formerly experienced an illegal, *cloſe**, and rigorous impriſonment in the Tower; but by this bill I may be ſent to the gloomy waſtes and deſerts of the *north*, to the barbarous highlands of *Scotland*, or among the ſavages in the dreary *iſle of Bute*, from whoſe *bourn* I am ſure I ſhould never return, even as a *traveller*, much leſs as a priſoner. Is this clauſe ingeniouſly meant, Sir, as a new mode of repeopling that ancient *abandoned* kingdom?"

* "The law of England appoints impriſonment *in cuſtodiam*, not *in pœnam*, acknowledges no *cloſe* impriſonment, whereas I was kept with the moſt extreme rigour."

Algernon Sydney's Apology on the day of his death, p. 173.

During

During the whole of the American war Mr. Wilkes was the zealous oppugner of lord North and his meaſures. As lord mayor of London, he preſented petitions, addreſſes, and remonſtrances againſt it; as a member of parliament, he voted and ſpoke in oppoſition to it; nay, he was ſo anxious to bring the noble lord himſelf to condign puniſhment, that he propoſed an impeachment, in his capacity as an inhabitant of Weſtminſter, and actually ſat as the chairman of a reſpectable body of citizens who met to diſcuſs the queſtion.

The friends of Mr. Wilkes, with a view to reward his uniform and meritorious exertions, at length propoſed him as a candidate for the chamberlainſhip; and he undertook, in imitation of the exemplary conduct of Sir Stephen Theodore Janſen, who had obtained that office under ſimilar difficulties, to lay by a certain portion of the emoluments for the payment of his debts. A perſon more favourable to the views of the court party in the city was, however, put in nomination, and although many objections were made to Mr. Hopkins, and he had no claim on the ſcore of talents, of ſufferings, or of ſervices, yet he ſecured his nomination, and continued in place until his death, in 1779. Mr. Wilkes on this ſtarted afreſh, under better auſpices, but did not at length procure the object of his wiſhes, without a new ſtruggle.

During the riots in 1780, he acted the part of an honeſt, able, and intrepid magiſtrate, having been eminently ſerviceable in preſerving the bank from pillage; on this occaſion he received the thanks of the privy council, and ſoon after repaired to court, *where he was moſt graciouſly received.*

On the acceſſion of the Rockingham adminiſtration to power, towards the cloſe of the American war, he at length beheld a favourable opportunity for obliterating, if not avenging, the wrongs done to his conſtituents. He accordingly ſeized a critical moment for the purpoſe, and on the 3d of May 1782, it was at length reſolved by the houſe of commons, "that all the declarations, orders, and reſolutions of that houſe, reſpecting the election of John Wilkes, Eſq. be expunged from the journals of the houſe, as ſubverſive of the rights of the whole body of electors in the kingdom." Conſider-

ing

ing this, with great propriety, rather as the triumph of his conſtituents than of the individual who repreſented them, he immediately addreſſed a letter to the electors of Middleſex, in which he congratulated them on the ſignal reparation they had now obtained for their "violated franchiſes and the injuries they had ſuſtained under the former flagitious adminiſtration."

When a ſchiſm had taken place among the "Whigs," in conſequence of the death of their leader*, the earl of Shelburne, now marquis of Lanſdowne, attained the ſupreme power, and concluded a peace with America. This meaſure, then ſo much condemned, and now ſo much praiſed, received the approbation of Mr. Wilkes at a period when the clamour of party drowned the voice of reaſon; he accordingly defended it, at a meeting of his conſtituents, but was oppoſed by his colleague, Mr. Byng, and loſt much of his influence with the freeholders on this occaſion; his defence of Mr. Haſtings, alſo, tended not a little to alienate the affection of many of his friends. The ſucceſs of the coalition, which appeared to him a criminal ſtruggle for power, induced him ſoon after this to retire from parliament.

Mr. Wilkes now proved to the world, what was before known only to his friends, that he was as well calculated for private as for public life. During the greater part of the year he reſided either in his daughter's houſe in Groſvenor-ſquare, or at his own at Kenſington-Gore †, whence he repaired daily to his office in Guildhall, dedicating the mornings to buſineſs, and the evenings to the pleaſures of literature, and the ſociety of a few choſen friends. Two or three months of the ſummer ſeaſon were ſpent at his villa, or *villakin*, as he was accuſtomed jocularly to term it, at Sandham in the iſle of Wight. This originally conſiſted of a couple of cottages, which he contrived to convert into a very neat and commodious reſidence, and to decorate according to his own fancy. While it preſented him with a pleaſant retreat, it at the ſame time ſerved to celebrate all that was dear to him. We accordingly find him commemorating his attachment to his

* The marquis of Rockingham.

† Mr. Wilkes lived firſt at Kenſington, and afterwards at Kenſington-Gore, with a lady, by whom he had a daughter, ſtill living.

daughter by the following inſcription, placed in a conſpicuous ſituation:

TO FILIAL PIETY
AND
MARY WILKES;
ERECTED BY
JOHN WILKES,
1789.

An inſcription in the Tuſcan room exhibits his gratitude to the citizens of London, and at the ſame time ſhews, that he was not afraid of perpetuating the memory of his former poverty:

FORTUNÆ REDUCI
ET
CIVITATI LONDINENSIS
P.
JOHANNES WILKES, QUÆSTOR,
1789.

A third, on a Doric pillar, is ſacred to friendſhip:

CAROLO CHURCHILL,
DIVINO POETÆ,
AMICO JUCUNDO
CIVI OPTIME DE PATRIA MERITO.

It is placed in the middle of the grove, and backed with weeping willows, cypreſſes, &c. while laurels ſeem to grow out of the column, as from Virgil's tomb.

It was thus, in claſſical purſuits and civic labours, that the remainder of Mr. Wilkes's life glided away in one calm, even, uninterrupted ſtream, until at length, perceiving that a period was about to be put to his exiſtence, he deſtroyed ſeveral of his papers, and met death with great fortitude and reſignation, in Groſvenor-ſquare, December 26, 1797.

By his will he left his daughter, Miſs Wilkes, executrix and reſiduary legatee, and alſo gave inſtructions reſpecting his burial.

In

In conſequence of theſe the body was interred in a vault in Groſvernor chapel, South Audley-ſtreet. A hearſe and three mourning coaches, together with his daughter's private carriage, formed the cavalcade, and eight poor men, who were gratified with a guinea apiece and a ſuit of new black clothes, conveyed the corpſe to the ſpot deſtined for its interment, which, according to his own injunctions, was the neareſt burial place. In conformity to his deſire, a plain marble tablet with the following ſimple epitaph was erected to his memory:

THE REMAINS
OF
JOHN WILKES,
A FRIEND TO LIBERTY.
BORN AT LONDON, OCTOBER 17, 1727, O. S.
DIED IN THIS PARISH.

The coffin plate contained his arms*, with the following inſcription:

JOHN WILKES, ESQ. F. R. S.
ALDERMAN OF THE WARD OF
FARRINGDON WITHOUT,
CHAMBERLAIN OF LONDON,
AND LORD MAYOR 1771;
DIED DECEMBER 26, 1797,
AGED 70 YEARS.

Thus died, at an advanced period of life, JOHN WILKES, who during a ſeries of years ſeemed deſirous to emulate the names of Hampden and Sydney; and to equal them, only wanted a more

* Or, a chevron ſable between three crows heads eraſed, coloured proper, charged with an eſcutcheon of pretence, ſable, a chevron or, between three pelicans vulnerating or. Creſt, on a mount vert, a croſs-bow ſtringed or; with the motto on a ſcroll: *Arcui meo non confido.*

Gent. Mag. for 1798, p. 81.

correct deportment in early life *, a grander field of exertion, and a premature death. In his perſon he was tall, and ſo

* As much has been ſaid of the club of *Jovial Spirits* that aſſociated at Medmam Abbey, we ſhall here tranſcribe the following account of it, as publiſhed by one of Mr. Wilkes's own friends, in 1769.

"Medmenham, or as it is pronounced Medmam Abbey, is a very large houſe on the banks of the Thames, near Marlow, in Buckinghamſhire. It was formerly a convent of Ciſtertian monks. The ſituation is remarkably fine. Beautiful hanging woods, and ſoft meadows, a cryſtal ſtream and a grove of venerable old elms near the houſe, with the retiredneſs of the manſion itſelf, made it as ſweet a retreat as the moſt poetical imagination could create.

"Sir Francis Daſhwood, Sir Thomas Stapleton, Paul Whitehead, Mr. Wilkes, and other gentlemen, to the number of twelve, rented the Abbey, and often retired there in the ſummer. Among other amuſements they had ſometimes a mock celebration of the more ridiculous rites of the foreign religious orders of the *church of Rome*, of the Franciſcans in particular, for the gentlemen had taken their title from the founder, Sir Francis Daſhwood. *Paul the aged* (the poet laureat) was ſecretary and ſteward to the order, &c.

"No profane eye has dared to penetrate into the Engliſh Eleuſinian myſteries of the chapter room, where, the monks aſſembled on all ſolemn occaſions, the more ſecret rites were performed, and *libations poured* forth in much pomp to the BONA DEA. I ſhall only venture to relate what many mortal eyes have ſeen, and *ſit mihi fas audita loqui.*

"Over the grand entrance was the famous inſcription on Rabelais' abbey of THELENCE.

"*Fay ce que vouldras.*"

and at the end of the paſſage over the door,

"*Aude, beſpes, contemnere opes.*"

"At one end of the refectory was Harpocrates, the Egyptian god of ſilence, at the other, the goddeſs Angerona, which ſeemed to imply that the ſame duty was enjoined both ſexes.

"The garden, the grove, the orchard, the neighbouring woods, all ſpoke the loves and frailties of the younger monks, who ſeemed at leaſt to have ſinned *naturally*. You ſaw in one place—*Ici póma de joïe des mortels le plus heureux.* In another, very imperfectly—*mourut un amant ſur le ſein de ſa dame.* In a third—*en ce droit mille baiſers de flamme furent donnés, et mille autres rendus.* Againſt a fine old oak was

"*His ſatyrum Naïas victorem victa ſubegit.*"

"At the entrance of a cave was the Venus, ſtooping to pull a thorn out of her foot. The ſtatue turned from you, and juſt over the two nether hills of ſnow were theſe lines of Virgil,

"*Hic locus eſt, &c.*"

"On

ſo very thin, that he appeared toward the latter part of his exiſtence to be afflicted with a *maraſmus*. His face was ſallow, his ſpine had of late aſſumed a curvature, and his whole body had got a *twiſt* which made his head incline in a contrary direction. His eyes always poſſeſſed an unfortunate *caſt*, which but too readily expoſed him to the malignity of the artiſts hired to caricature him. He himſelf was ſenſible of this imperfection, and was indeed the firſt to laugh at it. During the hey-day of his popularity he was accuſtomed to dreſs with great elegance, and generally appeared in a ſword and laced clothes; but toward the latter part of his life he wore the ſame ſuit, conſiſting of a ſcarlet coat, and buff waiſtcoat and breeches, for many years. To the very laſt he was fond of exerciſe, and it was uſual with him to walk daily, in his cocked hat, roſette, military boots, &c. all the way from Kenſington to the city, unmoved by the ſolicitations of hackney coachmen, who offered their ſervices in vain.

It was the misfortune of Mr. Wilkes, on his firſt entrance into life, to become acquainted with a number of debauched young noblemen, all of whom abandoned him in the hour of his adverſity,

" On the inſide, over a moſſy couch, was the following exhortation,

" *Ite, agite o juvenes; pariter ſudate medullis*
" *Omnibus inter vos: non murmura, &c.*"

" The favourite doctrine of the abbey is certainly not *penitence*; for in the centre of the orchard was a very groteſque figure, and *in his hand a reed ſtood flaming, tipt with fire*, to uſe Milton's words, and you might trace out,

PENITENTIO
NON
PENITENTI.

" On the pedeſtal was a whimſical repreſentation of Trophonius's cave, from whence all creatures were ſaid to come out melancholy. Among that ſtrange, diſmal group, you might, however, remark a cock crowing, and a Carmelite laughing. The words—*Gallum gallinaceum et ſacerdotem gratis*—were only legible.

" Near the abbey was a ſmall neat temple erected to Cloacine, with the inſcription,

THIS CHAPEL OF EASE WAS FOUNDED IN THE YEAR 1760.

" Facing the entrance, on the inſide,

" *Æquè pauperibus prodeſt, locupletibus æquè,*
" *Æquè neglectum pueris ſenibuſque nocebit.*"

while ſeveral added greatly to his diſtreſs. With theſe he indulged in a gay but deluſive round of diſſipation, that ruined his fortune and added but little to his reputation. A few years after his marriage, he ſeparated from a wife who ſhared his eſteem rather than his affection; but to the laſt hour of his exiſtence he was fondly attached to her daughter.

As a writer he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a variety of publications, all of which diſcover an eaſy ſtyle, a ready flow of wit, a keen and piercing ſatire, and a rich variety of claſſical alluſions*.

He

* Many of the writings of Mr. Wilkes, being of a temporary nature, were forgotten with the occaſion that gave them birth; while in others, and thoſe the moſt celebrated, he is well known to have had ſeveral coadjutors. Here follows a liſt of them:

1. Obſervations on the Papers relative to the Rupture with Spain, laid before both Houſes in Parliament, on Friday, January 29, 1762, by his Majeſty's command. In a letter from John Wilkes, Eſq. late member for Aylesbury, to a friend in the country. 1762.

2. The North Briton. The firſt number was publiſhed June 2, 1762; the pens of Churchill and Lloyd were called in upon this occaſion to his aſſiſtance, and the whole was conducted anonymouſly, except a letter in No. XXI. of October 13, addreſſed to Dr. Burton, maſter of Wincheſter ſchool, relative to one of lord Bute's ſons, to which Mr. Wilkes thought proper to affix his own name.

3. Letters addreſſed by him to the duke of Grafton, earls Temple, Egremont, and Chatham, relative to the proſecutions againſt him; as well as his famous controverſy with the Rev. Mr. Horne, now John Horne Tooke, Eſq. Theſe have been collected in 2 vols. 8vo. and two editions were publiſhed, one in 1769, and another in 1771.

4. His ſpeeches. Theſe were collected, and printed under his own immediate inſpection in 2 vols. 12mo. with copper-plate title pages, but without any printer's name. They are entitled "The Speeches of JOHN WILKES, one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Middleſex, in the Parliament appointed to meet at Weſtminſter, the 29th day of November, 1774, to the Prorogation, the 6th day of of June, 1777; with Notes by the Editor. London, 1777." His Speeches were afterwards republiſhed by himſelf, in 1 vol. 8vo, 1787; to which, in 1788, he added a ſingle Speech in Defence of Haſtings.

5. The "Eſſay on Woman," part of which was printed in Mr. Wilkes's houſe. It may not be improper to obſerve, that this famous Parody has been attributed to the ſon of a dignitary of the church of England.

6. An Introduction to the Hiſtory of England. This is a quarto pamphlet, now very ſcarce, in which an *anachroniſm* occurs, that ſubjected him to critical animadverſion. In the Hiſtory itſelf, he had made conſiderable progreſs, and actually engaged for the copy right with Mr. Almon, for three hundred pounds. The Introduction was ſubſcribed for at one guinea.

7. Some

He lived for many years in great intimacy with the moſt eminent literary characters of the day; ſuch as Lloyd, Churchill, Thornton, Sterne, the preſent biſhop of Saliſbury, J. Horne Tooke, &c. When his friends oppoſed and finally damned one of Murphy's farces, on the ſcore of his politics, he offered to head a party on the firſt night of his next performance. On Smollet, who afterwards abuſed him, he conferred ſeveral favours; and readily reſcued Dr. Johnſon's black ſervant from a man of war, into which he had been impreſſed, although that gentleman was ever hoſtile to him.

As an orator, he was deficient in two of the qualifications conſidered eminently neceſſary by Cicero, for his perſon and his voice were but ill qualified for public exhibition; yet his ſpeeches diſplay much reſearch and information, and were accompanied by a boldneſs of aſſertion, and bitterneſs of invective, that rendered them poignant and delectable to all but the objects of his attack.

As a magiſtrate, he was upright, impartial, indefatigable; and he gave a new intereſt to the character of chamberlain by the orations made by him on public occaſions; ſuch as preſenting the preſent miniſter with the freedom of the city, and when marquis Cornwallis, earl Howe, lord (then Sir Horatio) Nelſon, and admiral Waldegrave, obtained the ſame honour.

But theſe are qualifications which merely reflect honour on the individual, without being productive of any laſting ſervice to ſociety. His claims to public eſteem are founded on a firmer baſis. To Mr. Wilkes, the whole nation is indebted for the abolition of general warrants; for the ſecurity of papers in every caſe ſhort of high treaſon; for the daily publication of the debates in par-

7. Some Notes, by Mr. Wilkes, on a few Paſſages of the late Mr. Churchill's Works, 1769.

8. A Supplement to the Miſcellaneous Works of Mr. Gibbon.

And 9. A Tranſlation of Anacreon. This was never finiſhed.

As an editor, at the requeſt of Junius, conveyed in a letter to Mr. Woodfall, he ſuperintended an edition of his famous letters. He alſo employed the preſs of his deputy, Mr. Nichols, in printing ſplendid editions of the Characters of Theophraſtus, and the Poems of Catullus.

liament; and for the right of re-election, in case of expulsion, by the house of commons.

It was he who demonstrated that all the power and influence of the court were incapable of crushing an Englishman, entrenched within the boundaries of the constitution, and supported by the spirit of the laws. It was he, who by his sufferings, his talents, his courage, aroused and animated a whole nation in his behalf; punished one of the first servants of the crown for illegal arrest and imprisonment; forced the throne itself to respect the rights of a subject; and taught the minions of power, that the ancient law of this country did not admit of tyranny.

It must be allowed, however, that he had the singular fortune to attempt and effect all this in *good times*, for he himself survived some of the privileges he had defended and maintained, and tumbling into ruins with the fabric he had helped to support, at length only beheld

Vestigia morientis libertatis.

GENERAL HOCHE,

COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMIES OF THE MOSELLE AND RHINE, OF THE COAST OF CHERBOURG, OF BREST, OF THE WEST, OF THE OCEAN, OF THE SAMBRE AND MEUSE, AND OF THE TROOPS DESTINED FOR AN EXPEDITION AGAINST IRELAND.

The command of the armies and navies of France was formerly confided exclusively to the nobles. The great families under the monarchy might be fairly said to have been born admirals and generals; there were, indeed, no *hereditary men of war*, but there were many *proprietary regiments*. It cannot be denied that this system, faulty as it was, produced great men, such as the De Guesculins, the Colignis, the Condés, and the Turennes,

of

of former days; and it will remain for poſterity to decide, whether it has been improved by a contrary practice. Certain it is that a great and ſudden change has taken place in the military affairs of France, and that the moſt ſucceſsful generals of the preſent day have been ſelected from the ranks.

Lazarus Hoche, a favourite of fortune, and a child of the revolution, was born June 24, 1768, at the little village of Montreuil, in the ſuburbs of Verſailles. His father, like moſt of his countrymen, had ſerved during his youth in the army; he was afterwards engaged in ſeveral menial offices, being at one time employed as a hoſtler, and at another entruſted to feed the hounds * of Louis XV.†. His mother died ſoon after ſhe had brought him into the world.

Bereaved thus early of one parent, and the other being unable either to maintain or educate him properly, the boy would have been entirely neglected had it not been for the care and attention of his aunt, who kept a green-ſtall at Verſailles. This good woman, pitying his ſituation, and conceiving a great affection for him, took him home with her, and ſent him to a little day ſchool. There he learned to read and write, and is ſaid to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf, not only as the beſt ſcholar, but alſo as the wildeſt of all his companions.

The rector of St. Germain-en-Laye, perceiving him to be a fine lively youth, made him a choriſter.

In the mean time, his kind relation ſupplied not only all his little wants, but even anticipated his wiſhes in every thing. He, on his part, is repreſented as giving early indications of talents; he was extremely deſirous to receive information on every ſubject; his curioſity prompted him to interrogate thoſe older than himſelf; he liſtened to their replies with avidity; and often embarraſſed them with the ingenuity of his inquiries and remarks. As he approached, however, towards manhood, a ſudden change is ſaid

* *Gardi du corps du Louis XV.* See "Vie de L. Hoche, &c." par A. Rouſſelin, p. 4.

† He is now about ſeventy-two years of age, and ſerved about three years ago, as a grenadier of one of the ſections of Paris. He is deſcribed by the general's biographer, as a venerable old man, and a great patriot; much to the honour of the ſon, even when a ſubaltern, he aſſigned part of his pay towards his maintenance.

to

to have taken place in his manners and diſpoſition. Inſtead of being loquacious as before, he became ſilent and thoughtful, and evinced by his converſation, that he had meditated to ſome purpoſe.

His wants now increaſed with his ſtrength and years, and perceiving that his aunt could not afford to keep him any longer, he determined to earn his own livelihood. No ſituation appeared vile in his eyes, provided it enabled him to relieve the worthy woman from ſuch a burden; he accordingly engaged himſelf as a kind of *helper* in the royal ſtables at Verſailles *.

The ardent character of Hoche could not long accommodate itſelf to ſuch a degrading ſtate of ſervitude. He had already become indignant at his ſituation; and having accidentally got hold of ſome of Rouſſeau's works, a paſſion for independence awakened in his mind. His character had at the ſame time taken a romantic turn, in conſequence of two or three novels which he now read, and this circumſtance at length fixed his deſtiny.

Having conceived a notion of bettering his fortune abroad, he determined to embark for the Eaſt Indies, and this ſpirit of adventure proving contagious, three other ſtable-boys determined to follow his fortune. One of thoſe *crimps* who infeſt all the great cities in Europe, and prey on the unwary, in order to gain a diſhoneſt livelihood, depicted the pleaſures of the voyage, and the certainty of attaining wealth, in ſuch faſcinating colours, that they were eaſily prevailed upon to enter into his views. This fellow, who aſſumed the part of a *generous benefactor*, not content with proffering them advice, forced them at the ſame time to accept of money, and then told them that they were ſoldiers in the French guards, and had the honour to ſerve the *grand monarque!*

All remonſtrance being ineffectual, Hoche, then only ſixteen years of age, was ſent to his regiment, at that time quartered in

* "Il entre palfrenier ſurnumeraire aux ecuries de Verſailles, &c." Vie de Hoche, p. 16. M. Rouſſilin, expreſſes himſelf in the following manner upon this occaſion: "On ſait que Shakeſpear gardait les chevaux et ſervait de valet à la porte du théâtre de Londres. Eh bein! ce jeune homme que vous voyez vêtue d'un habit groſſier, relégué dans les écuries royales, c'eſt celui—laque doit un jour ſauver la république."

Paris. On arriving there, he found his whole fortune to conſiſt of one hundred and twenty-five *livres**, ariſing partly from the ſum given him as a premium on entering the army, and partly from his own ſavings. Being now told, that he muſt give a treat to his fellow-ſoldiers, he inſtantly complied, and a breakfaſt provided on the occaſion, by abſorbing the whole of his money, rendered him to the full as poor as themſelves.

This new ſituation ſeems to have been perfectly accordant to Hoche's wiſhes; and we are accordingly told, that he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the other recruits, by his promptitude in underſtanding and alacrity in practiſing the various military movements. In a ſingle month the drill ſerjeants eaſily inſtructed him in what others ſpent a whole year in acquiring; in ſhort, inſtead of remaining in the *awkward ſquad*, he was placed among the veterans, being attached to the colonel's company, called the *gibernes blanches*, from the colour of their knapſacks.

The fine proportion of his limbs, the neatneſs of his dreſs, and the regularity of his conduct, ſoon diſtinguiſhed him amidſt the crowd; and the grenadiers having requeſted that he might be admitted into their *corps*, Hoche alſo became a grenadier. At this period he began, for the firſt time, to perceive that his education had been neglected, and being aſhamed of his ignorance, he himſelf determined to accompliſh what the miſery of his relations had prevented them from achieving for him. It was, however, indiſpenſibly neceſſary for him to obtain books, in order to improve his mind, and to procure theſe, money was of courſe wanting. Neither his pay nor his family being adequate to furniſh the means, he determined to have recourſe to the vigour of his arms; in ſhort, ſtrength and induſtry were his ſole reſources.

No kind of labour diſguſted him. He roſe by break of day, and drew water, or trenched the ground for the gardeners in the neighbourhood of Paris; and, what will appear infinitely more ſtrange to an Engliſhman, the ſame hands that brandiſhed the ſpade in the morning, managed the needle at night;

* About five pounds ſterling.

in

in fine, he embroidered * veſts and caps, which he afterwards ſold at the *Café Cuiſinier* near *Pont St. Michael*.

At the end of every week he divided his earnings into three parts, which were conſecrated to three different purpoſes: the firſt he ſet aſide to pay the ſubſtitute that mounted guard for him; the ſecond he expended in company with his companions; and the third was advanced for the books borrowed by him. Theſe, indeed, he ſeemed to devour rather than read, ſo eager was he to receive information.

This beardleſs grenadier began already to direct his ſtudies ſo as to attain a better knowledge of his own profeſſion; he attempted to diſcuſs military ſubjects; pointed out the inconvenience of the then exiſting ſyſtem of tactics, and already argued on the impropriety of many of the regulations that prevailed in the army.

Nothwithſtanding this ſerious turn, he did not debar himſelf from any of the pleaſures incident to his line of life. No one enjoyed the company of his friends with greater glee; no one was more attached to them. Learning that one of his companions had been aſſaſſinated during a quarrel, in the neighbourhood of the capital, he determined not to ſleep before he had avenged his fate. He accordingly ſallied forth at the head of a body of ſoldiers, and repairing to the houſe where the murder was committed, they broke all the windows, and deſtroyed the furniture. This violence was puniſhed with three months confinement in the *black-hole*. At the end of that period he preſented a ſpectacle deſerving of pity; deſtitute of linen, clothes, and ſhoes, with a face pale and diſfigured, he at length arrived at the barracks. His fellow-ſoldiers received him with tranſports of joy, and being enraged at the ſeverity of his treatment, determined to avenge his wrongs, by inflicting vengeance on the informer; but he entreated, and at length prevailed upon them to deſiſt.

Soon after this he had an *affair of honour* with one of the non-

* "Il employait une partie de la nuit à broder des veſtes et des bonnets de police; ces faits ſont connus de ſes camarades aux gardes—Françaiſes."

Vie de Hoche, p. 20.

non-commiſſioned officers of his battalion. A corporal of the name of Serre oppreſſed the whole regiment, and acted on all occaſions in ſuch a manner as rendered him extremely hated; but no one dared to oppoſe him. Hoche at length determined to revenge the common cauſe, and ſent him a challenge. They accordingly met, and fought near the mills at Montmartre, on the 28th of December, 1788. The corporal, on this occaſion, received a deſperate wound, his opponent's ſword being plunged into his belly, up to the very hilt; he, however, recovered, and being driven from the *corps*, emigrated with the nobility in 1790; as for Hoche, he received a deep cut on his forehead, which gave a more martial air to his countenance, and detained him during a fortnight in the hoſpital.

The deſpotiſm employed by the officers about this period towards the guards proved unfriendly to the monarchy. On the demiſe of marſhal Biron, the duke de Chatelet was appointed his ſucceſſor, and is ſaid to have increaſed the diſcontent by avaricious ſpeculations on the ſubſiſtence of the ſoldiery: if this was actually the caſe, it conſtituted one of the moſt cruel refinements in tyranny. The diſcontents of the capital, the diſorder of the finances, and the miſeries of the people, inſtead of procuring any increaſe of the comforts of the troops, formed ſo many ſpecious pretexts for the exerciſe of new rigours. The French guards were confined to their barracks, and all communication between them and the citizens was interdicted. Puniſhments, ſome of them deemed cruel, all of them ignominious, are ſaid to have been practiſed; ſuch as the application of the flat part of the ſabre, and the piquet*. In order to occupy their minds, and prevent them from *hatching treaſon*, a novel ſyſtem of diſcipline was invented, or at leaſt practiſed, that thus, according to a Frenchman of ſome celebrity, "they might not have leiſure to reaſon."

Hoche, being now well known as a good ſoldier, was ſelected

* On this, as on all ſimilar occaſions, certain irritating expreſſions, productive of infinite miſchief, were either uſed by, or attributed to, perſons in authority: "Il faut conſigner le régiment, (avait dit Du Chatelet a la cour) afin d'avoir à oppoſer, dans les cas preſſans, les enfans de la canaille à la canaille même."

to

to teach the new manœuvres, and after dedicating a month to the attainment of a theory, replete with minutiæ, he triumphed over every obſtacle, and began to put it in practice. His conduct was ſo much approved of on this occaſion, that he was honoured with a *ſhoulder-knot*: thus he was deſtined to paſs through all the immediate ranks, and be a corporal before he became a general. But he had not as yet attained the honour of a halbert. Indeed he was on the point of loſing his late preferment, almoſt as ſoon as he had obtained it, for the grenadiers, while locked up in their barracks, having thought fit to fall a dancing, this was conſidered as turning their captivity into deriſion, and Hoche was called upon to name the authors of this new crime, under pain of being degraded and ſent to the *Abbaye*. On this occaſion he obſerved, "that if all the culprits were to be ordered thither, the dungeons muſt be enlarged."

It was about this period that Sieyes publiſhed his celebrated pamphlet reſpecting the *Third Eſtate**, and all Frenchmen, as if electrified by the ſound, were ready to prove that they appertained to it. Even the French guards †, hitherto conſidered as the ſatellites of arbitrary power, began at this period to ſide with the people, and on the 14th of July, 1789, Hoche and his companions were the firſt to aſſail and take poſſeſſion of the Baſtille.

Soon after this, theſe troops, hitherto ſo firmly attached to the monarchy, were organized by La Fayette, as the *Garde Soldie Pariſienne*. In a ſhort time they were once more formed anew, under another name, being numbered the 102d, 103d, and 104th regiments; and it was into the laſt of theſe that Hoche was admitted with the rank of ſecond adjutant ‡.

An occaſion now preſented itſelf of diſplaying his talents in a new point of view. The adminiſtration of the military hoſpital

* "Qu'eſt-ce que le tiers-état?"

† Theſe were always conſidered as the beſt informed troops in the ſervice. By mounting guard every week at Verſailles, they had become acquainted with the corruption of manners that prevailed in the court; and, in conſequence of preſerving order in the theatres, they were preſent during the performance of many plays; ſuch as Brutus, Charles IX. and Le Roi de Cocagne, calculated to inſpire them with ſentiments unfavourable to deſpotiſm.

‡ *Adjutant-ſous-officier.*

of

of the French guards having fallen into improper hands, he entered into a regular inveſtigation of the accounts, which had been rendered obſcure for the purpoſes of deception. At the ſame time he did every thing in his power to increaſe the diſcipline of the regiment to which he now belonged, and his talents at length met with their reward. During a review in the *Elyſian Fields*, in the vicinity of Paris, Servan, then miniſter at war, obſerved a platoon that diſtinguiſhed itſelf above all the reſt by the neatneſs of its evolutions, and the preciſion of all its movements. Inquiring who the young man was that conducted it, he beſtowed ſome flattering expreſſions, and four days afterwards tranſmitted him the *brevet* of lieutenant in the regiment of Rouergue.

From this moment the paſſion of ambition ſeems to have been awakened in his mind, and he appears to have exhibited frequent preſages, amounting to ſomething like a conſciouſneſs of his future deſtiny.

On the 24th of June, 1792, he ſet out from Paris to join his regiment, then in garriſon at Thionville. The ſiege of that town forms a memorable epoch in the preſent war, and he performed prodigies of valour during its continuance. Having at its concluſion marched with his battalion to the head quarters of the army of the Ardennes, he ſignalized himſelf in ſeveral actions, and led his own company into the very hotteſt of the enemy's fire. General Leveneur, who commanded in the abſence of Valence, remarking his energy, took great notice of the young lieutenant, and ſent him, at the head of a regiment of huſſars, to procure proviſions for the troops, who had received ſudden orders from Miranda to undertake the ſiege of Maeſtricht. This miſſion was fulfilled to the entire ſatisfaction of every body, until the defeat at Altenhowſen, when the army of the Ardennes inſtantly received orders to repaſs the Meuſe. On that occaſion Hoche performed the moſt eminent ſervice, by removing the powder from the Abbey of Merchen, bringing off the military cheſt of the diviſion, conducting the ſick in the hoſpital, &c. &c. at the very moment the whole appeared to be in the power of the enemy's huſſars.

From

From this period he became attached to general Leveneur's ſtaff, in the capacity of *aide-de-camp*, and participated with him in the dangers and fatigues of a diſaſtrous retreat; he was at his ſide during the action of Gutenhowen on the 16th of March; at the battle of Nerwinden on the 18th; at the affair which took place on the 20th on the heights of Vertrich; and at that of Blangen, on the 22d. After fighting from four o'clock in the morning to ſeven at night, in the neighbourhood of Louvain, the French army repaſſed the Dyle towards the evening and broke down all the bridges; on which occaſion Hoche diſputed the ground inch by inch along with the rear-guard, and thus afforded the army of the North an opportunity to effect a retreat.

When Dumouriez, at the camp of Maulde, at length threw off the maſk, and arreſted the deputies of the convention, general Leveneur determined to ſend a confidential perſon to Paris, to communicate the critical ſituation of the army to the executive council, and Hoche was entruſted with ſo delicate a commiſſion. On this occaſion he gave ſuch entire ſatisfaction to the then adminiſtration, that he was appointed adjutant-general, and chief of battalion, as a reward for his ſervices; but with a ſingular modeſty, he contented himſelf with the rank of captain and *aide-de-camp* to his patron, who was very fond of him, while he, in return, was accuſtomed to term him "his father."

General Leveneur being now appointed to the command of the army of the north during the abſence of Cuſtine, was ſoon after arreſted at his head quarters at Abancourt, in conſequence of orders from the deputy Levaſſeur de Sarth. Hoche expreſſed himſelf on that occaſion with a boldneſs and energy which did honour to his heart; in conſequence of this he was carried before the revolutionary tribunal of Douay, but his innocence being manifeſt, he was liberated, and inſtead of ſpending his time and venting his enmity, in empty complaints, he flew to encounter the enemy.

It was but a little before this period that the unfortunate expedition againſt Dunkirk had been conceived by the Engliſh cabinet, and a flotilla was at that very moment anchored before

the place. A body of British troops, united to twenty-two thouſand Auſtrians, were alſo encamped at Hoondſcoote, and kept up a ſecret communication with the town. Houchard having received orders to cover ſo important a place, immediately threw in ſupplies, under the command of general Souham, along with whom Hoche now ſerved as adjutant-general.

After organizing the garriſon, the latter ſoon infuſed a portion of his own enthuſiaſm into all around him. By repeated ſallies he kept up the ſpirits of the troops, and haraſſed the enemy, while Jourdan, who afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of Fleurus, and has ſince blighted all his former laurels on the banks of the Rhine, attacked the right wing and centre of the beſieging army.

After this, he undertook the conſtruction of ſeveral advanced works before the place, formed a *ſtoccado* by torch-light, and during the courſe of ſix weeks never once undreſſed himſelf at night, or ſlept in a bed.

Trulard and Berlier, the repreſentatives on miſſion, with a view to cheriſh and reward his activity, nominated him *chef de brigade*. He now formed an entrenched camp at Roſendall, and prolonging the old lines from Furnes to the ſea, ſheltered the town of Dunkirk from the danger of a freſh blockade. It was alſo at this period that he firſt conceived the idea of an invaſion of this country, and it ever after was a favourite maxim with him, "that England was only to be conquered in England."

The reputation of Hoche having once more attracted the notice of the committee of public ſafety, he was nominated a general of brigade; and on this occaſion, Souham, although he rejoiced at his promotion, acknowledged that he was deprived of *his right hand*.

He was now ordered into Auſtrian Flanders, and proved ſucceſsful in all his enterpriſes there. The following note, addreſſed to a friend, evinces the ardour of his mind better than a thouſand obſervations:

"I have made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to attack Furnes, and I hope to dine there to-morrow, the day after at Nieuport, and in four days more at Oſtend. May I prove as fortunate as Jourdan!

"But why not? I alſo ſerve my country."

The ſucceſs that accompanied theſe operations induced the government to overlook the youth of the general of diviſion, and appoint him commander in chief of the army of the Mozelle, which had remained for a conſiderable time in a ſtate of inactivity, and even ſuffered ſome diſgrace under the auſpices of Houchard. Indeed, at this period the affairs of France were in a very unproſperous ſtate, and both the *phyſical and moral* force of the enemy was nearly irreſiſtible. Raw levies, muſtered in haſte, and but poorly provided either with clothes, accoutrements, or ammunition, were oppoſed to the veteran legions of Germany; and men without a name, and oftentimes without a beard, headed theſe againſt the hoary diſciples of Daun, of Browne, of Laudon, and of Frederick the Great.

The ſcene of action on which Hoche now entered was peculiarly inauſpicious. One hundred thouſand Auſtrian and Pruſſian ſoldiers, commanded by the ableſt generals of Europe, preſented a redoubtable front, from the Upper Palatinate to the Hunſd-ruck. Fort Vauban was already in their poſſeſſion; the formidable and famous lines of Lauter and Weiſſembourg were occupied by their legions; Landau was blockaded by them; the department of the Lower Rhine was nearly in a ſtate of deſolation; while one of their columns lined the banks of the Sarre, another had croſſed the Bliſe; their left wing was entrenched in the nearly impregnable poſt of Kayſerſlautern; and all the country between the Sarre and Mozelle was expoſed to their ravages.

To armies ſo formed, and ſo ſtationed, Hoche had only to oppoſe undiſciplined legions, diſpirited in conſequence of their ſituation. The firſt thing he attempted was to obtain the confidence of his troops; a general appeared to him to be invincible, as ſoon as this point was gained; and the obedience that naturally followed, was far preferable to that which ſprung from force. He reſtored diſciple among the ſoldiery; he examined the characters, diſpoſitions, and talents, of his officers; he puniſhed and rewarded according to the crimes and merits of thoſe around him; and rendered himſelf reſpectable to all by the diſplay of extraordinary abilities.

After this he endeavoured to reanimate the courage of the inhabitants on the frontiers; he viſited the various towns in his neighbourhood; he frequented the popular ſocieties; he even aſcended the *tribune*, and always concluded with the exclamation of "Citizens, to arms!" This conduct not only obtained for him a number of partiſans, and rendered him extremely popular within the whole extent of his command, but actually procured volunteers, clothes, and proviſions: in ſhort, he arouſed the people, and generated a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm in the department that produced wonders*.

The committee of public ſafety, aware of the importance of raiſing the blockade of Bitche and Landau, ſent inſtructions to Hoche for this purpoſe; on receiving theſe orders, he made large drafts from the garriſons, and in caſe of an attempt on the quarter which he had thus weakened, he commanded Moreau to ſhut himſelf up in Thionville, which place he was to defend "until death." He then aſſembled his army, and addreſſed them in a ſpeech admirably calculated to rouſe their paſſions, and inflame their reſentments.

The plan of operations now formed by him does great credit to his talents; for it was ſo calculated, that in caſe of failure in any of the ſubordinate parts (a circumſtance that actually occurred), he would be ſtill able to attain the main deſign, which conſiſted in relieving Landau and Bitche, and effecting a junction with Pichegru, who then commanded the army of the Rhine.

On the 2d *Brumaire*, ſecond year, Hoche accordingly began his march, his right wing filing off by Saralbe, his left by Sarre-Libre, and the centre by Frandenbourg, taking care that the laſt did not make any movement until the two former were ſuffi-

* Bitche was at this period the only remaining fortification, on the preſervation of which depended the ſafety of Lorraine and Alſace. An emigrant engineer had conducted the Pruſſians thither; their advanced guard ſeized on the outworks, and had actually begun to cut their way through the inner gate with the hatchet, when the proprietor of a wooden houſe in that quarter, perceiving that the garriſon could not act with effect, in conſequence of the darkneſs, propoſed to ſet his own habitation on fire, that it might ſerve as a *flambeau*. The propoſition was accepted; and part of the enemy's army, while deſcending from the mountains, and the whole of the detachment before the gate, were cut off. *La Vie de Hoche.*

ciently advanced to ſecond it. The enemy, aſtoniſhed at this ſudden and formidable manœuvre, inſtantly quitted the Sarre, and after being defeated, retired towards the heights of Bliſecaſtel; but the other column of French had already paſſed the river Bliſe, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Biſing and Bliſecaſtel, after an engagement in which ſeven hundred of the enemy were killed.

On this the duke of Brunſwick fell back on Deux Ponts, and then retreated towards Kayſerſlautern, where all the Pruſſian columns reunited.

Hoche, knowing that his aim would be inſtantly attained if they were beaten here, began to ſcale the mountains with his troops, and on his advancing to the plain on the top found the enemy entrenched up to their chins. Notwithſtanding this, he determined to give battle, and on the ſignal gun being fired, he advanced from the ranks, and throwing his hat in the air, exclaimed, "Long live the republic!" The attack was bold, the defence obſtinate; the numbers were nearly equal, about forty thouſand being engaged on each ſide; but the advantage enjoyed by the duke of Brunſwick, in conſequence of the able manner in which he had fortified his poſition, was ſoon manifeſt. One of the French diviſions had alſo miſſed its way, which obliged the general to change his plan of operations; but after two days fighting, he could not make any conſiderable impreſſion. At length the ammunition of the Pruſſians was exhauſted, and Hoche determined next morning to carry their entrenchments with the bayonet; but during the night he received intelligence, that a ſupply had arrived, on which he ordered the drums to beat "a retrogade motion," for even then he could not be prevailed upon to call it by the name of a *retreat!*

He, however, was forced to fall backward on Bliescaſtel, and fearing leſt the people of Landau ſhould be reduced to deſpair, he planted ſeveral pieces of heavy artillery on the eminences, and gave notice, by frequent diſcharges during the night, that he was about to march to their relief. He accordingly ſet forward, met and engaged the enemy, whom he drove acroſs the Wert, and exclaimed on the field of battle, "Landau is delivered!" This,

as well as a junction with the army of the Rhine, was accordingly effected, after a long march through froſt and ſnow, and fourteen days inceſſant combat *.

Some diſpute now took place about the ſupreme command, which was at length ſettled by the appointment of Hoche, to be general in chief of both armies.

Theſe operations occaſioned great joy at Paris, and Barrere aſſerted in the tribune, "that the French troops had rendered victory permanent in their camp." This expreſſion, however bombaſtic it might appear, was in ſome meaſure realized by the events that followed, for the young and victorious general now advanced and ſeized on Germerſheim; Worms and Spire opened their gates to him, and Fort Vauban was retaken. In ſhort, he had determined to croſs the Rhine at Straſburgh, Offendorf, or Seltz, and penetrate into the heart of Germany with twenty-five thouſand men; but Pichegru oppoſed this ſcheme, and prevailed on the repreſentatives then on miſſion to refuſe their ſanction to it.

Soon after this Hoche, having incurred the hatred of St. Juſt, whoſe crimes brought him at length to the ſcaffold, began to be eyed by Robeſpierre with ſuſpicion; all his plans were treated with contempt; he was cloſely watched, and it was at length determined to arreſt him. But as this could not be effected with ſafety while at the head of his victorious army, a ſtratagem was recurred to; the command of the army of Italy was held out to him, and he had ſcarcely arrived at Nice, whither he had poſted on the wings of expectation, when he was ſeized and ſent a priſoner to Paris. There he was confined during ſeveral months in the *Conciergerie*, and ſeems to have been entirely forgotten. At length the *Thermidorian* revolution procured his liberation, and Carnot, who appears to have been unfriendly to him, conſented to his being again employed. He was accordingly en-

* At Freiſcheweiller, he is ſaid to have put up the enemy's cannon to auction, by ruſhing before his victorious battalions, and exclaiming, "Six hundred livres a piece for theſe ſix pounders!" The troops, on this, increaſing their price, replied, "Knock them down to us!" They were accordingly paid the ſums promiſed.

See Vie du Hoche, vol. i. p. 148, *& ſeq.*

truſted with the command of the army of the coaſts of Cherbourg: this ſituation, however, was not at all conformable to his ſentiments, for he was accuſtomed to exclaim, "How much more happy are they who fight daily with the Pruſſians!"

Indeed it muſt be owned that his preſent miſſion was attended with many diſagreeable circumſtances. He had now to carry on a civil war with Frenchmen againſt Frenchmen in an exhauſted country, and he was the ſucceſſor of a multitude of generals, all of whom had been diſplaced, and moſt of them degraded. He, however, examined the ſtate of the inſurgent departments with great care, and perceiving that ſuperſtition and ignorance formed the baſis of the conteſt, he determined to adopt a new method. He accordingly had recourſe to far different means from thoſe hitherto employed, and informed the committee of public ſafety, that a "few proclamations would be productive of infinitely more effect than ſixteen pounders." He next endeavoured to reſtore the confidence of the peaſantry, by repreſſing the licence of his own ſoldiers, and gave ſuch ſatisfaction to the government, that he was ſoon inveſted with the command of the diſtrict of Breſt.

So atrocious, however, had been the conduct of the republican generals before his time, that when he repaired to Rennes, with a view to defend it from the inſurgents, he could not prevail on any of the inhabitants to give him a lodging, although he offered them an extravagant price. He, however, at length found means to diſarm their prejudices, and ſo far was he from hunting down the prieſts, and thus *fanaticiſing* the people, that he permitted maſs to be ſaid, and ordered that the clergy ſhould be protected; nay, he took many of the confeſſors into his pay, and thus had not only the conſciences, but ſecrets of their devotees, at his command *.

But

* The following notes will prove that Hoche knew how to puniſh every violation of the laws of humanity.

"Au General Bonnaire.

27 *Ventoſe, An.* 4.

"L'aſſurance qu'on m'avoit donnée que vous aviés fait fuſiller les hommes pris dans le chateau de Saint Meſmin, aprés leſſr avoir promis leur grace, m'avait forcé de vous ordonner les arrêts, &c.".

"A l'Adju-

But although he protected the people and their prieſts, he was extremely averſe to enter into any negociations with the chiefs* of the inſurgents; however, having received poſitive orders to that purpoſe, he commenced a treaty with Cormartin, and ſome others, and at length declared it to be his firm opinion, that their principal leaders were to be bought off by means of money, and commiſſions in the republican army: "I am certain," he was accuſtomed to ſay, "that with two hundred thouſand livres (about nine thouſand pounds ſterling) and ten pair of epaulets, I could gain over a majority of theſe men; as for the reſt," added he, "a cane will ſuffice." They, however, found means to impoſe upon the repreſentatives, but the general was not ſo eaſily led into the ſnare; for Clermont having been permitted to travel through the cantons where he had ſome influence, under pretext of putting a ſtop to hoſtilities, was arreſted by his orders, while in the very act of diſtributing falſe aſſignats. La Tintiniac de la Boſſiere ſeized this opportunity of eſcaping in a ſkiff to Jerſey. Cormartin, at the ſame time, kept open houſe at Prevalaye, and beſtowed the money received from the republic upon the royaliſts, in the name of Louis XVIII. and actually recruited a freſh army of Chouans.

Having at length prevailed on the government to permit him to act, Hoche arreſted Cormartin, and fearing that Decils intended to ſeize on the arſenal of Ciſay, he marched a body of men againſt that leader, and put him and three hundred of his adherents to the bayonet.

"A l'Adjutant-General Crublier.

30 *Prairial, An.* 3.

"Je ſuis indigné de la conduit de ceux qui ont ſouffert que l'on promenât la tete d'un ennemi vaincu. Penſent ils, ces êtres feroces, nous rendre témoins des horribles ſcénes de la Vendée? Il eſt malheureux, mon cher Crublier, que vous ne vous ſoyez pas trouvé là pour empecher ce que je regarde comme un crime envers l'honneur, l'humanitee, la generoſité Françaiſe. Sans perdre un moment, vous voudrez bien faire arrêter les officiers qui commandaient le detachement des grenadiers, et ceux d'entre eux qui ont promené la tête du cadavre de Boiſhardy."

* It is a certain fact that ſome of the leaders had become ſo powerful, that even the committee of public ſafety at length found it neceſſary to treat with them on the part of the republic, not as ſovereigns with revolted ſubjects, but as one independent power with another.

It was at this period that the fatal expedition was undertaken againſt Quiberon. On receiving the intelligence that an Engliſh flotilla, with ten thouſand emigrants on board, was about to attempt a deſcent, the French general obſerved very coolly, "If they but once land, they ſhall never return." He then ſet out from Rennes, and gave orders to general Cherin to remain behind and aſſemble a body of troops, collect a park of artillery, provide the neceſſary proviſions, ammunition, &c. He himſelf took poſt at Auray, with a ſmall force, and allowed the emigrants to make themſelves maſters, without any oppoſition on his part, of the fort of Penthievre, and the peninſula which it commands. He even permitted them to eſtabliſh magazines, and to throw up entrenchments, only taking care to confine them to the ſpot they then occupied, obſerving jocularly, "That he intended to ſhut them up like ſo many rats in a trap*."

In the mean time the repreſentatives, Tallien and Blad, arrived from Paris, inveſted with full powers to decide on every thing that related to the ſafety of the ſtate; and Hoche having been joined by numerous detachments, effective operations inſtantly commenced. On the engineers being conſulted, they conſidered it as an act of temerity to attempt to carry fort Penthievre by aſſault, and recommended to open the trenches and commence a regular ſiege. But the impatience and audacity of the general would not permit this. He divided his army into three columns, and marched them during the night, amidſt a terrible tempeſt, with a view to ſurpriſe the place. At break of day they diſcovered the fort, which poured ſuch vollies of grape upon them, that two of the diviſions received a check, and began to retire; but on a ſudden the cry of victory reſounded from all parts, and they returned. This proceeded from the column under general Menage, which had waded along the coaſt, with the ſea up to the ſoldiers' bellies, under a heavy diſcharge from the Engliſh gun-boats, and then ſcaling the rocks in the neighbourhood, at length reaching Penthievre, where they inſtantly ſubſti-

* If we are to believe the writer of Hoche's life, the emigrants, inſtead of puſhing forward, and overwhelming their enemies before they had aſſembled, loſt a great deal of precious time *(à bénir les égliſes)* in the benediction of the churches at Quiberon.

tuted

tuted the three coloured flag in the room of the white one. Tallien and Hoche headed the troops that entered; three hundred unfortunate emigrants were put to the ſword, and many of the reſt are ſaid to have periſhed by the canniſter ſhot from the flotilla, which during the confuſion could not diſtinguiſh friends from foes. On beholding the gallant Sombreuil, the French general wept, and exclaimed, "Would to God that ſuch brave men as you burned with the ſame patriotiſm that we do*!"

He

* The following papers, relative to the diſaſtrous affair of Quiberon, cannot fail to be intereſting.

"PLAN D'ATTAQUE DE QUIBERON.

Vannes, 1er. Thermidor, an 3.

"La gloire des armes de de la république ne permettant pas a ſes défenſeurs d'attendre plus longtemps pour jouir du fruit de leurs travaux, le général penſe que le plus ſûr moyen de les faire parvenir à leur but, eſt de frapper un coup tel que nos ennemis, déjà conſternés de leurs défaites, rentrent tout-à-coup dans le néant. C'eſt ſans doute donner une nouvelle preuve d'attachement à l'armée que de ſeconder ſon zéle. La valeur et les talens des officiers-généraux et particuliers, la diſcipline et la bravoure des ſoldats, ſont de ſurs garans que le projet du général réuſſira. En conſéquence, il ordonne ce qui ſuit:

"La preſqu'île de Quiberon ſera attaquée aujourd'hui 1er Thermidor à onze heures du ſoir.

"Le général Humbert à la tête de cinq-cents hommes d'élite de ſon avant-garde, et conduit par un guide que je lui enverrai, ſe portera ſur le village de Keroſtin, en paſſant par la laiſſe de la baſſe mer, laiſſant le fort Penthièvre à droite, et la flotte à gauche. Il fera marcher ſur deux files avec le moins de bruit et le moins de diſtance poſſible. Arrivé près du village, il tournera bruſquement à droite, et fera courir ſa troupe juſqu'au fort dont il s'emparera en franchiſſant la paliſſade; il égorgera tout ce qui ſera dans le fort, à moins que les fuſilliers ne viennent ſe joindre à ſa troupe, les officiers, ſergens d'infanterie et canonniers n'auront aucune grace.

"Le général de brigade Botta ſuivra Humbert avec le reſte de l'avant-garde, et dans le même ordre. Il s'emparera du village Keroſtin; il fera fuſiller tous les individus armés qui voudraient ſortir des maiſons. Les ſoldats ſans armes qui viendront ſe joindre à lui ſeront accueillis; les officiers et ſous-officers ſeront fuſillés ſur-le-champ.

"En arrivant dans la preſqu'île, ces deux officiers-généraux feront crier par leur troupe: *à bas les armes! à nous les patriotes!*

"L'adjudant-général Menage favoriſera l'attaque du général Humbert, du attaquant lui-même les grandes gardes des ennemis. Il les culbutera, leur paſſera ſur le corps, et marchera droit au fort. Après avoir franchi la paliſſade, il ſuivra par ſa gauche le foſſé juſqu'a la gorge. Le citoyen Menage ne fera pas tirer un coup de fuſil; il fera paſſer au fil de la bayonnette tout ce qu'il rencontrera d'ennemis. La troupe qui doit faire cette attaque ſera l'élite du général Valletaux.

"Le

He now propoſed an expedition againſt Guernſey and Jerſey; but this is ſaid to have been rejected by the influence of Boiſſy d'Anglas,

" Le général Valletaux ſoutiendra avec le reſte de ſa brigade, l'attaque de Menage. Il fera enſorte de ſe précipiter au fort, en s'en rapprochant le plus poſſible, afin d'éviter ſon feu.

" Humbert ſe mettra en marche par ſa gauche à minuit précis. Menage marchera par la droit un quart d'heure après. Les deux colonnes ſuivront la matée, duſſent-elle marcher un peu dans la vaſe.

" Le général Lemoine portera la brigade à hauteur de l'avant-garde; il y laiſſera un bataillon avec deux pièces de 4, et marchera en bataille à hauteur de la queue de la colonne du général Valletaux qu'il doit ſoutenir.

" Le camp ſera gardé par les deux bataillons de la réſerve, et le 3me. de la 12me. demi-brigade. Le général Drut commandera ces troopes. Ce même officier voudra bien donner ordre au commandant de la batterie des pièces de 24 de tirer à boulets rouges ſur les bâtimens qui voudraient nous inquiéter.

" La cavalerie ſe tiendra en bataille derière le bataillon laiſſé avec les pièces de 4 à hauteur de l'avant-garde.

" Les ſoldats feront ſans ſacs, et tous les officiers à pied; l'eau-de-vie ſera diſtribuée à huit heures du ſoir.

" L'on ne donnera l'ordre aux troupes qu'à 9 heures; les diſpoſitions ſe feront en ſilence; il ſera défendu de cracher, touſſer, ou fumer.

" Les pionniers, chargés de ſacs à terre remplis d'avance, et faſcinés, marcheront à la queue de la colonne de Menage; ils combleront les foſſés ou chemins creux qui mettraient trop d'obſtacle à la marche. Vingt-quatre des plus forts et des plus adroits ſeront porteurs de haches et maſſes de fer, avec leſquelles ils briſeront les barrières.

" Le général Valletaux fera ſuivre ſa colonne par une compagnie de canonniers qui ſera placée aux batteries ennemies, dont on ſe ſervira le plutôt poſſible.

" Le fort en notre puiſſance, toutes les troupes pourſuivront l'ennemi, mais en ordre. Elles ſe rallieront à Keroſtin, près du moulin, et marcheront enſuite ſur Pontivy et S. Pierre. Le général Lemoine laiſſera deux bataillons au fort, et ira prendre poſition à Pontivy.

" L'ambulance ſe tiendra au camp. Le général Drut donnera les ordres les plus exacts pour que perſonne ne l'outre-paſſe.

" Si, par des évènemens qu'on ne peut prévoir, l'armée étatit contrainte à ſe retirer, elle le ferait en bon ordre. Les troupes conſerveraient l'ordre même, marcheraient au pas accéléré, et la retraite ſe ferait par échelons.

" Le général Lemoine eſt chargé de donner aux officiers-généraux les ordres de détails y relatifs. Il voudra bien les raſſembler au quartier-général où je ſerai à ſept heures du ſoir."

" *Au citoyen Chérin.*

2 Thermidor, an 3.

" Les principaux officiers émigrés ſont tués ou bleſſés à mort. Puiſaye, l'aſtucieux ſcélérat Puyſaye demande à parlementer, ce que nous ferons à coups de canon. Les républicains

d'Anglas, then a member of the committee of public ſafety. Another direction was, however, given to his talents, for he was nominated to the excluſive command of the army of the weſt, and thus had the whole charge of the *Vendean war* confided to his management.

On this he determined to aſpire to the glory of putting an end to it. For this purpoſe he held out the olive with one hand, and the ſword with another. After granting an amneſty to all thoſe who had been miſled, he propoſed to unite the three armies of Cherburg, Breſt, and the weſt, under the name of the army of the coaſts of the ocean, and being ſeconded by the intereſt of Barras, this was inſtantly effected. He began by diſarming the inſurgent departments; he marched a body of troops againſt Charette, whom he ſeized, and ordered to be executed; he pervaded the departments of Sarthe, Main, Loire, and Morbihan, with his moving columns, and while he refuſed quarter to the chiefs, he was accuſtomed to cry out, on ſeeing the armed peaſantry at his mercy, "Theſe unfortunate people are Frenchmen!" With ſome of the principal leaders, he entered into engagements, and Scepeaux was the firſt of the Chouans who ſubmitted; his example was ſoon followed by many of his party. In ſhort, he reſtored to their lands and poſſeſſions ſuch of the proprietors as had fled to Rennes, Angers, and Nantes; he declared the principal towns to be no longer in a ſtate of ſiege; he proclaimed that martial law (the moſt odious of all tyrannies) had ceaſed; he diſſolved military tribunals (the moſt unjuſt of all uſurpations), and having accompliſhed the object of his

républicains enrôlés de force dans les priſons d'Angleterre, viennent en foule pour voir leurs amis: nous en avons reçu cette nuit trente-trois. Vous peaſez bien qu'avant de les mettre en liberté, nous ſaurons quels ils ſont."

"*Aux citoyens Chérin et Lavalette.*

Même jour.

"Citoyen général, les valeureuſes troupes que je commande ont, à deux heures du matin de ce jour, emporté d'aſſaut le fort Penthièvre et le camp retranché de la preſqu'île, dont elles ſe ſont emparé ſans faire *halte*. N'ayant d'autre alternative que de ſe jeter à la mer, ou d'être paſſée au fil de la bayonnette, la *noble* armée a mis bas les armes. Elle arrive priſonnière à Auray, conduite par quatre bataillons. Donnez avis de cette opération aux repréſentans du peuple, et aux amis de la patrie."

wiſhes,

wiſhes, within the ſpace of eight weeks he acquired the glorious title of "Pacificator of *La Vendée*."

No ſooner was this achieved, than another great object preſented itſelf to his ambition: this was no other than the conqueſt of England, a country with which he ſeems to have been but little acquainted*! Truguet, then miniſter of marine, joined heartily in the plan; but money, and indeed means of another kind, were wanting, to accompliſh ſo gigantic a project; and it was at length determined, that his efforts ſhould be confined to an expedition againſt Ireland. He accordingly ſet off for Breſt, and finding admiral Villaret-Joyeuſe, who commanded at that port, unfriendly to his views, he denounced him, and procured his removal. He himſelf now ſuperintended the dock-yards, accelerated the public works, and prepared every thing connected with a grand naval equipment. The war of *La Vendée* had brought his talents as an administrator, as well as a general, into action, and rear-admiral Bruix, who was killed in the engagement at Aboukir, declared, "that after a ſingle year's experience Hoche would become the beſt naval miniſter that France had ever beheld."

At length every thing being prepared, the general embarked on board the frigate *La Fraternité*, and navigated the ocean for the firſt time. The troops that accompanied him conſiſted of fifteen thouſand men, and the wind was for a few hours favourable; but a gale coming on during the night, Hoche was ſepe-

* The entire ignorance of Hoche, in reſpect to this country, may be ſeen by the following note:

"AU DIRECTOIRE.

17 Prairial, an. 4.

"Je croiſque le directoire pourrait penſer à une expédition ſérieuſe ſur les côtes d'Angleterre; je m'en ſuis occupé autre-fois, and je crois entrévoir que les circonſtances ne ſont pas défavorables. Je demanderai au directoire la permiſſion de correſpondre, &c.

"Pluſieurs officiers-généraux ſe ſont préſentés, pour vanger la patrie des maux que nous a faits l'infame gouvernement Anglais. J'ai preſque la certitude que celui-ci ne ſait pluſque faire. *Le parliament étant prorogé, le roi peut ſeul, en cas d'evenémens malheureux, ordonner de grandes meaſures, que ne doivent mécontenter le peuple. Si dans un moment de troubles le parlement eſt aſſemblé, ne peut-on eſpérer une revolution!!!*"

rated

rated from his army. Part of the ſcattered fleet arrived on the coaſt of Ireland, and ſome veſſels actually entered Bantry bay; there they held a council of war, and at length determined to return without effecting a landing. In the mean time the frigate, with the general and his ſuite on board, found means to ſteer towards the place of their deſtination; but it was too late, for Hoche learned that the main body had abandoned the enterpriſe; on this he alſo was obliged to make for the French ſhore, and is ſaid to have wept when he beheld the laſt glimpſe of Ireland *.

After

* The following proclamation is drawn up with much art, and had a landing been effected, there can be but little doubt that, when tranſlated into Engliſh and Iriſh, it would have been attended with conſiderable miſchief.

"EXPÉDITION D'IRELANDE.

"*Proclamation à la nation Irlandoiſe.*

"PEUPLE D'IRELAND,

"A diverſes époques vous avez manifeſté votre horreur pour l'eſclavage auquel l'ambition Anglaiſe vous a réduit; et malgré votre bravoure naturelle, vos efforts pour ſecouer le joug odieux furent ſans ſuccès, déjouées par l'adreſſe et la perfidie du miniſtère Anglais qui, employant tous les moyens de corruption, opéra, chaque fois, la diviſion parmi vos chefs, et parvint, par leurs trahiſons ou leur déſunion, à vous retenir dans les fers.

"Maintenant, la glorieuſe et à jamais mémorable révolution Françaiſe a rallumé le feu ſacré de la liberté que la tyrannie avait envain tâché d'éteindre dans vos cœurs.

"L'expoſé touchant de votre ſituation, de vos vœux, ayant excité chez tous les républicains Français ces ſentimens of générosité et de bienveillance qu'ils ſe plaiſent à accorder aux peuples opprimés, le directoire exécutif s'eſt déterminé à venir à votre aide d'une manière qui doit remplir vos plus hautes eſpérances.

"Je viens, pour cet effet, de débarquer chez vous à la tête d'une armée de républicains accoutumés à vaincre ſous leurs chefs. Nous nous préſentons comme amis ſincères et zélés de tous ceux qui épouſeront la cauſe de la liberté et nous n'ambitionnons que la ſeule gloire de briſer vos fers et punir vos tyrans.

"Ce n'eſt plus ici la lutte des maiſons d'Hanôvre et de Stuart, l'une pour demeurer, l'autre pour redevenir votre deſpote: les hommes libres ne combattent que pour le maintien et l'égalité des droits, et déteſtent juſqu'au nom d'un maître.

"Perſuadés que vous partagez avec nous ces nobles ſentimens, nous vous offrons nos bras pour le rétabliſſement, de votre dignité nationale, par le choix libre que vous ferez d'une forme de gouvernement qui aſſure la durée de votre indépendance.

"La liberté illimitée de prononcer ſon opinion ſur les perſonnes et les choſes, éclairera vos repréſentans dans la confection de vos loix; la publicité que vous donnerez aux délibérations, préviendra les erreurs; l'ordre et le calme que je vous aiderai à y maintenir,

After experiencing ſome heavy gales of wind, and being chaſed by two Engliſh cruiſers of ſuperior force, the *Fraternité* at length

maintenir, vous garantiront des excès de l'enthouſiaſme, quelquefois plus dangereux que les entrepriſes de la malveillance.

" L'exemple des autres nations, l'expérience acquiſe par leurs diverſes eſſais, tout vous promet un bonheur qui a coûté cher à vos amis, et qu'ils ont la généroſité de vous offrir pour la ſeule démarche de vous prononcer avec la fermeté convenable et digne d'un peuple de quatre millions d'individus.

" Il n'eſt pas ſans doute, un ſeul Irlandais inſtruit, qui ne ſente les avantages de la poſition géographique, de la population de ſon pays, de la richeſſe de ſon ſol, de l'activité, de la force et du courage de ſes habitans, du nombre, de la bonté et de l'heureuſe diſpoſition de ſes ports.

" Son indignation doit donc être au comble, lorſqu'il enviſage l'affreuſe miſère de la très-grande majorité de ſes compatriotes, et réfléchit qu'en vain la nature lui a prodigué ſes bienfaits, ſi l'on ne parvient à circonſcrire les effets de la tyrannie ſyſtématique du gouvernement Anglais dans le ſein de la cruelle Albion.

" En effet, c'eſt par ſuite de cet eſprit envahiſſeur, que l'Angleterre eſt parvenue ſucceſſivement à paralyſer toutes les reſſources phyſiques et morales de l'Irlande.

" La politique Anglaiſe y a conſtamment entretenu un levain d'animoſité et de méfiance entre les différentes ſectes religieuſes, dont la fanatiſme, excité et dirigé par la cour de Londres, empêchait le ralliement des forces Irlandaiſes contre l'ennemi commun.

" De cette déſunion naquit la facilité de traiter les Irlandais en eſclaves, en les excluant de toutes les places civiles et militaires, ou eccléſiaſtiques, pour raiſon du culte romain, que profeſſent les trois quarts; l'autre quart qui eſt preſbytérien, a la qualité qu'il a plu aux Anglais de lui donner de *diſſident*. Par cette ſeule diſpoſition, tout devint bientôt la proie d'une poignée d'étrangers proteſtans, créatures dévouées au Machiavéliſme et aux rapines du gouvernement Anglais.

" Ces ſuppôts du deſpotiſme, à force de ſpoliations et d'injuſtices envers vos ancêtres et vous, ſont devenus preſque les ſeuls poſſeſſeurs des biens-fonds de votre pays, dont le revenu, paſſant en Angleterre, vous livre à la plus pénible indigence; et de crainte que votre activité induſtrieuſe ne vous relevât de cet accablement, l'acte de navigation fut dirigé aux fins de la preſſurer et de vous priver de tous moyens de former une marine.

" L'abſolue nullité de repréſentation nationale, dans votre parlement, ne vous permet pas même l'eſpoir de redreſſement de vos griefs.

" La défenſe d'acquérir des propriétés foncières, même d'en exploiter à longs baux, et qui n'a que tout récemment reçu quelques légères modifications, a forcé la plupart des cultivateurs à devenir des journaliers et valets des uſurpateurs des biens de leurs aïeux.

" On vous a ôté, et par la ſévérité des loix, et par la privation des facultés la poſſibilité de donner quelque éducation à vos enfans; enfin, on a pouſſé la barbarie juſqu'a vous interdire la langue de vos pères.

" Ajoutes à l'eſquiſſe du tableau de votre miſère, celui qu'offre ſon paſſage, dans

les

length got into the midſt of an Engliſh ſquadron; but, by ſtriking the republican colours, and ſteering the ſame courſe with the enemy

les rues de Londres, une foule d'Irlandais, deſcendans des plus anciennes familles d'un pays jadis floriſſant, réduits aujourd'hui, pour vivre, aux travaux les plus vils, et ſans ceſſe abreuvés, par l'inſolente populace de cette terre inhoſpitalière, d'amertumes et d'humiliations.

" Rapproches maintenant de ces triſtes vérités, la certitude que je vous apporte d'obtenir, ſi vous avez le courage de le vouloir, une forme de gouvernement indépendant, calculée ſur vos plus grands avantages, ne connoiſſant de bornes à ſon autorité que l'impoſſible, ou la volonté du peuple devenu ſouverain; une tolérance fraternelle pour tous les cultes qui, en abjurant une animoſité réſultante d'opinions religieuſes, vous préſervera des machinations perfides de l'Angleterre, dont vous étiez, preſbytériens et catholiques, tour-à-tour les jouets. Conſidérés, dans ce nouvel ordre de choſes, combien votre réunion, pour la félicité de tous, vous fournira de moyens de toute eſpèce, pour réſiſter efficacement à ceux qui oſeraient entreprendre de la troubler. Sachez y appercevoir les reſſources que vous pouvez tirer d'une population abondante en hommes de génie et de courage, d'un ſol fertile en toutes productions de premiers beſoins, d'une induſtrie active, et bien dirigée, des facilités nombreuſes et ſûres pour un commerce d'exportation et de retour. Quelle augmentation vos forces ne recevront-elles pas des nombreux habitans que votre liberté et votre aiſance retiendront non-ſeulement chez vous, mais encore y appelleront des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, où ils étaient émigrés pour ſe ſouſtraire à la misère et à l'oppreſſion? L'abolition de tous privilèges et diſtinctions, en permettant à chaque individu d'aſpirer, par ſes talens et ſes vertus, aux premières dignités de l'Etat, répandra, dans toutes les profeſſions, cette ſoif ſalutaire de gloire qui multiplie les grands hommes, et votre repréſentation nationale ſe compoſera de ſujets du premier mérite.

" Enfin, une conſtitution librement choiſie, que vous aurez calculée ſur toutes les convenances, achevera de conſolider à jamais votre exiſtence politique, en même temps que votre indépendance.

" Tels, et plus nombreux encore, ô peuple d'Irland! ſont les réſultats de la liberté et de l'égalité, que la généroſité, des républicains Français vous offre par mon organe, et que vous garantiſſent le zèle et l'intrépidité de mes compagnons d'armes. Les pouvoirs dont je ſuis revêtu, m'autoriſent à ordonner ce qui paraîtra le plus utile à cette noble entrepriſe. Je vais, par le premier uſage que j'en ferai, détruire toute poſſibilité d'inquiétude que la malveillance chercherait à inſpirer aux ames timorées, ſur la conduite que tiendra la brave armée que j'ai l'honneur de commander, à l'égard des habitans du pays, pendant le ſéjour qu'elle y fera.

" En conſéquence, je déclare ici ſolennellement, que toute violation de la liberté des perſonnes et des propriétés, du reſpect des cultes et des autorités légalement conſtituées par le bon peuple d'Irlande, ſeront punies de mort dans les vingt-quatre heures de l'arreſtation des coupables, quelle que puiſſe être leur qualité ou condition, et que l'ordre et la diſcipline ſeront maintenus, ſous les peines les plus ſévères.

" Raſſure-

enemy (a manœuvre practiſed at the inſtigation of rear-admiral Bruix), ſhe found means to eſcape, and anchored at the iſle of

« Raſſurez-vous, comme vous devez l'être, contre tout ce qui pourrait vous paraître un ſujet d'inquiétude. Je me flatte de trouver, de votre part, tout le zèle et facilités que demandent mes opérations. Je compte que tous les amis ſincères du bonheur de l'Irlande, en état de prendre les armes pour la défenſe de la cauſe, accoureront ſous les drapeaux républicains, où ils ſeront armés ſur-le-champ, et qu'ainſi ils accroîtront promptement mes moyens d'expulſer l'ennemi commun de votre territoire. De la célérité de cette jonction, dépendra eſſentiellement le plus ou le moins d'effuſion de ſang : et vous m'en trouverez très-économe.

« J'aurai ſoin qu'il ſoit tenu des états exacts des noms et ſurnoms des perſonnes, ainſi que de la date de leur arrivée, avec des notes ſur le degré de zèle qu'ils auront montré, afin que dans le diſtribution des propriétés qui ſeront confiſquées ſur l'ennemi, la plus ſtricte juſtice règle le partage ſelon le mérite de chacun.

« Les milices et autres troupes qui nous joindront, ſeront auſſi admiſes, et de la même manière, au partage.

« Il en ſera de même à l'égard des matelots et marins Irlandais qui ſe joindront à nous ; et les vaiſſeaux où bâtimens qu'ils ameneraient dans vos ports, ou même en France, leur ſeront payés ſur l'eſtimation d'experts, de leur valeur totale.

« Mais ſi, contre toute vraiſemblance, et malgré la juſtice de votre cauſe, il ſe trouvait quelque Irlandais aſſez dénaturé, aſſez inſenſible à la gloire et au ſalut de ſa patrie, pour les ſacrifier à des conſidérations égoïſtes qui lui fiſſent prendre parti contre nous, je déclare que par-tout où les républicains pourront s'en ſaiſir, il ſera traité, non en priſonnier de guerre, comme les troupes Anglaiſes, mais en rebelle et traître à ſon pays, et que tous ſes biens ſeront confiſqués.

« Nous invitons les autorités publiques et légales à confiſquer également les propriétés des fuyards, ou émigrés, ainſi que celles des perſonnes qui, ſous une inſidieuſe neutralité, ſeraient demeurées ſpectatrices paſſives des dangers de leur patrie, en ſe réſervant la faculté de ſe prononcer ſans riſques pour le parti vainqueur. De tous les genres de lâcheté, cette dernière étant la plus mépriſable, elle emportera non-ſeulement confiſcation des biens, mais encore la déportation des coupables.

« En attendant que les circonſtances permettent le raſſemblement des repréſentans proviſoires pour établir une adminiſtration nationale régulière, j'invite tous les patriotes éclairés à me faire part de leurs connaiſſances locales, et de leurs moyens pour accélérer l'organiſation des autorités révolutionnaires.

« Peuple d'Irlande, je viens de vous faire part des intentions de la nation Françaiſe ; je vous ai auſſi exprimé mes ſentimens perſonnels, avec la franchiſe d'un ſoldat qui attache ſa gloire au ſuccès de notre commune entrepriſe : ſonges que l'Europe entière qui vous regarde, va juger ſi vous mérites qu'on briſe vos chaînes ; rien de plus aiſé, ſi vous le voulez courageuſement. Levez-vous à-la-fois en maſſe ſur tous les points de votre île : mes braves frères d'armes et moi ſerons votre centre de ralliement. Une force auſſi impoſante vous aſſurera, ſans coup férir, une victoire prompte et complette ; et de même que les rayons vivifians du ſoleil purgent la terre des vapeurs peſtilentielles, et détruiſent les inſectes qui s'en nourriſſaient, de même auſſi, du foyer de votre patriotiſme partiront les traits qui chaſſeront la tyrannie, et anéantiront ſes vils ſatellites, au cri unanime des Irlandais et des Français, de *vive la liberté ! vive l'égalité !*"

Rhé,

Rhé, exactly a month after her departure from Breſt. The Scævola, a ſhip of the line, arrived at the ſame time, but was in ſuch diſtreſs, that if it had not been for the aſſiſtance ſhe received from the Revolution, one of her conſorts, ſhe muſt have ſunk, as ſhe had been actually abandoned by the crew, who refuſed to pump any longer *.

The general was not diſgraced, as had been hoped by his enemies, in conſequence of the failure of this expedition; on the contrary, the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, which had hitherto been ſucceſſively commanded by Jourdan, Kleber, and Bernadotte, was entruſted to his care. The troops in this quarter had remained, during a conſiderable time, in a ſtate of inactivity; and the exceſſes committed by them were ſo great, that his immediate predeceſſor had termed them "a horde of robbers."

The new commander was not diſmayed at theſe ſiniſter appearances. He began by reforming the officers; he then meliorated the ſituation of the ſoldiers; he entered into all the minutiæ of the ſervice, and caſt a ſevere and ſcrutinizing eye on the conduct of the commiſſaries.

To enable him to act with greater effect, general Hoche was now inveſted by the directory with the adminiſtration of the conquered countries; and he immediately appointed a board, conſiſting of five members, to redreſs the complaints brought before it. He alſo introduced a ſalutary regulation about the ſame time into the army, by organizing all the different kinds of troops under diſtinct leaders. Thus, the dragoons were commanded by general Klein; the chaſſeurs by Richepauſe; the huſſars by Ney; and the heavy cavalry by Hautpoult: each of theſe formed a ſeparate brigade, and the infantry was divided into ſix grand diviſions. This added freſh ſtrength, by concentration, to his forces; and in a ſhort time he prepared to attack the Auſtrians, whom he hoped to be able to drive before him to Vienna.

* The famous M. Shee, who accompanied Hoche on this expedition, having been ſeized with a fit of the gout, a little before they landed, would have been left on the beach, but for the gallantry of the general, who actually took him upon his back and carried him to Rochelle, which was upwards of two miles from the place of debarkation.

Having thus, in leſs than two months, infuſed new ſpirit and diſcipline into his troops, he then determined to take the field, and, in order to inſpire them with greater confidence, he aſſerted publicly, "that it was impoſſible to find any army more brave, or better diſplined, than that of the Sambre and Meuſe, and that whoever commanded ſuch ſoldiers was ſure of beating the enemy."

Hoche had formed the project of croſſing the Rhine at the bridge of Neuwiede, and alſo the Sieg, at different points on the ſame day. Having notified the rupture of the armiſtice to the Auſtrians, he ſent off a courier to the directory, to intimate "that he was now ready, with a body of eighty-ſix thouſand men, to advance towards the Danube, and oblige the enemy to ſubmit to a peace advantageous to the republic." He accordingly ſet forward, croſſed the Rhine, the paſſage of which, by Louis XIV. in 1672, was deemed ſo great a feat as to be recorded in medals and paintings, without any difficulty, and ſeized on the heights of Neuwied. Having carried the enemy's works with the bayonet, he purſued them to Dierdorff, which he alſo obliged them to abandon, and encaped at Montabaur and Altenkirchen. On this occaſion the Auſtrians loſt one thouſand men, and had eight thouſand more taken priſoners, while twenty-ſeven pieces of cannon, ſeven ſtand of colours, five hundred horſe, and a great quantity of baggage and ammunition, fell into the hands of the conqueror.

A few days after, the whole army had croſſed the Lahn, and advanced towards Wetzlar and Herborn; Lefevre, with a large column, alſo paſſed the Nidda, and proceeded ſtraight on the road to Frankfort; in ſhort, the Auſtrians in this quarter were only ſaved from the vengeance that now menaced them, by the arrival of a courier from Italy, with diſpatches, intimating that Buonaparte had entered into an armiſtice with the emperor. In conſequence of this, Hoche immediately diſpatched the following letter:

"*To the Executive Directory.*

"After having marched thirty-five leagues in four days, and been victorious in three battles, and five ſkirmiſhes, the

army of the Sambre and Meuſe has learned with the moſt lively emotion, on the banks of the Nidda, that a peace is concluded. If this act of beneficence be the fruit of French valour, your labours and conſtancy have not a little contributed to that event.

"LAZARUS HOCHE."

He then took meaſures for ſecuring a regular ſupply of proviſions to his troops; ſent the greater part of a million of *livres*, which Buonaparte had tranſmitted from Italy, to the army of the Rhine, and diſtributed recompences among the generals under him. To one he preſented a horſe, to another a ſword; and each of theſe gifts was accompanied by a note, in which he obſerved "that this mark of his friendſhip was beſtowed, in conſequence of their attachment to the republic."

Having now ſome leiſure, his active mind was once more engaged in a new project for effecting a deſcent in Ireland: in conſequence of this, he firſt repaired to Paris, and then to Holland; but the defeat of the Dutch fleet under admiral De Winter luckily put an end to his ſcheme at the very time he was marching a body of troops to Breſt.

The directory being now at a loſs for a general of reputation in the capital, inſtantly fixed its eyes on Hoche; he was ſoon after nominated miniſter at war, and enjoyed the entire confidence of Barras, who had already prepared the materials for the exploſion that ſpeedily enſued.

In the mean time, the party in oppoſition to the government ſuſpecting that Hoche had not arrived at the age pointed out by the conſtitution, prevailed on the council of five hundred to ſend a meſſage to the executive power, to inquire into the fact: on this the general reſigned, and repaired to Charleville, where he had ſtationed a body of troops for the purpoſe, as is ſuppoſed, of marching to Paris. Having countermanded the orders to this effect, he ſet off for the head quarters of his army.

Notwithſtanding the party of the royaliſts was gaining ground daily in the legiſlature, and the health of Hoche now began to decline, he determined to celebrate the anniverſary of the 10th of Auguſt with great pomp, and on that occaſion pronounced a ſpeech to

the army, in which he alluded to recent events, and threatened to puniſh the perfidy of the triumphant faction. After a grand field day, a ſumptuous entertainment was given, and during the deſert a variety of energetic toaſts were drank, all of which were printed and affixed throughout the ſtreets of Paris.

While Hoche diſpatched two confidential officers, Cherin and Angereau, to aſſiſt in the revolution that enſued in a few days after their arrival in Paris, he himſelf was labouring under a mortal diſeaſe. His phyſicians preſcribed the warm bath and repoſe, and he was adviſed to retire to Metz. This, however, he refuſed to comply with; and on a meſſenger arriving with intelligence of the events of the 18th *Fructidor*, he got out of his bed, exclaiming, "The republic triumphs!"

He was at length intruſted with the command of the army of the Rhine, on which he inſtantly repaired to Straſburgh. There, however, he became worſe, in conſequence perhaps of a recipe he had received from a German empiric whom he had ſecretly conſulted. He at length perceived that death was faſt approaching, and prepared for the event with an undaunted mind. At this criſis his thoughts were neither occupied about himſelf nor his family. Pericles, in a ſimilar ſituation, conſoled himſelf with the idea that no citizen had worn mourning on his account; Hoche reflected with equal pleaſure on the pacification of *La Vendée*. Although he could hardly find breath to utter his ſentiments, he beſtowed preſents on the officers of his army who ſurrounded his bed: to one he gave a horſe, to another his gold repeater; and he notified to government the places and ſtations for which the reſt were beſt calculated. His laſt words were occupied about his native country: "Adieu, my friends! tell the directory to keep its eye upon Belgium!" Having ſaid this, his eyes became fixed in his head, and he expired at four o'clock in the morning of the 26th of September 1797.

Thus periſhed, as is ſuppoſed by poiſon*, general Lazarus Hoche,

* Here follows the account given by the *officers of health* (as the medical men are now termed in France) on opening the body:

"L'eſtomac et les intestins ont été ouverts dans toute leur longueur: le premier a pré-

Hoche, who muſt be allowed (national prejudices apart) to have been one of the greateſt officers of his age. To have riſen from the ranks to the command of an army, was no great achievement in times and in a country like his own; but to have diſplayed the genius of a veteran general in the field, of a conſummate ſtateſman in the cabinet; to have conquered the external enemies of his country in ſeveral pitched battles; and to have put an end to a civil war the moſt formidable and diſaſtrous that perhaps ever occurred, are no common merits. Let it be recollected too, that he had not yet reached his thirtieth year, and that he had ſucceſſively paſſed through the various gradations of a ſtable boy, a recruit, a corporal, and a drill ſerjeant, before he became even a ſubaltern officer.

The army of the Sambre and Meuſe was inconſolable for the death of Hoche; and his widow, although ſhe had juſt brought him a pledge of their reciprocal affection, could not be prevailed upon to leave the body. A cannon, fired every quarter of an hour, firſt announced the melancholy event.

On the fourth day the corpſe was laid in ſtate, in an apartment covered with black and lighted with two ſepulchral lamps. His ſword and ſabre tied croſs-wiſe by means of his ſcarf, the whole covered with crape and interlaced with a crown of laurel, were depoſited on the coffin, which was ſurmounted by a crown of oak as an emblem of the civic virtues of the deceaſed. The guard of honour that mounted on this occaſion was confided to detachments from his own company of grenadiers, and the corps of guides, who during three years had never quitted him. Theſe were relieved every hour.

On the fifth day, at noon, the funeral proceſſion, which was the moſt magnificent that had been witneſſed ſince the fall of

préſenté de larges taches noires au centre, et moins chargées de cette couleur à la circonférence, mouchetées par placards, avec des ſéparations entr'elles et les mouchetures correſpondantes à la tache exterieure beaucoup plus rapprochées et preſque confondues." Hoche himſelf, according to his biographer, ſeems to have been of opinion that his diſtemper was produced by poiſon:

—— "Mais ſur la fin de ſa vie ſe ſentant conſumé d'un feu que rein ne pouvoit éteindre, il dit a ſes amis *qu'il ſe croyait vêtu de la robe de Neſſus.*"

the throne, ſet out from Wetzlar for Coblentz, where the corpſe was to be depoſited, in the following order:

An Advanced Guard of Huſſars;
Six pieces of Artillery with Matroſſes;
A Company of Grenadiers;
Two Squadrons of Huſſars;
Two of Chaſſeurs;
A Company of Grenadiers;
Military Muſic;
Four Guides on Horſeback, carrying the Standard preſented to the Company by the General;
The HEARSE with the COFFIN, containing the
BODY OF HOCHE,
Covered with Black, and drawn by Six Horſes capariſoned in the ſame manner;
Two of the General's Aides-de-Camp;
Two Adjutant Generals,
At each of the corners of the Hearſe;
Eight Guides with lighted Torches immediately behind the Officers;
The Company of Grenadiers appertaining to Head Quarters, marching in files on each ſide, with their arms reverſed;
General Officers;
Officers compoſing the Staff of the Army;
A Detachment of Guides;
Military Muſic;
Two Companies of Grenadiers;
And
A Squadron of Dragoons.

A *falvo* of twelve pieces of cannon and ſeveral diſcharges of muſquetry announced the removal of the body from the apartment where it had been depoſited; after which the proceſſion ſet forward amidſt the tolling of bells and the moſt lugubrious airs of the muſicians. The approach of the corpſe to every village

village was notified by a diſcharge from ſix pieces of cannon; and the bells continued to be rung, the artillery to ſalute, and the troops to turn out under arms, all the way to Coblentz.

At Braunsfels, the reigning prince announced, by means of an officer, that he was deſirous to pay all due honours to the corpſe of the general; he accordingly anſwered the cannon, denoting the approach of the proceſſion, with a diſcharge from all his artillery. He then placed himſelf at the heads of ſeveral regiments under arms, and being ſurrounded by all his houſehold, waited at Coblentz for the arrival of the body, which he ſaluted ſeveral times, while his troops paid the uſual military honours.

About half a league from Weilbourg, part of the general ſtaff, with the colours of the army, which were placed before the bier, and followed by a detachment of *gendarmerie* and cavalry, joined the proceſſion.

At the entrance into Coblentz the magiſtrates and principal inhabitants, clothed in mourning, united with the cavalcade. The garriſon was drawn up in two lines in the ſtreets, which were lighted with funeral lamps; and the hearſe proceeded, amidſt the ſound of bells and military muſic, to a hall hung with black, where it was depoſited during that night.

Next day the governor of the fortreſs of Ehrenbreſtein, having received intimation of the event, drew out the troops of the garriſon and lined the right ſide of the road (the left being occupied by the republican army) all the way from his advanced poſts to the borders of the Rhine, while the cannon of the fortreſs kept up an unceaſing fire. The Auſtrian commander, and all the officers of his ſtaff, accompanied the body until it had left his juriſdiction.

The proceſſion was likewiſe received on the oppoſite banks amidſt diſcharges of artillery and gun-boats, and a continual fire of infantry.

Thirty general officers, carrying torches, accompanied the hearſe on foot, around which now appeared four Roman enſigns, ſurmounted by crowns of oak and laurel, on which the following inſcriptions appeared both in French and German:

General and commander in chief at 24 years..... 1ſt year of the republic.
He raiſed the blockade of Landau .... 2d year.
He pacified *La Vendée*..... 3d and 4th year.
He conquered at Neuwied..... 5th year.
He chaſed the freebooters from his army 5th year.
He overwhelmed the conſpirators..... 5th year.

Two of his *aides-de-camp* followed immediately afterwards, and theſe were ſucceeded by all the general officers.

Having moved ſlowly through Coblentz, the proceſſion reached the fort of Peterſberg amidſt frequent ſalvos of artillery and diſcharges of muſketry, to which the Auſtrians replied regularly; and there, in the centre of the principal baſtion were depoſited the remains of general Lazarus Hoche, in the ſame tomb with thoſe of Marceau.

Four cypreſſes, and the enſigns mentioned before, were planted around the grave, "from the bottom of which," to uſe the language of Rouſſilin, "he ſtill ſeemed to menace the enemy." The generals Lefevre, Championnet, and Grenier, delivered funeral orations over the corpſe, compoſed leſs in the language of the ſchools than of the heart. When they were about to ſeparate, a ſimple grenadier, ſtarting unexpectedly from the ranks, and ſeizing a wreath of laurel, advanced towards the coffin, and exclaimed, while tears ſtarted from his eyes:

"Hoche! I preſent you this crown, in the name of an army which you taught to conquer."

On the 10th *Vendemaire*, the death of this general was celebrated at Paris with great pomp, on which occaſion the director Reveillere pronounced a funeral diſcourſe; on the recommendation of Eymer, the *eloge* of Hoche became the ſubject of a prize, and Chenier, at once a bard and a legiſlator, has celebrated his memory, which even the enemies of his nation muſt reſpect, in ſome exquiſite verſes. His portrait is worn by many of the inhabitants of La Vendée; at Pont de Segré a mauſoleum is erected to his honour; and Bancelin, one of the inhabitants

inhabitants of that neighbourhood, and commiſſary of the executive power, has invited his ſurviving parent to partake of his houſe and his fortune, and reſide with him during the remainder of his life in the quality of an adopted father.

JEFFERY LORD AMHERST.

THE late lord Amherſt was born January 29, 1717, at Riverhead, in Kent, and named Jeffery after his father, who poſſeſſed a ſmall eſtate there. His mother was a Miſs Kerril, of Hadlow, in the ſame county.

Some attempts have been made, in a periodical publication *, to trace the family to HAMO, a Saxon baron, and alſo to a biſhop of the ſame name, who is ſaid to have robbed the church to enrich his relations †; but it is a very common appellation in many parts of Kent, and, were conjecture to be indulged, it might not wear the face of improbability to ſuppoſe that it was originally *local*, having been adopted by ſomebody who termed himſelf *De Hurſt*, from his woodlands, or part of a foreſt either poſſeſſed or inhabited by him.

Having an elder brother, Sackville, to whom the family fortune was to devolve, Jeffery, the ſecond ſon, dedicated himſelf to the profeſſion of arms. He accordingly entered the ſervice at a very early period, for he received his firſt commiſſion as an enſign in the guards, in 1731, when he was only fourteen years of age; and by the time he was twenty-five he became *aide-de-camp* to the then general, afterwards lord Ligonier. In this capacity he accompanied that officer into Germany, and was preſent at Roucox, and the more memorable battles of Dettingen

* The Gent. Mag. for 1797.

† The charge is, "quod tenementum apud *Frakenham* tradidit fratri ſuo in feudo pro minimo pretio."

and

and Fontenoy. As his family connexions were reſpectable, and he himſelf conſpicuous for his merit, he found means to be admitted on the ſtaff of the duke of Cumberland, with whom he is known to have been preſent at the engagements of Laffeld and Haſtenbeck; and it is ſuppoſed that he ſerved under his royal highneſs during two other periods very different in point of glory: the victory of Culloden, and the convention of Cloſter camp.

The duke made a point of providing for all his *ſuite*, and young Amherſt, who by this time had attained a colonel's commiſſion, was appointed in 1756 to the command of the fifteenth regiment of foot; in two years more he obtained the rank of major-general in the army.

On the commencement of hoſtilities with France, in 1757, it was determined to make America the ſeat of war, and William Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, by arouſing the ſleeping genius of his country, enabled it to achieve prodigies of valour and glory. With a penetration that reflected honour on his abilities, he ſelected men of genius to act under him. Major-general Wolfe, who had deſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of Lafeldt, by his military talents, when ſcarcely twenty years of age, was an officer of his nomination, and the fate of that gallant youth, who died in the arms of victory, and the conqueſt of Canada that ſoon followed, are events known to every reader of hiſtory.

It was with this hero that major-general Amherſt was deſtined to co-operate after forming a junction on the banks of the river St. Lawrence. Louiſbourg, the capital of Cape Breton, and the ſcourge of the Engliſh trade, being accounted a ſtrong place, although it had been formerly ſeized by a ſmall fleet under Sir Peter Warren, aided by a body of Americans, commanded by Sir William Pepperell; it was determined once more to get poſſeſſion of it. On this occaſion admiral Boſcawen commanded the naval forces, and general Amherſt the troops of the line; and although the garriſon was exceedingly ſtrong, yet ſo ſucceſsful were the plans and operations of the commanders, that the town was at length taken *, and all the French made

* July 26, 1758.

priſoners

priſoners of war*. Frontenac, and Fort du Queſne, in the ſame neighbourhood, experienced a ſimilar fate, and were immediately occupied by Engliſh troops.

General Amherſt ſoon received the reward due to his ſucceſs, for on the 30th of September, 1758, he was appointed commander in chief of all the forces in North America in the room of general Abercrombie, and at the ſame time received another regiment (the ſixtieth or royal American), which ſeems ever after to have been conſidered as an official appendage to this ſtation.

The miniſtry then in power, conſiſting of Mr. Pitt and his colleagues, conceiving that the Britiſh colonies could never be deemed ſecure while the French were in poſſeſſion of Canada, at length formed the plan of ſtripping Louis XV. of that extenſive province. To this they were alſo incited by other motives, dictated by the intereſts of commerce; for the trade in peltry would be then monopolized by Great Britain, the northern fiſheries would entirely appertain to her, and her fleets of merchantmen would be enabled to ſteer in ſafety both to and from their deſtined ports without the dread of being picked up by the enemy's cruizers. The inhabitants of that part of the colonies, called the *middle ſtates*, were in particular anxious for the conqueſt of Canada, and they conſidered their future ſafety as intimately connected with the ſucceſs of the meaſure; nay, if we are to credit the conjectures of ſome, a few enlightened natives of the tranſatlantic continent already perceived that it would tend not a little to promote their future independence.

It was accordingly determined, in 1759, that general Amherſt, at the head of twelve thouſand men, ſhould penetrate into the interior by means of the lakes, make himſelf maſter of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, eſtabliſh a naval force in the Champlain, deſcend by means of the Soril, which empties itſelf into

* The chief merit, on this occaſion, certainly appertains to Wolfe, who made good his landing at the head of a column of troops, notwithſtanding a ſevere fire was kept up by the enemy. It was he who ſilenced the iſland battery, and conſtructed the redoubts that firſt annoyed, and finally occaſioned either the ſurrender or deſtruction of all the men of war in the harbour. It was he alſo who undertook the management of the advanced work, and made a lodgment in the place, after which it capitulated immediately.

the

the St. Lawrence, and attack the capital; while general Wolfe and admiral Saunders were to enter the ſame river at its confluence with the ſea, and co-operate in the reduction of Quebec. This plan appeared admirably calculated for ſucceſs; but, like all projects of a complex nature, it proved exceedingly difficult in the execution.

The commander in chief having ſet out with one of the beſt appointed armies that had ever been beheld in North America, arrived on the 24th of July before Ticonderoga, which he found abandoned, and ſet on fire by the enemy. One important point was now gained, but much ſtill remained to be done. The troops had ſailed up Lake George with their ſtores, ammunition, and proviſion; for the navigation of Lake Champlain it, however, became abſolutely neceſſary to carry not only theſe, but the boats alſo which had conveyed them, acroſs the neck of land that lies between thoſe extenſive waters. While employed in this fatiguing operation, the general learned that the French, deeming Crown Point untenable, had evacuated that place, which he inſtantly prepared to fortify; and Niagara having at the ſame time ſurrendered to the troops and Indians under Sir William Johnſon, every proſpect of ſucceſs was held out. It was neceſſary, however, to overcome the French *flotilla* on Lake Champlain; a large garriſon was at the ſame time to be reduced in the *Iſle aux Noix*, which was fortified by means of a formidable train of artillery. In order to oppoſe theſe with effect, it was neceſſary to build a little fleet. Accordingly a brigantine, a ſloop, and a *radeau*, were put upon the ſtocks, and completed with wonderful celerity; and on the 11th of October the whole armament was ready to begin the expedition: but, after ſome ſlight ſucceſs, the haſty approach of winter in thoſe northern regions fruſtrated all their hopes for a time; in ſhort, it appears that they were too late by a couple of months in commencing ſo formidable an enterpriſe. It was therefore determined to return to Crown Point, to put it in a ſtate of defence, and to prepare to ſet out early in the ſpring to complete the original plan.

In the mean time the gallant Wolfe had appeared before

Quebec, and, although unſupported by the grand army, headed by the commander in chief, as had been expected, he ſat down before that place. Never perhaps was a more arduous enterpriſe formed; yet, in ſpite of many unforeſeen difficulties, from the nature of the ground, the ſuperiority of the enemy, and the ſtrength of the city, he at length ſucceeded. Knowing that, unleſs he beat the covering army, he could not hope to make himſelf maſter of the place, he found means to bring it to action, and on the plains of Abraham gained a battle which decided his own fate and that of Canada, of which he alone can be juſtly termed the conqueror.

The main object of the expedition having been thus achieved by means of a mere detachment, it now only remained to attain a naval ſuperiority on Lake Champlain, to take poſſeſſion of, and occupy its principal iſland, and then to ſeize on Montreal. To accompliſh theſe deſigns no leſs than three ſmall armies were put in motion: one from Quebec, where the Engliſh flag was now flying under general Murray; another from Crown Point, under colonel, afterwards general Haviland; while the commander in chief was to croſs the Ontario, enter the St. Lawrence, and take poſſeſſion of Montreal, the only place of any note then appertaining to France. All this was accordingly effected on the 8th of September 1760, without firing a gun, the French general having capitulated on condition of being ſent home with the troops.

In conſequence of ſo fortunate an event, all Canada at length formed part of the dominions of Great Britain, and it has remained in her poſſeſſion ever ſince, lucky in having thus eſcaped from the dominion of a government, the baſis of which was deſpotiſm, to the protection of one of a far milder and more grateful aſpect.

General Amherſt, who had obtained the credit of this brilliant conqueſt, remained in America until 1763, when he returned home. During Mr. Pitt's ſucceſsful adminiſtration he received every reward that his ſervices merited, for in 1761 he was preſented with one of the firſt ribbands of the Bath which his majeſty

majeſty had to beſtow, and about the ſame time he was alſo appointed governor of Virginia.

On September 21, 1768, he was, however, diſmiſſed from all his employments. So ſudden and unexpected a diſgrace is ſaid to have enſued in conſequence of his attachment to the great commoner of that day who was then out of place; this *eclipſe*, however, was of very ſhort duration, for he was ſoon readmitted to favour, and received freſh marks of the royal bounty. In ſhort, he was not only reappointed to the command of the ſixtieth, which had been conferred on general Gage, but alſo nominated to the third regiment of foot, and declared the head of the ſtaff of Great Britain, in conſequence of which the army at home was placed under his control.

We have now only to record his undeviating ſucceſs and advancement. In 1771 he was appointed to the lucrative government of Guernſey; and in the courſe of the next year became lieutenant-general of the ordnance. Having reſigned the latter in favour of general Howe, he was recompenſed, on the death of the late lord Harrington, with the ſecond troop of grenadier guards; and on the demiſe of lord Cadogan he obtained the ſecond troop of horſe guards. On the reduction of the latter he had the ſecond regiment of horſe guards conferred upon him.

Honours of a leſs lucrative kind were not wanting to diſtinguiſh this favourite of fortune. On May 20, 1776, he was created baron Amherſt of Holmeſdale in the county of Kent; on Auguſt 18, 1788 (having no heirs), he received another patent of peerage, as baron Amherſt of Montreal, with remainder to his nephew, the ſon of a younger brother, then dead; and he was actually offered an earldom, ſeven years afterwards, which he declined.

In the mean time his intereſt and credit at court ſeemed to increaſe daily. In 1778 he was appointed commander in chief of the army of England; and in 1779 he was made colonel of the ſecond troop of life guards, in conſequence of which he became one of the two *gold ſticks* *.

In

* The two colonels of the two regiments of life guards attend in rotation at St. James's,

In conſequence of the re-eſtabliſhment of the ſtaff he was once more appointed commander in chief of the army of Great Britain, January 23d, 1793, which was conſidered as an injuſtice to general Conway, the oldeſt officer in the ſervice, and to whom the ſituation of courſe appertained by ſeniority; it is alſo ſaid to have given great offence to others who had been longer on the eſtabliſhment than himſelf, one of whom * was of the blood royal.

It being at length determined to confide the command of the army to his royal highneſs the duke of York, his majeſty's ſecond ſon, a reſignation on the part of his lordſhip was expected, and he had the offer of an earl's coronet on this occaſion, which he declined; but on the 30th of July, 1796, he accepted the rank of field-marſhal.

His lordſhip's increaſing age and infirmities had rendered him unfit for public buſineſs nearly two years before this period, and he now retired to his ſeat at Montreal in Kent (ſo called after the town of the ſame name in Canada), where he died, Auguſt 3, 1797, in the eighty-firſt year of his age. His remains were interred in the family vault in Seven Oaks church on the 10th. The ceremony was attended with very little parade; the funeral ſervice was performed by the Rev. Mr. Curteis, the rector; the coffin was covered with black velvet, and on the plate was inſcribed his lordſhip's name, age, and titles.

Lord Amherſt had been twice married: firſt, to Jane, only daughter of Thomas Dalliſon, of Hampton in Kent, Eſq. who died January 7, 1765; and ſecondly, to Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of general George Cary, brother to viſcount Falkland, who ſurvives him; but by neither had he any iſſue.

As an officer he was bold, intrepid, and enterpriſing; a ſtrict diſciplinarian, but the friend of merit: he was alſo remarked for the ſimplicity of his manners, and may very properly be termed a ſagacious, rather than a great general. When the American war began to aſſume a ſerious aſpect, he was invited

James's, on which occaſion each carries a ſtaff or baton, called, from the metal with which it is ornamented, the *gold ſtick*.

* The duke of Glouceſter.

to

to repair to the tranſatlantic continent, and aſſume the chief command; but he gave a deciſive proof of his diſcretion by refuſing to take the field with leſs than thirty thouſand men. No Engliſhman was better acquainted with the colonies, and the diſpoſition and genius of their inhabitants. While ſerving on that ſtation he had conceived the idea of an American peerage, or order of ariſtocracy, to continue during life only; and he himſelf, had this taken place, was to have been created a peer of that deſcription, with precedence of all others. Several other ſchemes of internal regulation were alſo ſuggeſted by him, but not adopted.

As commander in chief in great Britain, he was accuſed of ſacrificing the army to patronage; and during his continuance in office it was jocularly obſerved, in alluſion to his too ready compliance, that there were many of *his* colonels ſtill at ſchool.

As a legiſlator he generally voted with the miniſter of the day, and, notwithſtanding he had been brought forward by the popular intereſt, he conſtantly ſided, during the latter period of his life, with that party who affect to denominate themſelves the *king's friends*.

In private life his character ſtood high. He lived within his income, deteſted oſtentation, dreſſed in a plain garb, and was free and affable in his communication with ſociety. His own regiments have ſuſtained a great loſs by his demiſe, for he was eager to promote the intereſts and the advancement of all the officers under him.

Not only his lordſhip, but two of his brothers, have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country. John, an admiral of the blue, died February 12, 1778; and William, a lieutenant-general in the army, whoſe ſon, William Pitt Amherſt, inherits the title and eſtate, on May 13, 1781.

An unexpected meeting of the brothers having occurred near the place of their nativity, his lordſhip commemorated the event on the very ſpot, by means of a pillar thirty-ſix feet high, erected at Montreal, in Kent; the inſcription of which is here tranſcribed.

[*Firſt*

[*First side, facing almost south-east.*]

DEDICATED
TO THAT MOST ABLE STATESMAN,
DURING WHOSE ADMINISTRATION
CAPE BRETON AND CANADA WERE CONQUERED;
AND FROM WHOSE INFLUENCE
THE BRITISH ARMS DERIVED
A DEGREE OF LUSTRE
UNPARALLELED IN PAST AGES.

[*Second side. North-east.*]

TO COMMEMORATE
THE PROVIDENTIAL AND HAPPY MEETING
OF THE THREE BROTHERS
ON THEIR PATERNAL GROUND,
ON THE 25TH OF JANUARY, 1764,
AFTER A SIX YEARS GLORIOUS WAR,
IN WHICH THE THREE WERE SUCCESSFULLY ENGAGED
IN VARIOUS CLIMES, SEASONS, AND SERVICES.

[*Third side. North-west.*]

LOUISBOURG SURRENDERED,
AND SIX FRENCH BATTALIONS
PRISONERS OF WAR, THE 26TH OF JULY, 1758;
FORT DU QUESNE TAKEN POSSESSION OF, THE 24TH OF NOVEMBER, 1758;
NIAGARA SURRENDERED THE 25TH OF JULY, 1759;
TICONDEROGO TAKEN POSSESSION OF, THE 26TH OF JULY, 1759;
CROWN POINT TAKEN POSSESSION OF, THE 4TH OF AUGUST, 1759;
QUEBEC CAPITULATED THE 18TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1759.

[*Fourth ſide. South-weſt.*]

FORT LEVI SURRENDERED THE 25TH OF AUGUST, 1760;
ISLE AUX NOIX ABANDONED THE 28TH OF AUGUST, 1760;
MONTREAL SURRENDERED,
AND WITH IT ALL CANADA, AND
TEN FRENCH BATTALIONS LAID DOWN THEIR ARMS, THE
8TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1760.
ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND,
RETAKEN THE 18TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1762.

In a ſmall copſe, on an eminence that overlooks part of Holmſdale, is erected a ruſtic ſhed, on the walls of which appear the following lines, ſaid to be written by lord Amherſt's ſiſter.

While neighb'ring heights aſſume the name
Of conquer'd lands, well known to fame;
Here mark the valley's winding way,
And liſt to what old records ſay.
"The winding vale of Holmſdale
Was never won, or ever ſhall."

The prophecy ne'er yet has fail'd,
No human pow'r has yet prevail'd
To rob this valley of its rights,
Supported by its val'rous wights.

When foreign conqueſt claim'd our land,
Then roſe our ſturdy Holmſdale band
With each a brother oak in hand.
An armed grove the conq'ror meet,
And for their ancient charters treat;
Reſolv'd to die ere they reſign'd
Their liberties, in gavel-kind.

Hence freedom's ſons inhabit here,
And hence the world their deeds revere;
In war, in ev'ry virtuous fray,
A man of Kent ſhall win the day.

Thus

Thus may our queen of vallies reign
While Darent glides into the main;
Darent, whoſe infant reed is ſeen
Uprearing on yon boſom'd green.

Along his winding paths may peace
And joyful plenty never ceaſe,
Where'er his waters roll their tide,
May heav'n-born liberty abide!

STANISLAUS-AUGUSTUS,

KING OF POLAND, &c. &c.

THE caprice and inconſtancy of fortune were ſcarcely ever more ſtrikingly diſplayed than in the life and adventures of this prince. Born without any pretenſions to a throne, he ſeems to have been fitted alone for the tranquillity of a private ſtation: happy, indeed, had it been for himſelf, thrice happy for his unfortunate country, had he never aſpired to a diadem! It was his fate, however, to wear a crown—to be preſented with and bereaved of a ſceptre by the hands of a capricious female; to be elevated from the rank of a ſubject to that of a king; to experience all the horrors of foreign ſubjugation, while ſeated on the throne of an ancient and warlike nation; to be made a priſoner by a few deſperate inſurgents, who carried off their ſovereign from the very heart of his capital; to be reſtored to life and royalty, as if by a miracle; and finally, to be compelled to ſpend the remainder of a wretched exiſtence in inglorious exile. Such were the viciſſitudes experienced by the laſt king of Poland!

Staniſlaus-Auguſtus Poniatowſky, or, as he was called by his own countrymen, *Poniatoffſky*, was born January 17, 1732, O. S. He was the third ſon of count Poniatowſky, who had

been a domeſtic* in the noble family of Mizielki, in Lithuania; and who having found means to get introduced to Charles XII. was preſent at the battle of Pultowa, and prevented the Swediſh king from falling into the hands of the czar Peter, an action at once commemorated and immortalized by the pen of Voltaire. After the return of that celebrated monarch from Turkey, the count attached himſelf to the unfortunate Staniſlaus Leczinſky, whoſe exile he ſhared at Deux Ponts, in the ſtation of colonel of his Swediſh guards. But being of an ambitious and intriguing turn, and having little reliſh for a deſerted court and a fugitive monarch, he is ſaid to have carried on a ſecret correſpondence with Auguſtus II †. That ſovereign, in 1706, at the inſtance of Charles XII. had ſigned a formal renunciation of the throne of Poland, which was carefully preſerved by his rival. Being anxious to obtain poſſeſſion of ſo important a document, the reigning king employed the agency of Poniatowſky on this occaſion,

* It is well known to all who are acquainted with the hiſtory of Poland, that *poor nobles* frequently entered into the ſervice of the great families, and this was not deemed any prejudice either to their birth or pretenſions.

An author of great reputation expreſſes himſelf in the following manner relative to the king and his father:

"Le comte Stainſlaus Poniatowſki, connu dans le monde, avant ſa royauté, ſous le nom de grand-pannetier de Lithuanie, a eu en partage la beauté de la figure, l'air noble, ainſi que les manières, un extérieur impoſant. Né avec un eſprit vif et pénétrant il a eu le bonheur d'etre élevé par ſa mere la princeſſe Ezatoryſka, ſœur de grand chancelier de Lithuanie, et du palatin du Ruſſie. Cette dame joignoit à la naiſſance la plus auguſte, en Pologne (puiſqu'elle remonte juſqu'au Jagellons, anciens ſouverains de Lithuanie) l'eſprit et les connoiſſances les plus étendues. A tous ces égards elle ſe trouvoit digne d'être l'épouſe du célébri comte Poniatowſki, plus connu dans le monde pour avoir été l'ami et la reſſource de Charles XII. roi de Swede, *que par la noblesse de ſon nom*, que lui ſeul a tiré de l'obſcurité.

"Toute l'illuſtration de Poniatowſki vien de ce célébre avanturier qui, tranſporté de l'état de domeſticité dans la maiſon de Mizielki, en Lithuanie, parut a Charles XII. digne en tout de partager ſon amitié et ſa confiance."

Oeuv. Poſt. de M. de Rulhieres.

† "Charles XII. ayant quitté la Turquie, pour rentrer dans ſes états, le comte Poniatowſki s'attacha a l'infortuné Staniſlas, et partagea ſon ſéjour a Deux Ponts. Ce fut pendant ce ſéjour que Poniatowſki, toujours intriguant, ne voyant aucune perſpective d'une fortune brillante, à la ſuite d'un roi fugitif de ſes états, et vivant precairement

occaſion, and that nobleman is reported to have recurred to means not very honourable in their nature to procure it. No ſooner was this accompliſhed, than he poſted to Warſaw, and was rewarded with the hand of the princeſs Ezatoryſka, by whom he had ſeveral children. The eldeſt of theſe, in the ſequel, became grand chamberlain of Poland, and colonel of the horſe-guards; the ſecond was killed in 1744, at the ſiege of Ypres, while acting as one of the marſhal de Noaille's aides-de-camp; another entered into the church, and after receiving ſeveral rich Poliſh canonries, at length obtained the mitre, as biſhop of Ploczkó; a fourth became a general in the ſervice of the houſe of Auſtria, and married the counteſs Kinſkit.

The ſubject of theſe memoirs was the darling of his mother, who, although ſhe had neglected the improvement of her two eldeſt children, took great pains to form the mind and perfect the education of her third ſon. While ſhe inſpired him on one hand with a paſſion for glory, which in the end conducted him to a throne; on the other ſhe cheriſhed a taſte for literature, to which, like one of his predeceſſors *, he was indebted for conſolation during his misfortunes. She ſeemed to have reſerved all her tenderneſs and all her care for this darling child; ſhe herſelf attended to his inſtruction, and continued to ſuperintend his education, even after he had been put under a preceptor. The young count, who was uncommonly attentive to his ſtudies, realized the hopes of his accompliſhed parent by the rapid improvement made by him in every branch of ſcience; and great hopes were entertained by his family, that he would prove both an ornament to it, and an honour to his country.

précairement chez un autre, conçut le deſſein le plus noir, pour ſe raccommoder avec le rival de ſon ami. Il eut l'addreſſe d'enlever à Staniſlas l'abdication en forme qu' Auguſte II. lui avoit donnée en 1706, par ordre de Charles XII. Muni de cette piéce, il courut la porter à Varſovie, à Auguſte II. qui, charmé de l'importance du ſervice, et de la creature qu'il acquerot, lui procura ſon mariage avec la princeſſe Ezatoryſka, qui ne lui apporta pour dot qu'un grand nom, beaucoup d'ambition, et le penchant le plus déclié, pour jouer en Pologne le plus grand rôle."

Oeuv. Poſt. de M. de Rulhieres, p. 13.

* Staniſlaus Leczinſky.

difficulty obtained, the inſignia of the white eagle, the only order of knighthood at that time exiſting in Poland. A circumſtance occurred on this occaſion, which was conſidered as ominous of his future greatneſs. When the ſovereign confers the inveſtiture of the order, it is cuſtomary, in addition to the ribband, to preſent the ſtar, round which is embroidered the following device:

PRO FIDE, REGE, LEGE.

Inſtead of this, it happened, by ſome accident, that a royal badge was aſſigned to the new knight with the motto,

PRO FIDE, GREGE, LEGE.

No ſooner was the miſtake diſcovered than it was rectified; but this trifling occurrence excited much remark at the time, and when Poniatowſky aſcended the throne, it was conſidered as a memorable incident.

On his return to Ruſſia, the young plenipotentiary did not fail, after being preſented to the empreſs, to pay his reſpects at the little court of Oranienbaum. By the grand-ducheſs he was of courſe received with every mark of attention; but her conſort was not ſo much attached to him as before, for he was treated with great coolneſs by that prince, and his viſits were ſoon after diſpenſed with. The enterpriſing Pole was not deterred, however, by this circumſtance; on the contrary, he repaired to the gardens which overlook the gulph of Cronſtadt, and entering them by ſtealth, is reported to have procured many ſecret interviews with the object of his adoration. It is ſaid that his perſon was at length recognized one ſummer's evening, and orders were iſſued by the grand-duke for his arreſt*. This adventure having

* "La jeune cour étoit dans l'uſage de ſe rendre à Oranienbaum dans le mois de mai. C'eſt un château batî ſur la golf de Cronſtadt, et en face de cette ville, dont elle n'eſt éloignée que de trois quarts d'heure de trajet de mer. Il avoit appartenu au fameux prince Menaicoff, qui l'avoit fait conſtruire. Lors de ſa diſgrace en 1727, on le dépouilla de tous ſes biens: Oranienbaum tomba dans le fiſc impérial et Elizabeth en gratifia ſon neveu Pierre III. pour y paſſer la belle ſaiſon avec ſon épouſe et tout

having made conſiderable noiſe, the French and Auſtrian miniſters, who were alarmed at his influence with the future empreſs, contrived to repreſent it in ſuch a light to the reigning ſovereign, that ſhe ſignified her diſpleaſure to the king of Poland, and letters of recall were accordingly tranſmitted to his miniſter, who after procuring ſome delay, by a pretended fit of illneſs, found it neceſſary to return once more to his native country.

He accordingly ſet out for Warſaw, and remained for a conſiderable time in the neighbourhood of that capital without any public employment. But an unexpected event occurred ſoon after, that extricated him again from obſcurity, and opened a new career to his ambition.

The ſudden death of the empreſs Elizabeth * effected an entire change in the affairs of Europe, for it ſaved the Pruſſian monarchy from deſtruction, and involved Denmark in the moſt imminent peril. The reign of Peter III. was, however, ſhort and tragical, and the towering ambition and maſculine genius of his conſort finally prevailed. This memorable event rekindled

tout ſa cour. C'eſt là auſſi qu'il avoit des caſernes pour y loger deux cent ou deux cent cinquante ſoldats du Holſtein, tant fantaſſins que dragons, et qu'il les exerçoit.

" Poniatowſki n'oſoit paroitre ouvertement à Oranienbaum. Car quoique Pierre III. ne fut pas jaloux il ſavoit pourtant bien à quoi ſên tenir ſur la naiſſance de &c. &c. Ainſi le comte Poniatowſky pris le parti de ſe déguiſer, et de cacher ſon ordre de l'aigle blanc, pour allera Oranienbaum. Il ſe promenoit dans les allées où il ſavoit que la grand ducheſſe avoit coutume de ſe rendre.

" Quelqu'un l'apperçut et courut le dire au grand duc. Ce prince dans l'intention de s'amuſer, ordonna à un de ſes officiers Ruſſes d'aller joindre dans les allées du bois un homme dont il lui donna le ſignalement, et de lui amener de gré ou de force, et en cas de réſiſtance de lui jetter un mouchoir au col, et de le conduire au château.

" Le Ruſſe part, et rencontre la perſonne qu'il etoit chargé d'amener. Il lui demande qui il eſt? Poniatowſky répond qu'il eſt tailleur allemand, qui vient pour prendre meaſure à un officier des troupes de Holſtein. J'ai ordre de vous mener chez le grand duc, lui dit le Ruſſe.—Je n'en ai pas le tems, repondit le Polonnois.—Oh! vous viendrez, ajouta hardiment le Ruſſe, et lui jetta en même tems le fatal mouchoir.

" Poniatowſky conduit devant le grand duc; comme on lui auroit amené un malfaiteur, Pierre lui fit mille excuſes ſur le brutale mépriſe le l'officier Ruſſe, qu'il réprimanda d'importance."

Ouv. Poſt. de M. de Rulhiere, p. 27.

* January 5, 1762.

all

all the hopes of Poniatowſky, who inſtantly prepared to ſet out for St. Peterſburgh, that he might congratulate his benefactreſs on her acceſſion to the throne of the czars. He accordingly repaired to the frontiers, and diſpatched a meſſenger with equal ſpeed and privacy, who conveyed his wiſhes to be admitted to court, but the anſwer was leſs favourable than he had expected; proſpects, however, of the moſt alluring kind were held out, and he was adviſed to return to Warſaw, and there wait for the accompliſhment of the brilliant promiſes now made to him. The count accordingly repaired thither, and thus avoided a ſeries of mortifications, for Orloff was at this period all powerful in Ruſſia, and would undoubtedly have evinced his jealouſy, nay, perhaps his indignation, at the appearance of ſo formidable a rival. This ready compliance on the part of Poniatowſky did not fail to be ſpeedily rewarded, and that too in the moſt ſplendid manner.

Auguſtus III. of Poland having expired in the capital of his electoral dominions, on the 5th of October, 1763, a multitude of candidates ſtarted for the vacant crown, which he had endeavoured in vain to render hereditary in his own family.

Notwithſtanding the ſhort period between her aſſumption of the throne and the demiſe of this prince, Catharine, even now, was not only the arbitreſs of the north, but the real ſovereign of Poland; and it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething in this place of that unhappy country.

Poland, the very name of which has been recently obliterated, was once a powerful ſtate; for in the perſon of Uladiſlaus it gave a ſovereign to Ruſſia: under Boleſlaus it numbered Pruſſia among its conqueſts; and during the reign of John Sobieſki, it ſaved Vienna from the ravages of the Turks. After being an abſolute monarchy under the races of Leſko and Piaſtus, it became a limited government in the time of Lewis of Hungary, and Ladiſlaus Yagellon, theſe two princes having agreed not to raiſe any ſubſidies without the conſent of the diets.

At length Sigiſmund-Auguſtus, who had no children, conſented, in 1550, that on his death the crown ſhould be elective, and in a ſhort time afterwards a charter was granted, which, in addition to this memorable article, contained the following ones:

1. That

1. That the reigning king ſhould never appoint a ſucceſſor during his life-time.

2. That general diets ſhould be aſſembled every two years.

3. That all the Poliſh nobles ſhould have a right to vote at the election of a king.

And 4. That if the king ever preſumed to infringe the laws and diſavow the privileges of the nation, the ſubjects ſhould be abſolved from their oath of allegiance.

This form of government occaſioned infinite miſchief, anarchy, and confuſion; and introduced, firſt venality, and then violence, into the elections. Henry of Valois purchaſed the throne of the Yagellons by means of gold and promiſes; Charles Guſtavus and Charles XII. of Sweden, as well as the czar Peter I. of Ruſſia, interpoſed force with equal effect. It has indeed been aſſerted, that but two inſtances of a free election ever occurred; for all the neighbouring monarchs have by turns interfered, and there is ſcarcely a country in Europe that has not attempted to regulate the ſuffrages of the diet.

On the preſent vacancy the empreſs took care, by her negociations, to prevent all other influence but her own. The French miniſter * was accordingly induced to promiſe that Lous XV would maintain the moſt ſcrupulous neutrality at the approaching diet; the ambaſſador † from Vienna ſoon after publiſhed a ſimilar declaration; and the court of Berlin concluded a treaty with her imperial majeſty, the apparent aim and ſubſtance of which would have perſuaded any perſon, not verſed in the arts of diplomacy, that Catharine and Frederick had determined to maintain the rights and aſſert the independence of the republic ‡.

Several

* The marquis de Paulmy. † The count de Mercy.

‡ "It being for the intereſt of his majeſty the king of Pruſſia and of her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, to exert their utmoſt care and all their efforts for maintaining the republic of Poland in its ſtate of free election, and that it ſhould not be permitted to any one to render the ſaid kingdom hereditary in his family, or to make himſelf abſolute therein; his majeſty the king of Pruſſia and her imperial majeſty have promiſed and mutually engage themſelves, in the moſt ſolemn manner, by this ſecret article, not only not to permit any one, whoever he be, to attempt to diveſt the republic

Several candidates now aſpired to the vacant throne. Prince Henry of Pruſſia is ſaid at one time to have entertained hopes of it, and his merits and pretenſions would have proved formidable, had they been ſupported by a brother who was indebted to him for no ſmall portion of his glory. The new ſovereign of Saxony, wiſhing the kingdom to continue an appendage to his electorate, ſolicited the protection of the empreſs; but he received an anſwer that put an end to all his hopes. The prince Ezatoryſka had long entertained ſecret deſigns on the crown of his native country. He was the repreſentative of the moſt opulent family in the republic, and had borrowed immenſe ſums for the purpoſe of raiſing either himſelf or his ſon to the ſupreme dignity; but although his election would have proved agreeable to the nation, he was not ſupported by any foreign power, and without the cordial co-operation of Ruſſia, ſucceſs was become impoſſible.

It was on his nephew, the count Poniatowſky, that the eyes of the grateful Catharine were now fixed. Her council, however, oppoſed this nomination, and Beſtucheff, who had returned from exile, and once more enjoyed a high and confidential poſt, declared, that it was contrary to the true intereſts of Ruſſia to take any part in the nomination of a king of Poland. The empreſs, however, preferring the dictates of her heart to every other conſideration, determined to elevate her favourite to the throne,

republic of its right of free election, to render the kingdom hereditary, or to make himſelf abſolute therein, in all caſes whenever ſuch attempt ſhould be made; but alſo to prevent and to fruſtrate, by all poſſible means, and in common conſent, the views and deſigns that have a tendency to that end, as ſoon as they ſhall be diſcovered, and even, in caſe of neceſſity, to recur to force of arms, to defend the republic from the overthrow of its conſtitution and its fundamental laws.

"The preſent ſecret article ſhall have the ſame force and vigour as if it had been inſerted word for word in the principal treaty of defenſive alliance ſigned this day, and ſhall be ratified at the ſame time.

"In virtue whereof two ſimilar copies of it have been made, which, we the miniſters plenipotentiary of his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, and of her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, authoriſed to that purpoſe, have ſigned and ſealed with the ſeal of our arms.

"Done at St. Peterſburg, the 11th of April (the 31ſt of March O. S.) 1764.

"C. DE SOLMES.

"PANIN.

"GALLITZIN."

She

She proceeded at firſt with great policy, for her majeſty began by diſcuſſing the pretenſions and diſcountenancing the hopes of the other candidates, and perceiving that a great portion of the people inclined to the election of a *Piaſt* deſcended from their ancient kings, ſhe appeared to incline to their wiſhes.

In the mean time, knowing that her influence depended principally on force and terror, ſhe cauſed large bodies of troops to march by different routes towards the confines of the republic; and as Poland has always been conſidered as the paradiſe of the Ruſſian ſoldiery, they panted with delight at the proſpect of an approaching conteſt.

At length, Catharine throwing off all diſguiſe, publicly announced her determination to place Poniatowſky on the throne. This declaration hurt the pride and excited the diſcontent of the Poliſh nobles. They beheld a young man of thirty-two years of age, whoſe paternal grandfather had been ſteward to prince Lubomirſky, and who himſelf was neither eminent for his talents nor his virtues, about to be raiſed from a ſituation, in which they ſcarcely conſidered him as their equal, to one in which they would be bound to recognize him as their ſuperior. Theſe were the ſuggeſtions of mortified pride; but a nobler ſentiment animated thoſe who longed for the independence of their native country, and ſpurned at the idea of foreign domination. The wiſhes of both parties were, however, equally unavailing, for a Ruſſian army ſoon entered the dominions of the republic under pretext of *preſerving liberty and order*, and actually took poſſeſſion of Warſaw, while the miniſter* of the court of St. Peterſburgh, acting like the viceroy rather than the ambaſſador of his ſovereign, iſſued forth his mandates, and already began to treat Poland as a conquered province.

But the operations of the czarina were not confined to force alone; intrigue was alſo recurred to; ſplendid promiſes were held out, and gold was diſtributed with a laviſh hand, at the meeting of the diet, May 7, 1764.

The debates on this occaſion were unuſually tumultuous, and

* Count Kayſerling.

it

it muſt be allowed, that, according to the fundamental principles of the conſtitution, the whole of the proceedings were to all intents and purpoſes invalid *; for every election was declared *void* during the continuance of foreign troops within the territories of the republic; and it was notorious, that at this moment the capital was ſeized upon, and the country occupied by the Ruſſians; nay, the very place of deliberation, on the banks of the Viſtula †, was under their immediate control, and even within the reach of their cannon.

At this critical and perilous conjuncture, count Brannicki, grand general of the crown, and prince Radzivil, one of the moſt powerful of the *Magnats*, flew to arms, and proclaimed their intention to protect the liberty of debate, and maintain the right of free ſuffrage ‡.

They

* PROTEST *againſt the* POLISH DIET *aſſembled for the Election of a King, drawn up and ſigned the 7th May* 1764, *by twenty Senators; to which Proteſt forty-five Nuncios afterwards ſigned an Act of Adherence.*

1. The diet cannot be held in the preſence of the foreign troops that ſurround the city.

2. The ſenators did not engage the Ruſſians to come; they gave no thanks for their being ſent, and have not any way given occaſion for their arrival.

3. The Ruſſians have committed an act of violence in Lithuania, by favouring a pernicious confederacy made for diſturbing the public tranquillity.

4. It is againſt all juſtice, that in the memorial of the Ruſſian miniſters, delivered to the primate, the 4th inſtant, the troops of the crown are accuſed of having meddled in the dietines and other public acts.

5. It is by the unjuſt proceedings of the ſame foreign troops, that the general dietine of Pruſſia has proved abortive; and this is another motive for proteſting againſt this diet.

6. All good patriots, who love juſtice, are invited to unite for the ſupport of liberty.

At the end of this manifeſto there is an adheſion to the proteſts of the ſenators, ſigned by forty-five nuncios.

† The plain of Vola, three miles from Warſaw.

‡ It was about this period that the confederates intercepted ſeveral letters from her imperial majeſty, which proved her determination to place Poniatowſky on the throne in ſpite of all oppoſition. Here follows a copy of a note, addreſſed to her general, and afterwards publiſhed by the inſurgents:

"Moncher comte, ſouvenez-vous de mon candidat. Je vous écris ceci deux heures après minuit: jugez ſi la choſe m'eſt indifferente.

"CATHARINE."

They were unable, however, to effect this, and count Malakofsky, who had been appointed marshal of the diet, found it impossible, notwithstanding his venerable age, and his reputation for patriotism and virtue, to preserve order, or even to exclude strangers. Many of the nuncios were exposed to the most imminent danger, on account of the openness with which they delivered their opinions, and the life of the eloquent Mokranofsky, representative of Cracow, was exposed to the revenge of the Russian officers, who actually drew their swords and threatened to assassinate him *.

At length the popular party, alarmed for their own safety, and despairing of success, withdrew from the diet, not, however, until twenty-two senators had entered a protest against the proceedings, to which no less than forty-five nuncios afterwards adhered, while the ambassadors of France, Spain, and the Empire, retired soon after.

Count Branicki, one of the most violent of the malcontents, was on this divested of the post of crown general; but he denied the legality of the act, found means to attach the army to him, and even augmented it with new levies. Animated by fury and despair, both he and prince Radzivil determined to try the fortune of arms; but they were beaten in consequence of the superior discipline, rather than the superior courage, of the enemy, and obliged to fly into the Turkish dominions, happy, after the loss of their immense estates, to obtain shelter and protection from the grand signor.

"My dear count, do not forget my candidate. I write you this at two o'clock in the morning, judge then whether I am indifferent on this subject.

"CATHARINE."

* He at first unsheathed his sabre, and stood on the defensive, but perceiving the folly of contending with such numbers, he returned it to the scabbard, and then exposing his breast to the foreign mercenaries who surrounded him, exclaimed:

"If you are determined on having a victim, behold one already prepared for you, and in that case know, that I shall die, as I have lived, free!" The generous interposition of prince Adam Chartorinski, a noble of the opposite party, who shielded him with his own body, alone prevented the completion of this crime; and it ought not to be omitted here, that the future king interfered on more than one occasion to save his adversaries from the brutal fury of his allies.

The

The favourite of the empreſs in the mean time viſited all the nuncios in perſon, ſolicited their ſuffrages, and recurred to promiſes, entreaties, and intrigues. At length, on September 6, the day appointed for the final determination, when the primate demanded of the remaining electors whom they would chooſe for their king? they replied with one voice "Count Poniatowſky!" He was accordingly proclaimed by the name of Staniſlaus-Auguſtus, king of Poland, and grand duke of Lithuania.

On his return to Warſaw, the new monarch was received with ſhouts of applauſe, and moſt of the Magnats, even thoſe who had been adverſe to his pretenſions, were now eager to pay their reſpects to him*.

He, on his part, made no difference between thoſe who had oppoſed and thoſe who had ſupported his election, but affecting for a time to conſider himſelf as the monarch of a whole people, rather than the pageant of a faction, he received every one with courteſy.

It ought not, however, to be concealed, that the conduct of the new king, in many other reſpects, denoted a weakneſs of character unworthy of the high ſtation to which he had been elevated. Inſtead of adopting vigorous meaſures, which could alone have rendered his own ſituation and that of his country

* Letters of congratulation arrived ſoon after from all the ſovereigns of Europe; the following paſſage is copied from that written by Frederick the Great.

"Your majeſty muſt reflect, that as you enjoy a crown by election and not by deſcent, the world will be more obſervant of your majeſty's actions, than of any other potentate in Europe; and it is but reaſonable.

"The latter being the mere effect of conſanguinity, no more is looked for (though much more is to be wiſhed) from him than what men are endowed with in common; but from one exalted by the voice of his equals, from a ſubject to a king, from a man voluntarily elected to reign over thoſe by whom he was choſen, every thing is expected that can poſſibly deſerve and adorn a crown.

"Gratitude to his people is the firſt great duty of ſuch a monarch; for to them alone (under Providence) he is indebted that he is one.

"A king, who is ſo by birth, if he acts derogatory to his ſtation, is a ſatire only on himſelf; but an elected one, who behaves inconſiſtently with his dignity, reflects diſhonour alſo on his ſubjects.

"Your majeſty, I am ſure, will pardon this warmth. It is the effuſion of the ſincereſt regard. The amiable part of the picture is not ſo much a leſſon of what you ought to be, as a prophecy of what your majeſty will be."

tolerable,

tolerable, he ſoon manifeſted a diſpoſition at once yielding, indolent, and ſubmiſſive. Perceiving that he was willing to be governed, three different parties aſpired to the command of the monarch and the ſtate, and his two uncles, the princes Czartoriſka, and his three brothers, the great chamberlain, the general, and the biſhop, by turns ruled both. Female influence, however, preponderated at length, and his firſt couſin, the princeſs Lubomirſka, celebrated for her beauty and attainments, acquired a decided aſcendency over him. This circumſtance did not fail to leſſen his majeſty in the eyes of his ſubjects; but he ſeems to have been but little anxious either to acquire or retain their applauſe. His expences were ſuch as even a flouriſhing nation and a full exchequer would have ſcarcely juſtified. Comedies, operas, balls, and maſquerades, occupied all his time, and left him no opportunity for ſerious reflection. He paſſed his days and nights among women, and kept his mind in a continued ſtate of relaxation by gallantry and intrigue*. The true character of Staniſlaus now began to be developed, and in a ſhort time he loſt not only the eſteem of his own nation, but the reſpect hitherto entertained for him by the empreſs †.

Being no longer reſtrained by motives of regard, that ambitious princeſs ſoon evinced a diſpoſition hoſtile in the extreme to the republic over which he preſided. Under pretext of adjuſting the limits of their reſpective territories, ſhe traced outlines of demarcation which included a large portion of Poland. Not content with this, ſhe inſiſted alſo, that an alliance offenſive and defenſive ſhould be inſtantly concluded with her. Theſe demands were not ſanctioned even by a ſhadow of right; and they were accompanied by a freſh one, which, notwithſtanding it was founded on juſtice, was mortifying in the extreme to the Poles.

Thoſe who followed the rites of the Greek, Calviniſtic, and Lutheran churches, and were known by the name of *Diſſidents*,

* See "Memoirs of the courts of Berlin," &c. by N. W. Wraxall, Eſq. vol. ii. p 47.

† While Catharine was one evening converſing with the count Raewſki relative to Staniſlaus, and lamenting his conduct, the count ſaid:

"Le roi mon maitre prend Henri quatre pour ſon modele."

"Apparement," replied the empreſs, "ce n'eſt que dans ſes foibleſſes qu'il veut imiter le roi de France."

had of late experienced many conſtraints, and were even ſubject to privations and perſecutions equally inconſiſtent with policy and propriety. Under Sigiſmund-Auguſtus, the ſeparatiſts of every deſcription were not only admitted to a ſeat in the diet, but rendered eligible to all places of truſt, profit, and honour. The members of the eſtabliſhed church ſince that period had wantonly excluded them from all public employments; they could neither be ſenators, nor judges, nor inferior magiſtrates; nay, even the public profeſſion of their faith was now interdicted. Being reduced to this humiliating ſituation, they ſolicited the good offices of the empreſs, and claimed the performance of the treaty of Oliva, by which they were expreſsly protected in the enjoyment of their religion and rights. This afforded a ſpecious pretext for the interference of foreign powers*, and her imperial majeſty

* While the Greek Diſſidents addreſſed themſelves to the court of St. Peterſburgh, the Proteſtants implored the interceſſion of the cabinets of England, Pruſſia, and Denmark. Here follows the ſtate paper publiſhed by the firſt of theſe powers:

" *Copy of a Declaration delivered on the 4th. of November* 1766, *to the King and Republic of Poland, by Mr. Wroughton, the Britiſh Miniſter at Warſaw, in behalf of the Diſſidents of that Kingdom.*

" His Britannic majeſty, ever excited by reaſonable deſires of protecting by all methods the Chriſtian Proteſtants, eſpecially thoſe who, by virtue of particular conventions, have a right to expect his aſſiſtance, finds himſelf obliged to repeat his preſſing repreſentations in favour of that oppreſſed part of the Poliſh nation known by the name of Diſſidents; wherefore the underſigned, in conformity to freſh orders from the king, his moſt gracious ſovereign, has the honour to repreſent to you, ſir, and to the republic of Poland, that his Britannic majeſty, beſides the many ſolid motives of juſtice and humanity, which give him reaſon to hope for a happy ſucceſs of the preſent negotiations relative to this affair, finding himſelf compelled, by a ſtrict alliance with the courts of Peterſburg, Berlin, and Copenhagen, to intereſt himſelf in behalf of the Diſſidents, in all the forms of law, and in quality of guarantee of the treaty of peace of Oliva, wiſhes that, in the preſent diet, this virtuous but unhappy part of the Poliſh ſubjects may be re-eſtabliſhed, as members of the ſtate, in the poſſeſſion of their rights and privileges, as well as in the peaceable enjoyment of their mode of worſhip, which every one knows belonged to them before the ſigning of the ſaid treaty of Oliva.

" At the ſame time his Britannic majeſty conſiders how great is the connexion between the intereſts even of the republic and the juſtice of this affair, as well as the fundamental laws of the kingdom; laws which were not only obſerved for two centuries,

majeſty accordingly demanded that the Diſſidents ſhould be admitted to a ſhare in the legiſlature, and treated in all reſpects like the Catholics.

No ſooner had the diet aſſembled, on the 1ſt of September 1766, than the ambaſſadors of Ruſſia, England, Denmark, and Pruſſia, preſented memorials in behalf of the oppreſſed Diſſidents. The fanaticiſm of the clergy was inſtantly arouſed at this attempt in favour of toleration, and the biſhops of Cracow, Vilna, and Kief, loudly proteſted againſt the relief now demanded. Theſe were joined by a large party of the nobles, and laws ſtill more ſevere were enacted againſt thoſe who preſumed to deviate from the religion of the ſtate. On this occaſion the king inclined towards moderation, but he had now loſt the confidence

turies, but renewed by treaties with the northern powers, ſo ſolemn, that they do not permit the leaſt alteration to be undertaken, unleſs with the general conſent of the contracting parties. For theſe cauſes his Britannic majeſty, filled with confidence of the equity and penetration of his Poliſh majeſty, who, from the beginning of his reign, has given ſo many teſtimonies of zeal for the happineſs of mankind, and of love towards the adminiſtration of juſtice in the republic, has not the leaſt doubt that his juſt deſires will no longer be oppoſed by references to inefficacious conſtitutions, eſtabliſhed in the midſt of inteſtine troubles, contradicted by the formal proteſtations and expreſs declarations on the part of foreign powers.

"Although the rights and privileges of the Diſſidents are founded on a doctrine, whoſe principles of charity and benevolence make it characteriſtical of Chriſtianity; and the divinity of its inſtitutor, who firſt preached it, renders it ſtill leſs a matter of doubt; yet it is this religion, of which the exerciſe is diſturbed, and of which its profeſſors are excluded from all honourable employments, and deprived of all means of ſerving their country. Nevertheleſs, their rights and privileges have been confirmed to them by many ordinances of the kingdom, ſettled by ſo many treaties, ſupported on foundations ſo ſacred and ſo evident to the eyes of all nations, that the underſigned miniſter of a monarch who preſerves towards the republic the ſincereſt ſentiments of friendſhip, and of inclination to give proofs of them on every occaſion, flatters himſelf, that the mediation of the king his maſter will produce the effects which he may naturally promiſe himſelf; that the wiſdom of the nation aſſembled will afford a remedy to the evils which rend the ſtate, and oppreſs the Diſſidents; and that, with regard to things eccleſiaſtical and civil, they may be re-eſtabliſhed in the ſituation they were in before the treaty of Oliva. As to the reſt, the ſincere wiſhes of his Britannic majeſty for the glory of the king of Poland, and for the proſperity of the republic, are ſo notorious, that it would be uſeleſs to give freſh aſſurances of them. In the meanwhile, the underſigned cannot avoid reiterating them, as an inconteſtable proof of their reality.

(Signed) "WROUGHTON."

both of his allies and his ſubjects, and was actually obliged to retire from the diet in conſequence of the inſults of ſeveral of the clergy, particularly the biſhop of Kief.

In the mean time freſh bodies of Ruſſians poured into the boſom of the devoted republic, and the Diſſidents, at the inſtigation of the empreſs, began to confederate, and were actually joined on this occaſion by may Catholics devoted to the court of St. Peterſburgh.

In 1767, Staniſlaus-Auguſtus, perceiving the neceſſity of regaining the countenance and protection of the Ruſſian cabinet, convoked a diet extraordinary. The enemies of the Diſſidents were, however, as violent as before, and prince Repnin, who poſſeſſed a far greater influence over the affairs of Poland than the king himſelf, had recourſe to the moſt arbitrary proceedings to counteract their zeal. Boaſting openly "that he was determined to violate the liberties of Poland for the benefit of the Poles," this inſolent foreigner ordered the biſhop of Cracow to be arreſted; and ſoon after, the biſhop of Kief, the vayvode of Cracow, count Rjeurſky, and ſeveral other nobles, were made priſoners by detachments of Ruſſian ſoldiers, and conveyed to Siberia, whence they did not return until 1773, after an exile of ſix years*. The remaining members of the diet immediately preſented an addreſs to the king, in which they beſought his majeſty to intercede with prince Repnin for their releaſe; this was accordingly

* Here follows the declaration publiſhed on this occaſion by prince Repnin.

"The troops of her imperial majeſty, my ſovereign, friends and allies of the confederated republic, have arreſted the biſhop of Cracow, the biſhop of Kief, the vayvode of Dolin, &c. for having failed, by their conduct, in the reſpect that is due to the dignity of her imperial majeſty, by attacking the purity of her ſalutary, diſintereſted, and amicable intentions in favour of the republic. The illuſtrious general confederation of the republic, of the crown, and of Lithuania, being under the protection of her imperial majeſty, the underſigned notifies this to it, with poſitive and ſolemn aſſurances of the continuation of that high protection and of the aſſiſtance and ſupport of her imperial majeſty to the general confederation united for the preſervation of the Poliſh laws and liberties, with redreſs of all the abuſes that have crept into the government contrary to the fundamental laws of the country. Her majeſty is only deſirous of the welfare of the republic, and will not diſcontinue to grant it her aſſiſtance to the attainment of that end, without any intereſt or pecuniary conſideration;

accordingly done, but the haughty Ruſſian treated the ſolicitations of the humbled monarch with diſdain, and rejected his ſuit, notwithſtanding the legiſlature, which was now overawed by an army of foreign mercenaries, had implicitly ſubmitted to all the regulations in favour of the Diſſidents.

The duke de Choiſeul, prime miniſter of France, who had diſcovered the ambitious deſigns of the empreſs relative to Poland, and began already to anticipate the fate of that miſerable country, determined, if poſſible, to avert it. He accordingly ſent inſtructions to M. de Vergennes, then ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, to endeavour to prevail on the Ottoman Porte to declare war againſt Ruſſia. This was at length effected, and the Poliſh malcontents conſidered that event as a ſignal for their deliverance. They accordingly aſſembled in conſiderable bodies, and found means to obtain ſuccour and aſſiſtance from various courts. Saxony furniſhed them with pecuniary ſupplies; Auſtria permitted them to arm on her territories; France ſent them officers, and Dumouriez, who was one of theſe, ſometimes acted the part of a commander, and ſometimes that of a plenipotentiary. Having ſeized on a fortreſs on the frontiers, they termed themſelves, after it, *the confederation of Bar*; they even became maſters of the city of Cracow, and a large portion of Podolia.

But notwithſtanding hoſtilities had now commenced with the Turks, Catharine determined to reduce the Poles to unconditional ſubmiſſion. She accordingly ſent new reinforcements thither, under lieutenant-general Soltikoff, who immediately invited the nation to take arms againſt the confederation of Bar, and, if we are to believe ſome, iſſued orders not to ſpare the life of a ſingle confederate under any pretence whatever. General Dervitch is ſaid to have equalled, if not ſurpaſſed Soltikoff in barbarity, for nine Poliſh nobles about this time appeared in War-

tion; wiſhing for no other than the ſafety, the happineſs, and the liberty of the Poliſh nation, as that has been already clearly expreſſed in the declarations of her imperial majeſty, which guarantee to the republic its actual poſſeſſions, as well as its laws, its form of government, and the prerogatives of each individual,

"Done at Warſaw, the 14th of October, 1767.

(Signed) "NICHOLAS PRINCE REPNIN."

ſaw with both hands lopped off, by a man who had acted in the double capacity of a judge and an executioner *.

Notwithſtanding this, ſo daring had the confederates become by ſucceſs, that a few of them formed the reſolution of ſeizing on the perſon of the king, and thus adding to their influence and authority. Pulawſki, a Poliſh nobleman of conſiderable talents, firſt conceived this project, and having pitched upon three chiefs, Lukawſki, Strawinſki, and Koſinſki, he deſired them to ſelect thirty-ſeven of the moſt intrepid of their companions. Theſe forty men entered Warſaw, diſguiſed as peaſants, and on the evening of Sunday, the 3d of November 1771, actually ſeized Staniſlaus-Auguſtus in one of the ſtreets of his capital, and carried him off in triumph. They had no ſooner arrived in the open country, than two of the leaders, accompanied by their followers, repaired to the camp, with intent to inform Pulawſki of their ſucceſs; but Koſinſki having loſt his way, and being at length gained by the promiſes of the king, his majeſty obtained his liberty, and returned to Warſaw †.

The perſon of the monarch was now ſafe, but in the courſe of the ſucceeding year he was doomed to experience a freſh mortification by the diſmemberment of his dominions.

The partition of Poland has excited univerſal indignation in our own times, and cannot fail to be viewed by an impartial poſterity with additional horror. The firſt idea of this project is ſaid to have been broached by the king of Pruſſia, during an interview with the emperor Joſeph II. at Neiſs in Sileſia, in 1769; the particulars were ſettled in a ſubſequent conference at Neuſtadt in Auſtria; the conſent of the empreſs of Ruſſia was alſo obtained, and her ſhare portioned out on the map, during a viſit from prince Henry to the court of St. Peterſburgh.

No ſooner had the allied courts agreed on their reſpective diviſions, than the baron de Stackleberg, ambaſſador from Ruſſia,

* Life of the empreſs Catharine II. vol. ii. p. 166.

† Having prevailed upon Koſinſki to take refuge in a mill, he tranſmitted the following note to general Cocceii, who commanded the firſt regiment of his foot guards: "Par une eſpece de miracle, je ſuis ſauvé des mains des aſſaſſins. Je ſuis ici, au petit moulin de Mariemont. Venez au plutôt, me tirer d'ici. Je ſuis bleſſé, mais pas fort."

notified

notified their intentions by a ſingular ſtate paper, drawn up in form of a declaration *.

A ſhort

* "The powers in the vicinity of Poland have been ſo often involved in the troubles which almoſt every vacancy of the throne has excited in that kingdom, that from the recollection of the paſt it behoved them to pay the moſt ſerious attention to the affairs of the Poliſh nation, as ſoon as, by the death of the late king, Auguſtus III. the throne was become vacant.

"Urged by theſe conſiderations, and deſirous of preventing the dreadful effects of thoſe diſſenſions, which, as in former inſtances, might have ariſen at this laſt vacancy of the throne, the court of St. Peterſburg haſtened to take all poſſible meaſures to unite the citizens of Poland in favour of the candidate who ſhould appear to be moſt worthy of the throne, moſt agreeable to his fellow citizens, and moſt acceptable to the neighbouring powers.

"This court applied herſelf at the ſame time, and with equal zeal, to the rectifying of many abuſes and defects in the conſtitution, which had been equally prejudicial to Poland and her neighbours.

"The court of Berlin ſeconded the attempts of her ally. And the court of Vienna, deſirous, on her part, of contributing to the ſucceſs of ſuch laudable views, but willing, at the ſame time, to avoid the danger of augmenting the difficulties and intricacies which might ariſe from multiplying the number of thoſe who undertook openly and directly to ſettle the affairs of Poland, thought proper to obſerve the moſt exact neutrality with regard both to the arrangement of the affairs of Poland, and the war which was afterwards kindled on this ſubject between Ruſſia and the Porte.

"The immediate conſequences of theſe meaſures were the free and legal election of Staniſlaus-Auguſtus, reigning king of Poland, and the forming of many uſeful and ſalutary eſtabliſhments. In a word, every thing ſeemed to promiſe Poland and her neighbours a firm and laſting tranquillity.

"But unhappily, in the midſt of theſe promiſing appearances, the ſpirit of diſcord ſeized upon one part of the nation: citizen armed againſt citizen; the ſons of faction ſeized the reins of authority; and laws, and order, and public ſafety, and juſtice, and police, and commerce, and agriculture, all are either gone to ruin, or ſtand on the brink of deſtruction. And the exceſſes of every kind, natural conſequences of ſuch an anarchy, will bring on the total diſſolution of the ſtate, if not timely prevented.

"The connexions between nations which border on each other are ſo intimate, that the ſubjects of the neighbouring powers have already felt the moſt diſagreeable effects from theſe diſorders. Theſe powers are obliged, at a great expence, to take meaſures of precaution, in order to ſecure the tranquillity of their own frontiers; they are expoſed to the uncertain but poſſible conſequences of the entire diſſolution of Poland; to the danger of ſeeing their mutual harmony and good friendſhip deſtroyed; the maintenance of which, at the ſame time that it ſecures their own peace and tranquillity, is a matter of the higheſt importance to all Europe.

"From this view of things it will appear, that nothing can be of a more urgent neceſſity than to apply an immediate remedy to evils from which the neighbouring nations have already experienced the moſt diſagreeable effects; and the conſequences of

to annihilate, the burden of their feudal claims. The cities, which alone contained a middle claſs of men between the lord and the vaſſal, evinced an exalted ſpirit of patriotiſm, and as all true Poles now panted for a change in the conſtitution, this was accordingly effected in an orderly and legitimate manner, on May 3, 1791.

No ſooner did this revolution take place, than the three partitioning powers became alarmed. They dreaded the vigour of a people, at once rendered worthy, and capable of contending for their rights; and conſidered the recent attempt to meliorate their condition as little better than an act of rebellion againſt their authority.

The empreſs of Ruſſia firſt threw off the maſk, and, as if bent on revenge, ſent orders to M. de Bulgakoff, her miniſter at Warſaw, to declare war againſt Poland. The diet received this notification with a majeſtic calmneſs but little ſuited to their ſituation, and a generous ardour was immediately excited throughout the whole nation. Even the king, who had hitherto appeared merely as a phantom of royalty, governed and directed according to the caprice of the empreſs, affected on this occaſion an ardour hitherto a ſtranger to him.

The circumſtances of the times, however, proved peculiarly unfavourable. Pruſſia, which had pretended to countenance the late changes, withdrew her protection. The elector of Saxony, in whoſe perſon a new dynaſty was to have commenced, after conſulting the court of St. Peterſburgh, declined honours ſo inauſpicious to his family. Suſpicions were alſo entertained of the king's reſolution, and even his own friends did not dare to aſſert that he would hazard his life and crown in a grand national conteſt with his benefactreſs.

A body of troops, however, was collected in haſte, and in an evil hour the command was conferred on prince Joſeph Poniatowſky, nephew to the monarch, a youth deſtitute of experience, and who had not hitherto diſplayed any of thoſe great qualities that can ſupply the want of it.

Three Ruſſian armies now entered the territories of Poland; eighty thouſand marched on the ſide of Beſſarabia; ten thouſand

advanced

advanced from Kieff; and thirty thouſand penetrated by Lithuania. To oppoſe one hundred and twenty thouſand veterans only fifty thouſand raw troops aſſembled in arms. But, notwithſtanding the manifeſt diſadvantages in point of numbers and ſkill, the Poles, who brought courage and enthuſiaſm into the field, acquired the ſuperiority on ſeveral occaſions, and might have made a noble, if not a ſucceſsful ſtand, could they have been perſuaded to unite in one body. They preferred to carry on a deſultory war, and were at length cruſhed under the collected weight of the enemy.

Catharine, however, did not depend ſolely on arms, for ſhe had recourſe to art and negociation. She won over to her cauſe a number of Poles, who preferred their intereſts to their country, and placing prince Felix Potocky at the head of a confederation, an aſſembly of nobles favourable to her views met at Grodno, and received the commands of a Ruſſian general, who, not content with arrogating all the power of the ſtate, actually ſeated himſelf under the canopy of the throne, and aſſumed the enſigns, as well as the authority, of a king.

The fate of Poland was now finally decided. The king of Pruſſia, who had ſeemingly promoted the late revolution, marched an army in concert with that of the empreſs againſt his allies; while Staniſlaus-Auguſtus, terrified into ſubmiſſion by the threats of the Ruſſian cabinet, made a public declaration, that it had become neceſſary to yield to circumſtances!

In the mean time the Poliſh troops were obliged to diſperſe. Many of the officers were arreſted and puniſhed, and Bonneau, the French ſecretary of legation, who was ſuppoſed to have countenanced the late revolution, was actually carried off to Siberia, in direct violation of the law of nations. The capital itſelf was not exempt from the horrors of military licence. General Igelſtrom, who aſſumed the chief command in the city of Warſaw, is ſaid to have connived at the diſorders of the ſoldiery, and the wretched inhabitants ſoon experienced from their pretended protectors all the calamities incident to the moſt cruel warfare. In the mean time, Sievers, the Ruſſian miniſter, publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he declared it to be the gracious intention

of

of his ſovereign to incorporate with her dominions all the territories of Poland, recently conquered by her arms.

The natives, who had hitherto borne the fiſcal exactions and military executions of a cruel enemy with an unexpected degree of acquieſcence, became irritated to madneſs at this freſh attack on the relics of the republic. The remains of the diſperſed army were collected together, the fugitives and malcontents aſſembled on all ſides, and a leader was now only wanting to begin a new war infinitely more terrible than that which had been ſo recently extinguiſhed. A general and an avenger were at length ſuppoſed to be found in the perſon of Koſciuſko. This gallant Pole, after ſerving with conſiderable reputation in America, and aſſiſting in achieving the liberties of the tranſatlantic continent, had returned to his native land, and joined his countrymen under the banners of prince Joſeph Poniatowſky. Although placed in a ſubordinate ſituation he had found means to diſtinguiſh himſelf during the late ſtruggle, and exhibited talents that now rendered him worthy of the ſupreme command.

It was at Leipſick, whither he had retired with three of his countrymen *, that the plan of this new conſpiracy in behalf of Poland was firſt formed, and had the leading principles of it been carried into execution but a few months before, the ſtruggle in behalf of national liberty would have been at leaſt more equal. Theſe four nobles had learned by ſad experience that the bondage of the peaſantry hitherto preſented an invincible obſtacle to the ſalvation of the republic. Reduced to a ſtate of the moſt humiliating bondage, and ſold with the lands to which they were ſuppoſed to appertain, on the one hand, they poſſeſſed no rights as citizens, and on the other, they had no intereſt as proprietors. It was thus that the great maſs of population, being ſtripped of all the ties that endear ſociety to the heart of man, and deprived even of the name of country, were but little ſolicitous for its proſperity. An alteration of government could affect them but little; and ſuch was their wretched ſtate, that even their conquerors themſelves were leſs odious than their maſters.

* Kolontay, Zajonchick, and Ignatius Potocky.

It was now determined by this committee of inſurrection, that the peaſants ſhould be admitted to all the rights and privileges of citizens; that they ſhould be eligible to all public offices and employments; and deemed worthy of being entruſted with arms for the deliverance of their country. A numerous body of nobles belonging to their party readily acquieſced in the reſignation of their odious pretenſions, and cheerfully relinquiſhed claims ſo diſgraceful to human nature, and ſo eminently prejudicial to the happineſs, glory, and proſperity, of their country.

This grand act of juſtice attached the peaſantry to their cauſe; and the inhabitants of the principal cities burning with zeal, were already prepared to declare in their favour. Many Poles, in the Ruſſian ſervice, at the ſame time exhibited themſelves indignant at the miſeries and humiliation experienced by their native country, and whole regiments waited but for the ſignal to commence a revolt. Throughout all the great towns preparations were ſecretly made for this event, and the inhabitants of the capital, who had been already prepared for action, through the agency of an intrepid citizen *, could hardly be reſtrained from violence.

This plot, however, was prevented, or rather poſtponed, for the Ruſſian government had received information of it; and if we are to give credit to the rumours of that period, the king, on hearing that Zajonchiek had repaired to Warſaw, with an intention of conſulting with the chiefs of the intended inſurrection, communicated this circumſtance to the Ruſſian general who ruled in his capital.

Soon after this a more favourable opportunity preſented itſelf, which was embraced with ardour. Every thing having been prepared for the occaſion, Zajonchiek, Kolontay, and Ignatius Potocky, who had found an aſylum at Dreſden, returned to Poland, while Koſciuſko, who had fled to Italy, to avoid the jealouſy and evade the ſuſpicions of the Ruſſian government, appeared at the ſame time on the ſcene of action. The city of Cracow was the ſpot fixed upon for the commencement of the inſurrection, and it

* Kapuſtas the banker.

was

was there that the new general was received as a deliverer, March 24, 1794. Madalinſky, who had ſtill retained his regiment, notwithſtanding the orders and even the menaces of the Ruſſians, inſtantly joined him. Several hundred peaſants armed with ſcythes and pitchforks, ranged themſelves under his banners, and a body of three thouſand foot and twelve hundred horſe ſoon aſſumed the appearance of a little army, in which, in expreſs oppoſition to the cuſtom of the nation, the infantry was more numerous than the cavalry.

No ſooner was the act of inſurrection publiſhed on the part of the Poliſh patriots, than a *corps* of ſeven thouſand Ruſſians was collected together with the view of diſperſing and puniſhing them. To this force the troops under Koſciuſko were far inferior in point of numbers, diſcipline, and arms; but they were actuated by a noble zeal, and led on by an intrepid chief. The conteſt was ſharp and bloody, and victory declared at length in favour of the inſurgents, who were fortunate enough to put their ſpoilers to flight.

No ſooner did the intelligence of this engagement arrive in the capital, than the inhabitants of Warſaw prepared to imitate the example of Cracow. It was in vain that general Igelſtrom, who was perſonally odious to the citizens, cauſed all thoſe to be arreſted whom he conſidered as attached to the intereſts of their country, for on the 18th of April a commotion took place in the metropolis, the populace of which, accuſtomed to the exceſſes, and inſenſibly led to imitate the cruelty of their oppreſſors, put two thouſand Ruſſians to the ſword. Their general himſelf was beſieged in the houſe, or rather palace, which he inhabited, and taking advantage of a pretended capitulation, found means to eſcape to the Pruſſian camp. The inhabitants of Wilna, on hearing of theſe ſucceſſes, determined on revenge; but their leader*, conducting himſelf with equal ſkill and moderation, made all the Ruſſians quartered in the capital of Lithuania priſoners, without bloodſhed. Such was the contagion, that the cantons of Chelm and Lublin alſo declared themſelves in a ſtate of inſurrection, while three Poliſh

* Jasinſky.

regiments

regiments in the ſervice of Ruſſia ſwerved from their allegiance, and ranged themſelves on the ſide of their country. Many of the partizans of the empreſs were now arreſted, and ſeveral of the principal of them, ſuch as the hetman Koſſakoffſky, the biſhop his brother, Zabrello, Ozaroffſky, and Ankvitch, were condemned, and ſentenced to an ignominious death.

While the inhabitants of Poland were every where in arms, and panted with a generous indignation to burſt their fetters, the king ſeems to have affected a rigorous neutrality; but it was well known that he was jealous of Koſciuſko, and repreſented his intentions as hoſtile to the intereſts of his country. The Ruſſians, on one hand, conſidered him as a minion bound to obey the dictates of the empreſs, while his own ſubjects, viewing him with ſuſpicion and diſguſt, ſeemed to look upon him as an enemy to Poland. He ſtill, however, poſſeſſed ſome weight in the government, and had he declared at this moment againſt Ruſſia, his name and dignity would have armed the majority of the inhabitants againſt the invaders.

But it was not with the Ruſſians alone that the gallant defenders of the liberties of Poland had to contend. Frederick-William of Pruſſia, conſidering this inſurrection as a revolt againſt the coaleſced powers, put himſelf at the head of a body of forces, and advanced to the ſupport of his diſcomfited allies; while the imperial Catharine augmented her army by means of veteran regiments, and ſent her beſt generals to the ſcene of action.

In the mean time, Koſciuſko, who had gained the confidence of the peaſantry, and always fought on foot at their head, cloathed and accoutred like one of themſelves, perceiving that Suwarrow and Ferſon were reſolved to unite their forces, with a view to overpower his little army, determined, if poſſible, to prevent their junction. While occupied in this attempt, he himſelf was attacked by the latter at Maciejovitch on the 4th of October. On this occaſion he ſeems to have diſplayed his accuſtomed talents, intrepidity, and valour, but he was deſerted by his uſual good fortune. Overpowered by numbers, obliged to contend againſt ſuperior diſcipline, and but ill provided with cannon, ammunition, or ſupplies of any kind, the ſmall body of troops under

his command was at length obliged to give way, and moſt of them were either cut to pieces in the purſuit, or ſurrounded and forced to lay down their arms.

Thoſe who eſcaped from the conquerors ſhut themſelves up in the village of Praga, which forms a kind of ſuburbs to Warſaw. This was beſieged and taken by aſſault, November 2, by Suwarrow, who on this occaſion renewed the horrors formerly perpetrated by him at Iſmailow; and, dreadful to relate, not content with the ſlaughter of the ſoldiers, he is reported to have put the inhabitants of both ſexes to the ſword.

Staniſlaus was now freed from all his fears relative to a general who had gained the affections of the moſt numerous part of his ſubjects, and aſpired to the glorious title of deliverer of his country. This prince, however, did not profit by the event, for he now beheld the courts of Peterſburgh, Vienna, and Berlin, uniting the remainder of his kingdom to their former acquiſitions, and leaving him in poſſeſſion of nothing more than an empty title. In ſhort, he was ſoon forced to retire from his capital, and repair to Grodno, glad to eſcape from the inſolence of Repnin, who commanded, on the part of Ruſſia, in the conquered provinces, and affected all the ſtate and dignity of a monarch. But the humiliation of Poniatowſky did not end here, for it was ſoon after intimated that he muſt abdicate his crown; and this ceremony accordingly took place on the 25th of November, 1795.

Soon after this, his ſtay in Poland was interdicted, and he was obliged to abandon his native country, and retire to St. Peterſburgh*, where he died, in an inglorious exile, of an apoplexy, April 11, 1798, O. S. in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age.

In the mean time the ambitious and fortunate empreſs, after a long and ſucceſsful reign, had alſo ended her own career; and her ſon, the preſent emperor Paul, was now ſeated on a throne which ſhe had rendered formidable by a ſeries of victories. This prince, who has ſince rendered his

* While in the capital of Ruſſia, his majeſty reſided in the marble palace on the banks of the Neva. A little before his death he requeſted his chaplain, Yurevitch, to give him abſolution, and actually died in the act of repeating the penitential pſalms.

name

name illuſtrious by his clemency *, ordered due honours to be paid to the corpſe of Staniſlaus. The body accordingly lay in ſtate during three days, and when his imperial majeſty paid his laſt viſit to the remains of this unfortunate prince, he is ſaid to have placed the crown with his own hand upon his head, as if to intimate that it ought never to have been bereaved of it.

Staniſlaus-Auguſtus-Poniatowſky was one of the moſt accompliſhed men of his age. In his perſon he was handſome; and his attainments were ſuch as fall to the lot of few princes, for he could converſe in the languages, and was well acquainted with all the beſt authors of France, Germany, Italy, and England †.

Attached to pleaſure, he was at once amorous and extravagant; and ſuch was his love of gaiety, that he ſeems to have preferred the character of an accompliſhed gentleman to that of a great king. Fitted for private life alone, he became a monarch by accident and intrigue. Inſtead of being ſurrounded by ſtateſmen and warriors, his court was crowded with miſtreſſes and favourites; the former of whom ſwallowed up his revenues, while the latter prepared new means of diſſipation, and were perpetually occupied in deviſing balls, ſhews, and entertainments.

While the three coaleſced powers were diſmembering his provinces, his majeſty was revelling on a penſion beſtowed by one of them; and at the time that his ſubjects were periſhing either in the field of battle, or on the ſcaffolds erected by the invaders, he was ſeen decorated with the Ruſſian order of St. Andrew, ſauntering amidſt the ſuppliants at the levee of a viceroy of the court of St. Peterſburgh.

In ſhort, Poniatowſky was unworthy of his high ſtation. He entertained a preſentiment that he ſhould die a violent death ‡, and was expoſed to perpetual fears, on account of a life which he

* One of the firſt acts of his reign was to releaſe the gallant and unfortunate Koſciuſko from that bondage to which he had been condemned, for aſpiring to free his native country from the moſt degrading ſervitude.

† Staniſlaus was intimately acquainted with Engliſh literature, and particularly fond of the works of the late Dr. Johnſon. It is a fact that has eſcaped the notice of his laborious biographer, that the Poliſh miniſter at the court of London waited upon Dr. J. in the name of the king, and expreſſed his majeſty's reſpect for his talents.

‡ See Wraxall's Memoirs of the Court of Berlin.

could not preſerve, and of a crown which he deſerved not to wear, and of which he was at length bereaved, notwithſtanding the diſgraceful ſacrifices he had made to preſerve it.

Had Staniſlaus poſſeſſed the virtues of a hero, he might have immortalized his own name, and freed his country from its oppreſſors; but he was a weak prince, who neither challenges our admiration nor our eſteem; whoſe character was deficient in every thing that conſtitutes a great ſovereign; and whoſe name will occupy a conſpicuous place in the catalogue of worthleſs kings.

THOMAS PENNANT, LL.D.

F.R.S. F.R.S.U. F.R.S.D. F.S.P.L. &c. &c. &c.

It but ſeldom happens that our country gentlemen cultivate a taſte for literature, or devote a portion of their time to the ſciences. Their exertions are generally confined to *field ſports*, all of which are cruel, being calculated for the deſtruction of their fellow animals; and when they act in the character of magiſtrates, their zeal is too frequently directed againſt the petty delinquencies of their leſs fortunate neighbours, whoſe ſole crime conſiſts in their poverty; for it is a ſhameful feature in our game laws, that what is no offence in a man of a hundred pounds per annum, or the ſon of an eſquire, or one of higher degree, is attended with penalties, and perhaps impriſonment, to the offſpring of a peaſant*. Perſons of this deſcription of courſe ſink into the ſoil that bears them with reluctance, and rot in com-

* It is not here meant to inſinuate aught againſt that honourable claſs of country gentlemen who devote their time to the improvement of their eſtates and the conſequent benefit of the nation; but ſurely it cannot be conſidered as reprehenſible to attack *mere ſportſmen*, who are perpetually perſecuting the game and the pea- ; who boaſt of the number of birds they themſelves put to death in the courſe y, and yet deem it nearly as criminal in a yeoman to kill a pheaſant as a

pany

pany with their beloved companions—their hounds, their horſes, and their gamekeepers, without being mourned by any except their own immediate relatives and dependants, or dignified by even the accidental mention of hiſtory or biography.

But when men of property devote their time and their fortunes to the purſuit of literature; when they inveſtigate the hiſtory of nature, and extend the boundaries of ſcience; they demand our reſpect during their exiſtence, and excite our tears when they are no more. And be it recorded to the honour of the preſent age, that, notwithſtanding the alluring diſſipation of a town life, and the uſual employment of one ſpent wholly in the country, no period of our hiſtory can boaſt of a greater number of men who have relinquiſhed every ſubordinate gratification, and delivered themſelves up to the cultivation of the human intellect.

Among ſuch as are entitled to this honourable mention, the ſubject of theſe memoirs holds a conſpicuous place, and an attempt ſhall be made in this article to deſcribe and illuſtrate his labours, without being tempted by our admiration to conceal, or even to extenuate, his foibles.

Part of the ancient inhabitants of this iſland having been driven before the conquering ſword of the unſparing Saxons, took refuge in Wales, where they and their deſcendants ſturdily maintained their rights and independence for ages. This circumſtance has contributed not a little to exalt their notions of family grandeur, and to render them boaſtful of their birth. Indeed, a far more poliſhed nation was not exempt from this vanity, for the Athenians, who exulted at the idea of being the primeval inhabitants of Greece, and pretended to be produced from the ſame earth they inhabited, wore golden graſshoppers in their hair, as badges of honour: thus diſtinguiſhing themſelves from every other people, by means of inſects feigned to be ſprung, like themſelves, from the ſoil. Mr. Pennant, who appears not to have been wholly free from a ſimilar propenſity, was a Cambro-Briton, having been born at Downing, or, more properly, *Eden Owain* houſe, in the pariſh of Whiteford,

in Flintſhire, June 14, 1726, O. S. With an accuracy that deſcends to the minuteſt particulars, he himſelf tells us *, that he firſt ſaw the light in the "yellow room," and that "the celebrated Mrs. Clayton, of Shrewſbury, uſhered him into the world, and delivered him to Miſs Jenny Parry of Merton, in the ſame pariſh, who to her dying day never failed to exclaim, on ſeeing him, "Ah! you rogue, I remember you when you had not a ſhirt to your back."

From the ſame ſource we learn that the family of the Pennants ranks high in the annals of Welſh genealogy, and that his houſe was always conſidered the Pen-cenedl, or chief of the clan. The very name itſelf denotes command and eminence, although it is not to be found among the five royal tribes of Cambria, or the fifteen tribes of nobles of North Wales; a ſixteenth, however, that of the March, or *Llwyth Maelor*, ſeems to have been added, for the expreſs purpoſe of illuſtrating it and its allies †. Tudor Trevor, the chieftain, was the ſon of Yngr ap Cadfarch, deſcended from Cadell Deurnllug, king of Powys, who is ſaid to have been the founder of, and to have reſided at Whittington caſtle, which appertained to his poſterity for many ages. His mother was Rhiengar, daughter to *Lluddocca ap Caradoc Vreichfras*, earl of Hereford, who was one of the knights of king Arthur's round table.

Tudor had large poſſeſſions in Herefordſhire, as well as in that country called *Ferlys*, lying between the rivers Wye and Severne, in right of his mother. He was contemporary with Howel Dda, king of Wales, whoſe daughter Angahard he married, and by whom he had three ſons and one daughter. Powell, of Edenhope, in his *Pentarchia*, deſcribes his arms in the following manner:

* Hiſt. of the pariſhes of Whiteford and Holywell, p. 2.

† The author thought that his deſcent could be traced, on Welſh authorities, up to the princes of Powis, to Ryuallon Conwyn, prince of North Wales, from Roderic the Great, and from Cadwallader, and finally from Vortigern. On the other hand, the Engliſh heralds are content with a recurrence to John a Gaunt, and the Conqueror.

"Erminiis

" Erminiis fulgens Theodori parma Trevori,
" Dat rapidum fulvumque ſiniſtro verte leonem;
" Moſtonis ſunt nota ſatis, ſimul arma Trevoris†."

We muſt now take a leap from the remote periods of antiquity into modern times, as the biographer cannot find any materials during many intermediate centuries; we, however, learn that David Pennant was ſheriff of Flint in 1643, and here we will permit the ſubject of this memoir to deſcribe his immediate anceſtors in his own words:

" My great, great grandfather was an officer in the garriſon of Denbigh, when it was beſieged and taken by my maternal great, great grandfather, general Mytton. My loyal anceſtor ſuffered here a long impriſonment. Bychton was plundered; and the diſtreſs of the family ſo great, that he was kept from ſtarving by the force of conjugal affection; for his wife often walked with a bag of oatmeal from the pariſh of Whiteford to Denbigh, to relieve his wants." The next we meet with, is major Hugh Pennant, who is termed " a brave and faithful officer in the royal army ſerving in North Wales;" and it muſt not be omitted, that he was married to Margaret Aungier, baroneſs of Longford, one of the daughters of Sir Thomas Cave of Slimford, in the county of Northampton, knight. We alſo hear of Pyers Pennant, whoſe wife was one of the celebrated ſeven ſiſters of the

† That nothing of ſo precious a genealogy ſhould be loſt to the reader, we here preſent him with

" Deſcendants extant in the male line:

" Viſcount Hampden and baron Trevor.
" Moſtyns..... of Moſtyn, } Baronets.
..... of Trelacre, }
..... of Bryngwyn.
..... of Hegroit.
" Pennant..... of Bychton.
" Richard Pennant..... Baron Penrhyn.
" Jefferies..... of Acton.
" Edwards..... of Chirk.
" Wynne..... of Gerwyn-fawr.
" Jones..... of Llwyn-onn."

houſe of Gwyſanney, all of whom married about the ſame time, and all became widows, and, what is ſtill more wonderful, only two of them renewed their nuptial vows.

Peter Pennant, Mr. Pennant's grandfather, accepted of a commiſſion in the army, in the reign of Anne, ſerved during the ſiege of Bruſſels, and retired in diſguſt, on account of the behaviour of his colonel, Sir Thomas Pendergaſt, who declined to give him ſatisfaction. The uncle of Peter reſided at Chelſea; "where," ſays Mr. Pennant, "my father told me he was frequently taken by him to the * coffee-houſe, and there he uſed to ſee poor *Richard Cromwell*, a little, and very neat old man, with a moſt placid countenance, the effect of his innocent and unambitious life."

We now come to his own father, whoſe picture is preſerved in the family, with the head encircled in a long flowing wig, in which he was painted at the age of fifteen; his education had been neglected, but we are aſſured that he was *abnormis ſapiens*, and poſſeſſed the beſt of hearts. As for his mother, ſhe was third daughter of Richard Mytton, Eſq. of Halſton, one of fifteen children, by Arabella, eldeſt daughter of Sir John Honblon, lord mayor of London in 1695, lord of the admiralty in the time of king William, and the firſt governor of the bank of of England.

The *direct* deſcent has been thus briefly ſketched; Norroy, or Clarencieux, could alone purſue the mazes of the collateral branches from John Pennant †, "who had a ſerpent in his heart!" to the perſon of the name of Pennant, who introduced the "parcel poſt." We may, however, be permitted to mention, that one of them, William Pennant, ſecond ſon to Hugh Pennant of Bychton, by Sionet, daughter of *Richard ap Howel ap Moſion*,

* "Mr. Pennant imagines (ſee the Hiſtory of the Pariſhes of Whiteford and Holywell, p. 13) that the coffee-houſe here mentioned, was Don Saltero's," which has been ſhut up, and all the curioſities diſperſed, in conſequence of a ſale that took place on the premiſes, in the beginning of this year, 1799.

† See "A moſt certain and true Relation of a ſtrange Monſter, or Serpent, found in the left Ventricle of the Heart of John Pennant, Gentleman, of the age of twenty-ne Years. By Edward May, Doctor of Philoſophy and Phyſick, &c. 1639."

condeſcended

condeſcended to enrich himſelf and family by keeping a ſhop at the ſign of the Queen's Head in Smithfield; but there is an attempt to render even this tradeſman illuſtrious by an approximation to greatneſs, for it is hinted that he *probably* was goldſmith and jeweller to the royal family.

After this diſcuſſion, in which we have endeavoured exactly to follow the authorities preſented by the deceaſed, we now return to himſelf.

No ſooner was an heir given to the family, than, in purſuance to ancient cuſtom, he was put out to nurſe at a neighbouring farm houſe, called *Pentre*, a little building covered with thatch, and which, in the preſent ſtate of improvement, would not be dignified with any other appellation than that of a cottage. The nurſe's maiden name was Pennant, and, although not a ſingle word relative to that ſubject is mentioned here, ſhe doubleſs conſidered herſelf a *relation* of the family, and notwithſtanding ſhe had long paſſed by the name of Pierce, which was that of her huſband, a freeholder of above a hundred a year, ſhe from that inſtant reſumed her original one. By this foſter-mother, a title which formerly conferred a ſpecies of affinity in Wales, the boy ſeems to have been reared with great care until the time for weaning him arrived, at which period he was doubtleſs ſent back to his father's houſe.

No ſooner had he attained a proper age, than young Pennant repaired to Wrexham, in the county of Denbigh, where he received the firſt rudiments of his education; thence he was removed to Fulham, in the vicinity of the metropolis, and was put under the care of Mr. Croft, a ſchoolmaſter of ſome celebrity, with whom he reſided until he was deemed fit for the univerſity. Oxford was choſen, on this occaſion, in preference to Cambridge, doubtleſs from family predilection; there he remained during a conſiderable time, and afterwards obtained the degree of LL. D.*

Within the walls of Oriel college he applied himſelf, among other branches of knowledge, to the ſtudy of juriſprudence, it being the deſign of his father to bring him up to the bar: but it does not appear that he ever followed the laws, as a profeſſion,

* In 1771.

or even entered himſelf of any of the inns of court, which is a preparatory ſtep, and one abſolutely indiſpenſable to all ſuch as are deſirous of pleading in our municipal courts.

His mind, indeed, had taken another bent, for at a very early age he had imbibed a ſtrong predilection for natural hiſtory, in conſequence of a trifling accident *; and this circumſtance decided his future purſuits in life.

When only twenty years of age he commenced his travels, in a very proper manner, by viſiting his native country before he made himſelf acquainted with foreign lands; thus differing greatly from ſuch as attain, in early life, a better notion of the climate, ſoil, culture, natural productions, and curioſities of France and Italy, where they are mere birds of paſſage, than of Great Britain, where they are deſtined to ſpend the remainder of their lives.

Mr. Pennant made a tour into Cornwall, from Oxford, in 1746 or 1747, in the courſe of which he paid a viſit to, and reſided during ſome time at the houſe of Dr. William Borlaſe of Ludgvan, who in the kindeſt manner made him acquainted with every thing worthy of notice; and it was in that county, ſo celebrated for its ſubterraneous riches, that he firſt conceived a ſtrong paſſion for every thing that appertained to the mineral kingdom. The knowledge obtained on this occaſion, not only proved ſerviceable to him as a naturaliſt, but, in all probability, tended not a little to regulate his conduct as a proprietor of mines.

Soon after this, moſt probably on leaving the univerſity, he ſeems to have returned to Downing, where he reſided occaſionally with his father. Certain it is that he was there April 2, 1750, for on that day an earthquake was felt, not only throughout the pariſh of Whiteford, but all the mineral diſtrict; and the event was ſo forcibly impreſſed on his mind, that he tranſ-

* "A preſent of the Ornithology of Francis Willughby, eſq. made to me when I was about the age of twelve, by my kinſman, the late John Salisbury, eſq. of Backegraig, in the county of Flint, father of the fair and celebrated writer, Mrs. Piozzi, firſt gave me a taſte for that ſtudy, and incidentally alſo for that of natural hiſtory in general, which I have ſince purſued with my conſtitutional ardor."

The Literary Life of the late T. Pennant, Eſq. p. 1.

mitted

mitted the particulars to his maternal uncle, James Mytton, eſq. * This, which was publiſhed unknown to the writer, was the firſt of his compoſitions that ever appeared in print.

Having a turn for the ſtudy of antiquities, on the 21ſt of November, 1754, he was elected a fellow of the ſociety of antiquaries; but he withdrew his name in 1760, ſoon after his firſt marriage.

During the ſummer of the ſame year, our naturaliſt determined to make himſelf acquainted with the ſiſter kingdom. He accordingly ſailed for Dublin, and after a ſhort ſtay there, viſited Ballicaſtle, the Giant's Cauſeway, Colraine, the extremity of the county of Donegal, Londonderry, Strabone, Inniſkillen, Caſhel, Waterford, and Kilkenny, whence he repaired once more to the metropolis. The particulars of his journey were never made public; this ſeems to have proceeded from the hoſpitality which he every where experienced, for "ſuch was the conviviality of the country," ſays he, "that my journey proved as *maigre* as my entertainment was *gras*, ſo it never was a diſh fit to be offered to the public."

He however ſeems not to have been wholly indifferent to fame, for in 1756 he publiſhed a paper in the Philoſophical Tranſactions †, on ſeveral coralloid bodies he had collected at Coalbrook Dale, in Shropſhire. This was accompanied by a plate engraved by Watkin Williams, a perſon who reſided at Downing, in the capacity of an *humble companion* to his father.

In the mean time his paſſion for natural hiſtory had induced him to cultivate an acquaintance with the learned and elaborate Swede, whoſe ſtudies have tended ſo much to ſimplify, arrange, and illuſtrate this branch of ſcience. He had accordingly commenced a correſpondence with him in the year 1755, and tranſmitted an account of a recent *concha anomia*, which he found adhering to a plant of the Norwegian ſeas, ſent him by biſhop Pontoppidan. It was in conſequence of this intercourſe that Mr. Pennant received what he conſidered as the firſt and greateſt of all his literary honours; for in 1757 he was elected a member

* See Phil. Tranſ. vol. x. of Abrid. p. 11.

† See vol. xlix. p. 513.

of

of the royal ſociety of Upſal, at the expreſs inſtance of the illuſtrious Linnæus*, with whom he continued to communicate until age and infirmities obliged the former to deſiſt.

In 1759 our naturaliſt began to bethink himſelf of the comforts of matrimony, and he accordingly took to himſelf a wife. The lady pitched upon, on this occaſion, and to whom he appears to have been rather attached by ſentiment than the uſual ſordid conſiderations of intereſt, was Miſs Falconer of Cheſter. He now ſuppoſed himſelf ſettled for life, and his circumſtances being rather narrow, he gave up all thoughts of viſiting the metropolis, or making any of his accuſtomed journies. Accordingly, in 1761, he repaired to Bychton, the primeval ſeat of his family, which had been built early in the ſixteenth century, and although the habitation of a gentleman of middling eſtate in thoſe ſimple days, had of late been inhabited by a farmer, and ſeems, in point of magnificence, to have poſſeſſed but little reſemblance to the *Llys*, or *palace*, of the ancient Welſh princes.

But although Mr. Pennant now reſided wholly in the country, he had not reſigned his attachment to natural hiſtory. On the contrary, in 1761, he began his "Britiſh Zoology," which, when completed, conſiſted of one hundred and thirty-two plates on imperial paper. Peter Pallou was the painter of the various ſubjects, and he is repreſented as an excellent artiſt, but rather too fond of gaudy colouring. The engraver was Mazel, to whoſe ſkill and integrity he bears the moſt unequivocal teſtimony. George Edwards, the celebrated ornithologiſt, at firſt conceived ſome jealouſy of this undertaking, but it ſoon ſubſided into friendſhip, and he preſented many original drawings to our author. This work, to the expence of which ſeveral gentlemen contributed, does not appear to have ſucceeded equal to his expectations, in conſequence of his uſing a folio inſtead of a quarto page. He, however, behaved nobly on the occaſion, for

* "Hanc," ſays the great naturaliſt, "recitavi in ſocietatis régiæ Upſalienſis, publico conſeſſu, 1757, d. 17 Februarii, quam collegæ et ſocii omnes avidiſſimè excipiebant, et mirati ſunt; te quoque eodum die membram præfatæ ſocietates unanimo conſenſu eligere omnes, et mihi in mandatis dedere hoc tibi ſignificandi: probè perſuaſi te excepturum hoc eorum officium benevolè, ab amorem quem fers in ſcientias, et omnia quæ uſui publico inſerviunt."

he dedicated the profits arifing from the ſale to the benefit of the Welſh charity ſchool, near Gray's-Inn, London.

On his father's death, which occurred January 1, 1763, in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age, he left the crazy manſion of his anceſtors, and removed to the more modern and more comfortable houſe * at Downing. It conſiſts, beſides bedchambers, of a hall, a library thirty feet by eighteen, a drawing room, a ſmoking and tea room, and a parlour, capable of containing more gueſts than he ever wiſhed to ſee at a time, it being his maxim, *ſeptem, convivium*; *novem convicium*.

Having found a rich mine of lead on his eſtate, he inſtantly ſet about improving the houſe and adjacent grounds, both of which were "defaced by a vile road that led to the hamlet of *Gwibnant*, or the Meandering Glen." As the demeſne was planted up to the very door, he informs us that he removed the gloom, and let in the light, the air, and the proſpect, with the axe; and, in conſequence of a friendly exchange with Sir Roger Moſtyn, enlarged the fine ſcenery of the broken grounds, the woods, and the water. In ſhort, he continued to form very extenſive walks along the fine ſwelling lands, beneath the ſhady depth of the glens, and through the verdant meads which meander to the ſhore. The views are various towards the hills, and the ancient Pharos on *Garreg*; the dreary woodleſs track of Wiral, one of the Cheſhire hundreds, ſtretching towards the capital of the county, checquered with alternate ſpots of heath and corn, is cheerleſs; but the ſea proſpect, we are told, is animated with the numerous fleets entering into and ſailing out of the port of Liverpool, which from a fiſhing town has ſuddenly ſtarted into an emporium. In the near view below the houſe, he alſo contrived, by the converſion of ſome of his minerals into brick and mortar, to turn a deſerted mill into the abbey of Molandina, by way of a trap for antiquaries; this he of courſe conſidered as an innocent impoſture.

Being now provided with the means of gratifying one of his favourite paſſions, and incited perhaps by a recent domeſtic ca-

* Mr. Boydell has publiſhed an engraving of Downing among his Welſh ſeats.

lamity—the loſs of a good and amiable wife—he determined to travel on the continent. He accordingly left London, February 19, 1765*, repaired to France, paſſed through St. Omer's, Aire, Arras, Perron, and acroſs the great foreſt to Chantilli; and thence to Paris. While there, he was fortunate enough to form an acquaintance with the celebrated count de Buffon, who treated him with great politeneſs and attention, notwithſtanding Mr. Pennant had made a compariſon, in his Britiſh Zoology, between this philoſophical foreigner and his own countryman, the religious Mr. Ray, highly diſadvantageous to the former. He attributes the reply of the French naturaliſt to his *irritability*, but ſurely the original offence was committed on the part of the Engliſh naturaliſt, who it ſeems could not make mention even of a mole, without a perſonal attack on the opinions of one of the moſt illuſtrious ornaments of ſcience in modern days.

"He probably relented," ſays our author, "for in the following volumes of the *Hiſtoire Naturelle des Oiſeaux*, he frequently made uſe of my authority, which fully atoned for a haſty and miſguided fit of paſſion. I did not wiſh to quarrel with a gentleman I truly eſteemed, yet, unwilling to remain quite paſſive, in my index to his admirable works, and the *Planches Enluminées*, I did venture to repel his principal charge, and *con amore* to retaliate on my illuſtrious aſſailant. Our blows were light, and I hope that neither of us felt any material injury.

"I muſt blame the comte," adds he, "for ſuppreſſing his acknowledgment of ſeveral communications of animals which I ſent to him for the illuſtration of his *Hiſtoire Naturelle*. One was his *conguar noir*, Suppl. iii. 223. tab. lxii.; my *juguar*, or *black tiger*, Hiſt. Quad. 1. No. 190. Another was the drawing of his *iſatis*, Suppl. iii. tab. xvii. which he attributes to good Peter Collinſon. The third was his *chacal adive* of the ſame work, p. 112. tab. vi.; and my *Barbary* fox, Hiſt. Quad. 1 No. 171, of which I furniſhed him with the deſigns. Theſe are no great matters: I lament them only as ſmall defects in a great character*."

* "The Literary Life of the late Thomas Pennant, Eſq. by himſelf," p. 4.

Life, p. 5.

On

On his way to the ſouth of France, our traveller viſited Monbard in Burgundy, the ſeat of the count, where he paſſed a few days; at Ferney, in the extremity of the ſame province, he paid his reſpects to Voltaire, who was uncommonly entertaining; and in his attempts at Engliſh, ſatisfied his gueſt that he was perfectly maſter of all our oaths.

After a few days ſtay at Lyons, Mr. Pennant ſet off for Grenoble, and the Grand Chartreuſe; then repaired to Chamberry, and Geneva, and rambled over the greater part of Switzerland. There alſo he formed an acquaintance with men of talents; for at Bern he had an interview with baron Haller, and at Zurich ſaw the two Geſners, the poet and the naturaliſt, the latter of whom was deſcended from the great Conrad Geſner.

Soon after this he repaired to Germany, viſited Ulm, Augſburg, Donawert, Erlang, Bamberg, Frankfort, and Nuremberg. In the laſt of theſe cities, he paid a viſit to Dr. Frew, whom he repreſents as a venerable patron of natural hiſtory.

After a voyage along the Rhine from Mentz to Cologne, he proceeded to Duſſeldorff, entered Holland, and reſided for ſome time at Amſterdam, Rotterdam, &c. At the Hague he got acquainted with the celebrated Dr. Pallas, who afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of the empreſs of Ruſſia, by whom he was ſent on a philoſophical miſſion through the moſt diſtant parts of her extenſive empire. This interview with the German naturaliſt, forms a kind of *epoch* in the literary life of our countryman, for it gave riſe to his ſynopſis of quadrupeds. In the ſame country, but in a different part of it*, he alſo ſaw Dr. Lawrence Theodore Gronovius, with whom he appears to have kept up a correſpondence.

On his return to England, Mr. Pennant finiſhed his Zoology, a work which had been interrupted by his journey, and in about two years afterwards he was elected a fellow of the royal ſociety†.

In 1768, at the requeſt of Mr. Benjamin White, bookſeller of Fleet-ſtreet, the Britiſh Zoology was republiſhed, in two

* At Leyden. † February 26, 1767.

volumes

volumes octavo, illuſtrated with ſeventeeen plates; for his permiſſion on this occaſion he received one hundred pounds, which he moſt generouſly veſted in truſtees for the Welſh charity ſchool. Much about the ſame time Mr. Pennant was gratified by ſeeing the folio edition tranſlated into German and Latin, by M. de Murre of Nuremberg, with the plates copied and coloured by ingenious foreign artiſts.

He appears about this period to have viſited London, for we find that on March 19, 1765, Mr. now Sir Joſeph Banks, called at his lodgings in St. James's-ſtreet, and preſented him with that ſcarce book "Turner de Avibus." In 1768, the ſame gentleman communicated to our naturaliſt a new ſpecies of *penguin*, brought by captain Macbride from the Falkland iſlands. On this he drew up an account of it, and all the other ſpecies then known, which he preſented to the royal ſociety; it was accordingly read before them, and publiſhed by their orders *. An unhappy interruption took place in the friendſhip between theſe two able men, but it recommenced, to the mutual honour and content of both parties, in 1790, and continued unbroken until diſſevered by death. In May 1768, Mr. Pennant had paid a viſit to the preſident of the royal ſociety at Reveſby Abbey, in Lincolnſhire, during which he made many important obſervations on the zoology of the country, being aſſiſted on this occaſion by the liberal and enlightened communications of his hoſt.

Our author's mind being always in a progreſſive ſtate, the limits of his native Britain could no longer retain his ardour; accordingly, in 1769, he formed the idea of an Indian zoology, an undertaking to which he was chiefly induced by the novelty of the ſubject, and his intimacy with John Gideon Loton, eſq. who had long been governor in ſeveral of the Dutch iſlands of the Indian ocean, and had employed artiſts on the ſpot to delineate the birds of the country, and other ſubjects of natural hiſtory †. In conſequence of the very liberal conduct of this gentleman

* See vol. lviii.

† John Gideon Loton, eſq. was a Dutchman, having been born at Utrecht, in

He

gentleman the work was immediately undertaken, and twelve plates in ſmall folio were engraved at the joint expence of Mr. Loten, Sir Joſeph Banks, and Mr. Pennant, the laſt of whom added deſcriptions and little eſſays. A ſtop, however, was put to the publication, in conſequence of ſome trifling accident, and at length, on the recommendation of our naturaliſt, the plates, with three more executed at his own expence, were preſented to John Reinhold Forſter, the celebrated circumnavigator, who carried them to the continent, tranſlated the letter preſs into Latin and German, and publiſhed the whole at Halle in Saxony, in 1781; not, however, until he had drawn up, and added a moſt ingenious diſſertation on the climate, winds, and ſoil of India, and another on the birds of Paradiſe, ſince well known to modern naturaliſts, and the phœnix celebrated in the ſong of the ancient poets.

Mr. Pennant's reputation was now ſo well eſtabliſhed both at home and abroad, that learned ſocieties of all kinds were anxious to nominate him one of their aſſociates; accordingly, in March 1769, he was elected a member of the royal academy of ſciences of Drontheim in Norway, which was ſignified in a polite letter from the prelate of that ſee.

In 1770 he publiſhed an octavo volume in addition to his Britiſh Zoology, with numerous plates, additions, and deſcriptions.

He had long conceived a deſire to viſit the northern parts of this iſland, and accordingly, in the courſe of 1771, he undertook a journey thither. An account of it was publiſhed ſoon after,

He went to India in 1758, and exerciſed ſeveral of the higheſt officers of Batavia, Ceylon, and Celebes.

Being greatly attached to the ſtudy of natural hiſtory, he eſtabliſhed a botanical garden at Columbo, and employed both Europeans and natives to make drawings of the various beaſts, birds, fiſhes, inſects, &c. of the country. Theſe, on his return to Europe, in 1765, he liberally communicated to artiſts of worth and eminence, and even contributed to the engraving of them for works of public utility.

After remaining ſeveral years in England, where he married his ſecond wife, he returned to Holland, died in his native city, February 25, 1789, aged eighty, and was interred in St. Jacob's church there.

A magnificent cenotaph, by Banks, was erected to his memory, in 1795, in the north aiſle of Weſtminſter Abbey.

under

under the title of "A Tour in Scotland," and ſuch was the favourable reception it experienced, that the whole impreſſion was purchaſed, and another immediately printed and ſold. He ſeemed to think, that before this epoch North Britain was as little known to the Engliſh nation as Kamtſchatka; the truth, however, is, that it had been often viſited and deſcribed, but he brought home a more favourable account than preceding travellers, and contributed not a little to raiſe the eſtimation of Scotland in the eyes of its own inhabitants, as well as thoſe of other parts of the world. While his thoughts were thus laudably directed towards one part of the iſland, he was not forgotten in another, as the univerſity of Oxford had for ſome time meditated to beſtow a degree on him, and one was accordingly conferred in full convocation, May 11, 1771.

In the autumn of the ſame year he took a journey from Flintſhire to London, on purpoſe to congratulate Sir Joſeph Banks and Dr. Solander on their arrival from the circumnavigation of the globe. On his return he had an interview with father Falkener, the Jeſuit, who had paſſed thirty-eight years in Patagonia; and he became ſo thoroughly ſatisfied of the exiſtence of a race of ſuperior ſtature, in conſequence of his ſtatements, and thoſe of admiral Byron, that he entered warmly into the controverſy. Magellan, the celebrated navigator, firſt diſcovered a ſingle individual on the banks of the river La Plata, and great numbers of them afterwards appeared during his ſtay at Port St. Julian, in 1519. Other Europeans alſo ſaw ſome tall men, but did not meaſure their height, and the whole began to be diſcredited as a fable, until the time that Byron viſited thoſe ſeas, when Mr. Clarke, an officer who accompanied him, and afterwards commanded the Diſcovery in captain Cook's laſt voyage, aſſerted on his return that none of them were lower than eight feet, and that ſome even exceeded nine *. According to Mr. Falkener, the talleſt which he meaſured were ſeven feet eight inches high; and the common or middle ſize was ſix feet. But as the teſtimony of Bougainville, and a number of other re-

* See Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1767, p. 75.

ſpectable

Fac Similes of Col. Fraderick, H. Wilkes, Count Bernstorf, Count Hertzberg, Lord Chatham, Sir John Ringle & John Hunter.

To face Page

I ——— at 21 days. Six weeks after Date I promise

ſpectable men, was in expreſs oppoſition to this evidence, Mr. Pennant reconciled diſcordant authorities, by making the Patagonians a migratory race, ſhifting their quarters occaſionally, ſometimes piercing into the interior in ſearch of game, and at other times frequenting the ſhores of the ocean for the facility of procuring ſalt, and burying their dead within a certain diſtance of its waves. It muſt be allowed that the theory, by means of which our author ſolved all difficulties, was ingenious; but it muſt at the ſame time be confeſſed, that the exiſtence of theſe modern giants, a few accidental diverſities as with us excepted, ſtill remains among the problems of natural hiſtory.

Mr. Pennant had long meditated a work on the animals of North America, and had already commenced, by making out a liſt of the quadrupeds, birds, and fiſhes. On this occaſion he ſeems to have choſen the learned and ingenious Dr. Forſter, whom we have already mentioned, as his coadjutor, and that gentleman accordingly publiſhed a catalogue of the animals of the tranſatlantic continent in 1771. As this work proved ſucceſsful, he enriched the ſucceeding edition with a copious flora. Ever active in the cauſe of natural hiſtory, Mr. Pennant, in the courſe of that ſame year, laid an account of two new ſpecies of tortoiſes before the royal ſociety; this was well received, and afterwards printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions*.

In the mean time he was making preparations for another journey into Scotland, and a voyage to the Hebrides. He accordingly ſet off, May the 18th, 1772, and, after a long and intereſting tour, returned rich in municipal rewards, almoſt every corporation in that part of the kingdom, and among others the capital, preſenting him with his freedom. His voyage to the Hebrides was not however publiſhed until two years afterwards; it then appeared in one volume quarto, with forty-four plates. He did not viſit the iſland of Staffa, ſo famous for its baſaltic columns, but he publiſhed ſeveral views of them in conſequence of the liberality of Sir Joſeph Banks, who touched there in the courſe of the ſame year in his voyage to Iceland.

In 1773 appeared the octavo edition of his *Genera* of Birds;

* See Vol. lxi.

but this year was not conſigned entirely to ſtudy, for he made a northern tour in England, during which he viſited Lancaſhire, Weſtmoreland, and Cumberland, and ſkirted the weſtern ſide of the county of York. In this journey he was accompanied by a young man whoſe pencil and etching needle were frequently employed in his ſervice from the year 1769, when he firſt became acquainted with his merits, until the time of Mr. Pennant's death. His name is Moſes Griffith, born in 1749, at Frygain-houſe, in the pariſh of Bryn Groer, in Llein, in Caernarvon-ſhire, and deſcended from poor parents, who afforded him no other inſtruction than that of reading and writing; he is a ſelf-taught artiſt, and, as he enjoyed and merited Mr. Pennant's praiſe and confidence, it is not to be doubted but that his worthy ſon will make ſome proviſion for him.

In 1774 Mr. Pennant viſited the Iſle of Man, on which occaſion he was accompanied by ſeveral of his friends, one of whom, the reverend Mr. Davies, returned in the courſe of the next year, at his requeſt, to take a review of the vegetable productions of that little ſpot; he obſerved about five hundred and fifty plants, and formed a flora of the iſland. In the ſpring of the ſame year he made a tour in Northamptonſhire, and the adjacent counties, with a view of enlarging his topographical knowledge, and paſſed a few days with the late dutcheſs dowager of Portland, celebrated for her taſte for antiquities and natural hiſtory.

The year 1776 was productive of a journey to Banbury, Warwick, Tamworth, &c. which he took in his way home from the metropolis; on this occaſion he narrowly eſcaped from a death which would have been admirably ſuited to an antiquary, for he examined the old church of Buckingham at eight o'clock in the morning of March 26, and it fell before ſix the ſame afternoon!

In 1777 he made a tour in Kent, and viſited not only all the remarkable places in that county, but all the men eminent for their knowledge and attainments in natural hiſtory. He alſo publiſhed a fourth volume of the Britiſh Zoology, which included the *vermes*, and the *cruſtaceous* and *teſtaceous* animals of our iſle.

Next

Next year appeared his firſt volume, quarto, of a tour through North Wales. In 1781 was publiſhed the firſt part of the ſecond volume, under the title of "A Journey to Snowdon." On this occaſion it is believed he was aſſiſted, ſo far at leaſt as concerns the Alpine plants of North Wales, by the reverend Mr. Davies; and in all his journies he was attended by the reverend John Lloyd, a native of Llanarmon, and rector of Caerwis, a gentleman well ſkilled in the language and antiquities of that part of the iſland in which he happened to be born.

This was a buſy year, for it was then that a new edition of his Synopſis of Quadrupeds, two volumes quarto, made its appearance; as alſo his "Free Thoughts on the Militia Laws." The former has been praiſed by many foreigners of diſtinction in the annals of literature, and the latter is entitled to the commendation of every man attached to the rights, the privileges, the happineſs, and the comfort of his fellow ſubjects.

Much about the ſame time he communicated to the royal ſociety a paper, afterwards publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, relative to the natural hiſtory and native country of the turkey, which he contends to have come from America, and to have been unknown before the diſcovery of that continent. Mr. Daines Barrington, who has taken the other ſide of the queſtion, aſſerts that this fine bird boaſts an eaſtern origin: to this opinion he has no doubt been inclined, in conſequence of the frequent mention of the turkey in ſeveral of the early records of Hindooſtan.

Having kept journals of his various preregrinations from Downing to the capital, Mr. Pennant now formed them into a regular work, and in 1782 appeared his "Journey from Cheſter to London." In the month of June of the ſucceeding year he made a voyage down the Severn, having taking boat at Atcham bridge, near Salop, and landed at Holmsflat. In the courſe of this tour he was highly delighted by the picturesque ſcenery exhibited along the banks of this river, more eſpecially the views from Buildds to Ombreſly.

The "Arctic Zoology," two volumes quarto, appeared in 1785, and added greatly to the author's fame, for it was ſpeedily

tranſlated into French and German. On this, as on a former occaſion, he was greatly aſſiſted by Sir Joſeph Banks, who in his voyage to Newfoundland, in 1767, had made himſelf acquainted with ſeveral new ſpecies of birds, and now enriched the ornithology by a liberal communication.

A *hiatus* of two or three years appears about this period in the literary life, and even in the literary rambles, of our author; this was occaſioned by another "happy marriage." He, however, on the return of his ſon David from the continent, in 1787, ſet out on a tour to the Land's End. They ſailed down the Thames, viſited the dock-yards on the Kentiſh ſide, and repaired along the ſhore to the extremity of the iſland.

This may be conſidered as a journey impoſed upon him by duty, for it was undertaken by the father from the very laudable motive of exhibiting the naval ſtrength and commercial advantages of his native iſland to a promiſing youth who bids fair to prove a worthy ſucceſſor. So long an abſence from his family and uſual place of abode at length became irkſome, and caſt an anxiety over his mind which he had not hitherto been accuſtomed to.

During the unhappy conteſt with the colonies Mr. Pennant appears to have been on the ſide of *coercion*; inſtead of conſidering the guilt and ſhame attendant on that ſtruggle to have originated in imprudent and diſhoneſt counſels, he ſeemed to think that the fault lay with thoſe who were entruſted with the direction of our armies. Being deeply impreſſed with this idea, he now publiſhed a work entitled "American Annals, an Incitement to Parliament Men to inquire into the Conduct of our Commanders in the American war." He has, however, omitted this tract in ſubſequent editions of his works, being, as he obſerves with much amiable diſcretion, "unwilling to revive the memory of the moſt deplorable event in all the annals of Great Britain."

In 1779 the diſcontents of the people were grown ſo great "*that he thought it prudent* that the county of Flint ſhould add its weight to the petitions, ſo that by prevailing on government to leſſen every unneceſſary burden, the minds of the people

people might be eaſed, and all ill conſequences prevented, for civil war was almoſt threatened." Mr. Pennant upon this occaſion does not ſeem to have been much in earneſt, for although he was ready to ſign a petition, he expreſſed an utter abhorrence of a committee which preſented the only effectual means of enforcing its prayer: but he appears to have afterwards altered his opinions relative to this neceſſary mode of giving energy to the public ſentiment, when it tended to the advancement of his own principles.

On the occaſion juſt alluded to he did intend to deliver a ſpeech which he has printed, but he very honeſtly adds, "my ſpirits failed me." He appears to have been deſerted at this period by the ſticklers for American ſubjugation, as the dean of St. Aſaph, "burning after the glory of chairman," propoſed a committee, and carried the point *.

Happily for the intereſts of literature, but a ſmall portion of our author's life was dedicated to politics; he was now employed on an account of London, for he had been accuſtomed during many years to walk about the capital with his note-book in his hand, and had collected a variety of materials. In 1790 appeared the firſt edition of this work, and in a ſhort time two more large impreſſions were called for. Two years after this he publiſhed a letter on mail coaches, in the courſe of which he detailed the grievances of the Flintſhire peaſantry, who were obliged to work on the public roads as hard as if they had been ſubjected to the old French *corvées*. He was alſo of great ſervice to the country by puniſhing one of the guards who had committed an infraction of the laws; for thoſe fellows had ſuppoſed that the *royal livery* was an exemption from control: but the ſpirited conduct of Mr. Pennant, in his character of juſtice of peace, ſoon taught them that their ſcarlet coats and blue facings did not render them inviolable.

It was now ſuppoſed that the labours of Mr. Pennant as an author had cloſed; but in 1793 appeared his "Literary Life, written by himſelf." This contains a moſt copious account of his writings and peregrinations, beſides a variety of curious particu-

* See Appendix, No. 6, to Mr. Pennant's Literary Life.

lars relative to the genealogy and deſcent of all the great Cambro-Britiſh families, which muſt be particularly dear:

*I bawb ſy'n caru Cymree**.

A ſpirit of philoſophy has long ſince rendered ſimilar inquiries puerile on this ſide the Severn, but we are no doubt conſidered as *novi homines*, in compariſon with thoſe who can trace their pedigree to a period when their remote anceſtors were diſtributing juſtice to their barbarous followers in a *Llys*, the magnificence of which would have been outrivalled by a creditable barn in modern times.

As the advertiſement prefixed to the laſt work we have mentioned exhibits a good ſpecimen of the ſtyle and manner of the author, we ſhall inſert it here:

"The title page announces the termination of my authorial exiſtence, which took place on March 1, 1791†. Since that period I have glided through the globe a harmleſs ſprite; have pervaded the continents of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, and deſcribed them with the ſame authenticity as *Gemelli Careri*, or many other travellers, ideal or real, who are at this day read with avidity and quoted with faith.

"My great change is not perceived by mortal eyes. I ſtill haunt the bench of juſtices; I am now active in haſtening levies of the generous Britons to the field. However unequal, I ſtill retain the ſame zeal in the ſervice of my country; and twice ſince my departure have experienced human paſſions, and have grown indignant at injuries offered to

* "To all who love Wales."

† This undoubtedly alludes to the following determination expreſſed by him on a former occaſion: "Let me requeſt the good inhabitants of *London* and *Weſtminſter*," ſaid he, "not to be offended at my having ſtuffed their *Iliad* into a nutſhell: the account of the city of London, and liberties of Weſtminſter, into a *quarto* volume. I have condenſed into it all I could, omitted nothing that ſuggeſted itſelf, nor amplified any thing to make it a *guinea book*. In a word, it is done in my own manner, from which I am grown too old to depart. I feel within myſelf a certain monitor that warns me to hang up my pen in time before its powers are weakened, and rendered viſibly impaired.

"I wait not for the admonition of friends. I have the archbiſhop of Grenada in my eye; and fear the imbecility of human nature might produce in long worn age the ſame treatment of my kind adviſers as poor Gil Blas had from his moſt reverend patron. My literary bequeſts to future times, and more ſerious concerns muſt occupy the remnant of my days. This cloſes my public labours." Preface to "London."

my native land; or have incited a vigorous defence againſt the lunatic deſigns of enthuſiaſtic tyranny, or the preſumptuous plans of fanatical athieſts, to ſpread their reign and force their tenets on the contented moral part of their fellow creatures. May I remain poſſeſſed with the ſame paſſions till the great EXORCIST lay me for ever. The two laſt numbers in the following pages are my poſt-exiſtent performances. Surviving friends, ſmile on the attempt! Surviving enemy, if any I can NOW have, forgive my errors!

"*Tu manes ne læde meos,*

"THOMAS PENNANT."

It was now imagined that the pen of our author had been "hung up for ever;" this, however, was not the caſe, notwithſtanding his own alluſion to the archbiſhop of Grenada, for the year 1796 uſhered in "The Hiſtory of the Pariſhes of Whiteford and Holywell," much to the ſatisfaction of the public, and the entertainment of thoſe devoted to topographical knowledge. As there is ſomething novel in the preface, it ſhall be inſerted here:

"RESURGAM

"THOMAS PENNANT."

"*Downing,*
April 6, 2 *P. M.* 1795."

Mr. Pennant having thus *ariſen from the dead*, it was not to be ſuppoſed that the ghoſt of an author could be ſo eaſily laid. Accordingly, in 1798, we find him continuing his career by the publication of two ſplendid volumes, entitled "The View of Hindooſtan." It is to be obſerved, however, that on this occaſion he acted the part of an editor rather than an author; for theſe volumes form part of a ſtupendous work, undertaken by him, and partly, if not wholly, completed many years before*.

In

* With the exception of Vol. I. they occupied four years of his life; and as they may ſoon be expected to make their appearance, the following account will not be miſplaced here.

In the courſe of his inquiries he had collected every information from books, ancient and modern, and from living travellers of the moſt reſpectable characters. He had alſo illuſtrated this great undertaking at a prodigious expence, by charts, maps, drawings, &c. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that Eaſtern and Weſtern Hindooſtan ſhould be accompanied by very fine engravings. They are in number twenty-three, all executed by able artiſts, and among other rare productions, is exhibited a very fine ſpecimen of that beautiful bird the Napaul pheaſant.

"I had many ſolicitations from my friends," ſays he in his preface, "and a few wiſhes from perſons unknown, delivered in the public prints, to commit to the preſs a part, in the forming which the poſthumous volumes might hereafter make their appearance. I might have pleaded the imprudence of the attempt at my time of life, of beginning ſo arduous an undertaking in my ſeventy-firſt year.

"I happily, till very lately, had ſcarcely any admonition of the advanced ſeaſon. I plunged into the ſea of trouble, and with

Vol. I. will contain the introduction to the Arctic Zoology, ſo as to make it unite with China. An account will alſo be given of the coaſts of America, and the internal dominions of the United States, &c.

Vol. II. will deſcribe the Kentiſh tour made by the author, in company with his ſon, including a voyage, *if it may be ſo called*, from the Temple ſtairs, where they took boat, to Dartford creek.

Vol. III. and IV. contain a journey along the frontiers of France, from Calais to the frontiers of Spain, with three digreſſions into the interiour of the country.

Vol. V. Spain and Portugal. This volume contains many valuable drawings of the birds and fiſhes of Gibraltar, communicated by the late reverend Mr. John White, long reſident in that fortreſs.

Vol. VI. Southern coaſts of France and Spain; in this he was aſſiſted by Mr. Ignatius d'Aſſo, of Sarragoſſa, and his ſon, David Pennant, now of Downing, eſq. who began his travels in Auguſt, 1785, and viſited France, Switzerland, Italy, Stiria, Corinthia, and Caraniola. His journals fill eight volumes folio.

Vol. VII. VIII. and IX. Africa.

Vol. X. Arabia and Perſia.

Vol. XI. XII. and XIII. India.

Vol. XIV. Malayan iſles, Borneo, the Philippine iſles, Celebes, New Holland, New Guinea, &c.

A moſt copious Indian flora will follow the three laſt volumes, and conclude the whole,

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my papers in one hand, made my way through the waves with the other, and brought them ſecure to land. This, alas! is ſenile boaſting. I muſt ſubmit to the judgment of the public, and learn from thence how far I am to be cenſured for ſo grievous an offence againſt the maxim of Ariſtotle, who fixes the decline of human abilities to the forty-ninth year.

"I ought to ſhudder when I conſider the wear and tear of twenty-two years, and feel ſhocked at the remark of the elegant Delaney, who obſerves, "that it is generally agreed among wiſe men, that few attempts, at leaſt in a learned way, have ever been wiſely undertaken and happily executed after that period!"

"I cannot defend the wiſdom; yet from the good fortune of my life I will attempt the execution.

"It will be formed upon the model of my INTRODUCTION to the ARCTIC ZOOLOGY, imitating, as far as my talents will admit, the great examples left by the diſciples of the LINNEAN ſchool, and the ſolid writings of the liberal and communicative race of the *Hyperborean* learned, fitted by climate to aſſiduous ſtudy, and to retain the immenſeneſs of their knowledge when acquired. The torrid zone generally enervates the body and mind. The divine particle melts away, and every idea is too often loſt in irreſiſtible indolence."

As, after the publication of this valuable work, Mr. Pennant uttered no more "laſt words," we may fairly conclude, that his literary career was here finally cloſed; and as we have now done with his own labours, this is the place where it will be proper to mention the generous aſſiſtance he held out to thoſe of others.

Soon after the arrival of Dr. John Reinhold Forſter from Germany, Mr. Pennant not only introduced him to many perſons of conſideration, but perſuaded and encouraged him to undertake ſeveral works*, viz.

1. A Tranſlation of Kalm's Voyage into North America, 3 vols. 8vo. 1770.

2. Oſbeck's Voyage to China, with Toreen and Ecberg's Account of the Chineſe Huſbandry, 2 vols. 1771.

* Literary Life, p. 36.

And

And 3. A ſecond volume to his Tranſlation of Boſſu's Travels in Louſiana.

Mr. Pennant alſo preſented him with many engraved plates, &c.

The late reverend Mr. Lightfoot, having attended Mr. Pennant, as his fellow traveller, into Scotland, the latter, in 1777, publiſhed the Flora Scotica, 2 vols. 8vo. with thirty-ſeven plates, at a very conſiderable expence; and when the author died, in 1788, he drew up a paper concerning that ſkilful botaniſt.

Mr. Gough, the celebrated topographer, ſubmitted ſuch of the proof ſheets of his edition of Camden, as related to North Wales, to Mr. Pennant's peruſal; the latter alſo communicated ſeveral of his MS. journals to Mr. Gough.

Mr. Pennant employed the late reverend Charles Cordiner, epiſcopal miniſter at Banff, to make a journey over the countries north of Loch Broom, in 1776, and afterwards publiſhed his journal, entitled "Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland."

Being actuated by a noble zeal to make every part of North Britain known to the inhabitants of the ſouth, he prevailed upon Mr. George Low, miniſter of Birſa, to undertake a deſcription of the Orkneys and Shetland. The ſurveys of that gentleman were made in 1774 and 1778, and a journal and ſeveral drawings tranſmitted to the projector, but the reaſon has never tranſpired why the fruit of theſe labours has hitherto been concealed from the public eye.

In Mr. Pennant the arts found a conſtant encourager, and moſt munificent patron; in reſpect to *book-prints*, he indeed remains unrivalled, as perhaps the works of no Engliſh author ever contained an equal number of the ſame kind and ſize. In the Britiſh Zoology, folio edition, we find one hundred and thirty-two; the quarto poſſeſſes no leſs than two hundred and eighty-four; the Tour in Scotland has one hundred and thirty-four, and that in Wales, fifty-three. In his Literary Life, he reckons up eight hundred and two, and theſe, when added to his works ſince that period, will amount to near nine hundred.

Having hitherto conſidered Mr. Pennant as a public man, we ſhall now follow him into private life. Before the death of his

father, his fortune was far from being large, and after that period it did not greatly exceed £ 1000, or £ 1200, per annum. He happened, however, to live in a country celebrated for its mines, and was lucky enough to poſſeſs a ſhare in a profitable one: for another gentleman, himſelf, and the leſſees, obtained about £ 100,000 by that adventure. His prudence taught him that this inſtance of good fortune ſomewhat reſembled a prize in the lottery, and he accordingly made the beſt uſe of it; for, as it would have been ridiculous to have expected another of the ſame kind, in the courſe of one life, he purchaſed an adjoining eſtate with the profits, inſtead of ſcattering them about in the vortex of modern diſſipation.

In all the various relations of private life he was exemplary, being an excellent huſband, father, and maſter. One of his domeſtics* at length became his ſecretary; and to two† others he erected monuments to record their worth, fidelity, and virtues.

As a magiſtrate his conduct is deſerving of imitation. He was intelligent, zealous, and indefatigable in that capacity; but inſtead of acting the petty provincial tyrant, and lording it over the unfortunate, he was ever attentive to the intereſts, comforts, and happineſs of the poor. In reſpect to his politics, his ſentiments, perhaps, were not exactly ſuch as would have ſuited the moſt brilliant period of our civil hiſtory‡, at which time he might poſſibly have been conſidered as a *High Churchman*; and he himſelf allows, that his ſelection of a picture of the pretender to grace his apartments would have occaſioned him, in a leſs liberal age, to have been ſtruck out of the commiſſion.

In reſpect to his perſon, it was well formed and engaging; and much intelligence and animation beamed throughout his countenance. Lewis Cornaro and two or three others excepted, no man of modern times has continued to write for the public until ſuch a late period of life; at ſeventy, if the body be not

* Moſes Griffith.

† One a Welch woman; the other Louis Gold, a Norman, who remained in his ſervice until his death.

‡ The revolution of 1688.

already

already overwhelmed with infirmities, they generally begin to aſſail it with ſuch irreſiſtible force, as to make the pen drop from the palſied hand of the author. It was not ſo, however, in this caſe, and we are inclined to exclaim with himſelf, "happy is the age that could thus beguile its fleeting hours without injury to any one, and with the addition of years continue to riſe in its purſuits."

To the honour of his memory be it recorded, that the general tendency of his works has ever been favourable to the beſt intereſts of humanity. We can trace this in his kind endeavour to reconcile the ſouthern and northern inhabitants of the kingdom in the courſe of his two tours in Scotland, and in his tracts reſpecting the grievances of the people of Wales. Even in the natural hiſtory of his native pariſh he contrives to introduce a poor hedge-hog, hitherto the victim of prejudice, to the friendly notice and protection of man *. Of the deteſtable ſlave trade he appears to have been a warm enemy, and we have only to lament that, while deſcribing the adminiſtration of an Aſiatic governor, he ſhould have been ſo blinded by his admiration as to become an apologiſt for the extirpation of the Rohillas!

Mr. Pennant enjoyed an excellent ſtate of health during many years; this he always attributed to temperance and exerciſe. Nearly all his tours and excurſions were made on horſeback, and he had an utter averſion to every other mode of conveyance, being accuſtomed to ſay, "that he conſidered the abſolute reſignation of one's perſon to the luxury of a carriage to forebode a very ſhort interval between that and the vehicle which is to convey us to our laſt ſtage."

In his converſation he was lively and entertaining, and in his dreſs and perſon uncommonly neat. He was no advocate for the refinements, or rather degeneracy, of modern manners, more

* "29. *Draenog, Draen y coed*, Urchin, or hedge-hog. No. 35. humbly petitions mankind to deſiſt from all farther perſecutions; declaring themſelves innocent of the various charges brought againſt them, particularly that of ſucking cows; reſting their acquittal on this ſimple plea—the impoſſibility. They could not effect it by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of their mouths, nor the cows permit it by reaſon of the ſharpneſs of their teeth."

The Hiſtory of the Pariſhes of Whiteford and Holywell, p. 145.

eſpecially in reſpect to the conduct of wives; and accordingly, in 1774, he publiſhed "An Eſſay on the Imprudent Behaviour of Married Ladies towards our Sex." He was alſo an enemy to that maſculine article of female attire, the *riding habit*, which is now worn at all times of the day, and he delivered his ſentiments on this ſubject in a pamphlet publiſhed in 1781.

In reſpect to his declared averſion and rooted antipathy to *wigs*, he will no doubt be conſidered as an oddity by all thoſe who wear them.

In his diet and manner of life Mr. Pennant was very ſimple. He ſeems to have been a great lover of tea; an honeſt Welſh parſon, on hearing that he uſually repaired in the afternoon to his ſummer-houſe to enjoy that beverage, was moved with indignation, that any thing weaker than ale or wine ſhould be drank there, and calling to mind the *good times* of old, paſſionately exclaimed, "his father would have ſcorned it!"

He retired to bed by ten, roſe both winter and ſummer by ſeven, when he inſtantly ſhaved, and enjoyed a few glaſſes of wine after dinner, but carefully avoided ſupper, which he conſidered as "the meal of exceſs."

It was in this manner that life glided away, and that he enjoyed a "green old age," aſſailed by but few ailments, until his ſeventy-ſecond year, when he died, December 15, 1798, amidſt the lamentations of his family, the ſorrow of his friends, and the regret of men letters.

Mr. Pennant was rich in academic honours, for he was a member of the royal ſocieties of Great Britain and of Upſal, of the Linnæan ſociety of London, of the royal academy of Drontheim in Norway, of the *ſocietas paſiographica* at Lund in Sweden, of the American philoſophical ſociety, of the royal academy at Stockholm, of the ſociety at Edinburgh for promoting natural knowledge, of the agricultural ſociety at Odiham in Hampſhire, &c. &c.

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ERRATA.

Page 2, in the *Note*, for *Corze*, read *Corſe*.
24, line from bottom, for *malcontents*, read *malecontents*.
29, — 4 from bottom, for *Albamans*, read *Albaniane*.
52, — 13 from bottom, for *aiction*, read *action*.
56, — 3 from top, for *thoſe*, read *theſe*.
65, — 9 from top, for *lucky enough to repair to*, read *lucky enough to eſcape to*.
66, — 13 from bottom, for *ran away*, read *run away*.
70, — 11 from top, for *Silicia*, read *Sileſia*.
79, — 2 from bottom, for *of Ephemeredes*, read *Ephemerides*.
116, — *Note*, for *practice as a phyſician*, read *practiſe as a phyſician*.
118, — 3 from top, for *humbler*, read *humble*.
119, — 8 from bottom, for *not to incur*, read *to avoid*.
138, — 6 from bottom, for *its ſubordinate*, read *a ſubordinate*.
159, — 14 from top, for *or greater*, read *or in greater*.
193, — 11 from bottom for *manuſcript catalogue*, read *printed catalogue*.
213, — 3 from top, for *bein* read *being*.
222, — 3 from bottom, *dele* the ſecond *long*.
225, — 14 from top, for *never enjoyed any*, read *never enjoyed the benefit of any*.
265, — 12 from bottom, for *muder* read *murder*.
274, — 16 from bottom, for *ſuffrage* read *ſuffrages*.
— — 9 from bottom, for *deſolations* read *deſolation*.
294, — 9 from bottom, for *deſtiniy* read *deſtiny*.
— — 6 from bottom, for *brows* read *brow*.
485, — 1 from top, for *minority* read *miniſtry*.
489, — 5 from bottom, for *he at length now enabled*, read *he was now at length enabled*.
535, — 9 from top, for *a Capias Ultegatum*, read *a Capias Utlegatum*.
553, — 11 from top, for *a hoſtler*, read *an oſtler*.
562, — 13 from top, for *Laudan*, read *Loudon*.
564, — 7 from bottom, for *fall backward*, read *fall back*.
568, — laſt, for *at length reaching*, read *at length reached*.
572, — *Note*, for *grands meaſures*, read *grands meſures*.
578, — 20 from top, for *encaped*, read *encamped*.
607, — 17 from top, for *malcontents*, read *malecontents*.
[illegible] — [illegible] from top, for [illegible] read [illegible].

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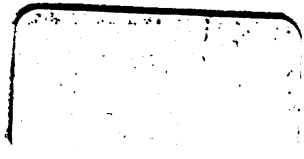
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